

# A HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

THE SIXTEENTH AND  
SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES





*In Memoriam*  
*Susan Neff McMaster*

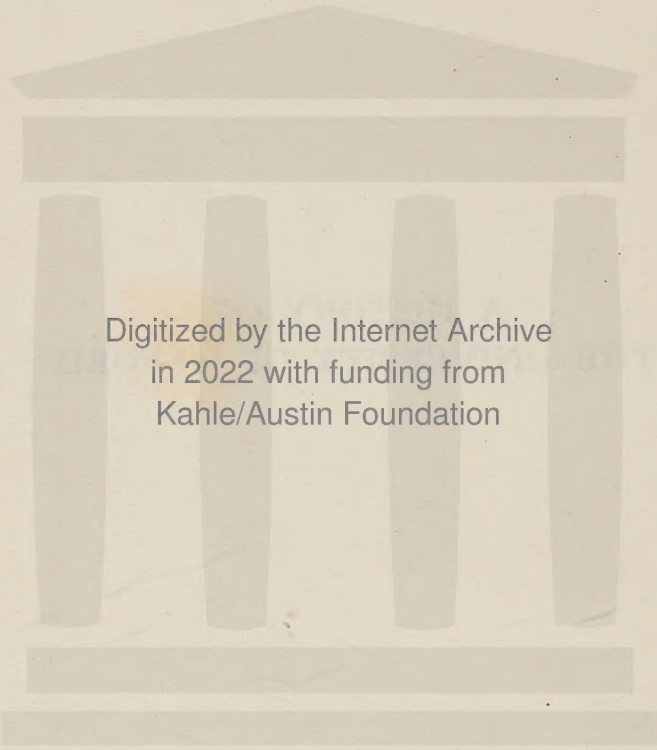








**A HISTORY OF  
THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD**



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# A HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

BY

CHARLES EDWARD MALLET

VOLUME II

THE SIXTEENTH  
AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

378.42  
O 98m

NEW YORK  
LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.  
55 FIFTH AVENUE

1924

1162

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244 33



NEW YORK  
LONGMANS AND CO.  
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN  
25 FIFTH AVENUE



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Hollar's view is taken from a later reproduction of the original engraving. Bereblock's and Loggan's plans may be dated about 1566 and 1675 respectively. I have taken the liberty of omitting, from Skelton's print of the Sheldonian, the view of the Clarendon Building, which shows on the right in the background there.



# A HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

## CHAPTER XI

### THE EARLY TUDOR COLLEGES: BRASENOSE, CORPUS, CHRIST CHURCH

THE year 1485 marks an epoch in history at Oxford as elsewhere. Under the Tudors the mediæval University passed imperceptibly away. The old customs lost to some extent their meaning. The old views of education altered. The old lawless democratic spirit yielded unwillingly to discipline. The Renaissance set up new ideals of learning. The Reformation brought new energies to theological debate. The old Halls were fast disappearing. The Colleges, some of which had begun life as struggling little communities of theologians or Arts-students, grew into larger and wealthier societies, with a fuller share in the government of the place. Undergraduate Commoners, as we know them, came more definitely into view. Several Colleges had from the beginning elected undergraduates as Fellows, and in some cases young students had been admitted on a special footing. Merton had its *Parvuli*. Queen's had its Poor Boys. Magdalen had some very young Demies. Poor Colleges had eked out their revenues by admitting boarders. Waynflete had sanctioned a system of Gentlemen Commoners, which Wykeham had been unwilling to permit. But it was not till the sixteenth century, when the Colleges became recognised centres of teaching, when the lectures in Schools Street were going out of fashion, when the training of priests was gradually ceasing to be the chief aim of Oxford education, and when, after the perils of the Reformation, the expansion of Oxford on new lines began, that the great class of undergraduate Commoners, with no direct share in College endowments, arose to take the College courts and gardens for their own.

Wolsey's foundation overshadowed its contemporaries, as its creator overshadowed other men. But two other Colleges were before it in securing a license from a Tudor King. One of them, Corpus, became from the first the home of the New Learning, the representative of the new spirit in Oxford life.



The other, Brasenose, was intended to be a stronghold of the older and more Conservative ideals. Its principal Founder, a Bishop like Fox, was little touched by Fox's liberal opinions. Its second Founder or joint Founder, Sir Richard Sutton, was a layman more rigid in his clerical sympathies than the Bishop himself. William Smyth, originally a young gentleman from Lancashire, owed his success in life to the influence of the Lady Margaret and of the powerful followers gathered round her son. Within a month of Bosworth Field he was appointed to a lucrative office under the Crown. He became a member of the Royal Council, Dean of the Royal Chapel at Westminster, Bishop in turn of Lichfield<sup>1</sup> and of Lincoln, and the leading member of Prince Arthur's Council in the marches of Wales. He was constantly in attendance on the Prince. He was one of Henry VII's executors. He played a considerable part in politics while Henry lived. He grew rich on Church preferments and perhaps in other ways. He is said to have possessed ten palaces in the diocese of Lincoln. He used his patronage to provide for his relations, and was thus able to devote his private wealth to public ends. The Cathedral of Lincoln, says his biographer, was "peopled with persons of the name of William Smyth," and Wolsey, who succeeded to the See, may have felt that this excused him in appropriating as many of his predecessor's belongings as he could. Smyth left "the perfume of charity" behind him and notable foundations both at Lichfield and at Oxford. But it is perhaps significant that he found it prudent within the first three weeks of Henry VIII's accession, to secure a pardon for every offence which he might have committed to bring himself or his possessions within the grip of the law. At Oxford he founded also a Fellowship at Oriel and bequeathed two manors to Lincoln. It has been suggested that he once belonged to both these Colleges. But he may with equal or greater probability have been a Commoner at Brasenose Hall. We have better grounds for believing that in 1485 he was a Bachelor of Law, and that in 1500 he was elected Chancellor of Oxford, "as well by heavenly inspiration as by human judgment." Before the death of the old King he had formed the intention of founding Brasenose, and early in the new reign its charter was secured.

Bishop Smyth for all his Conservatism was no lover of the monks. We find him once reforming Oseney with a heavy hand. But he had little sympathy with reformers either, whether in the Church or in the field of education. His friend and coadjutor Richard Sutton, the Steward of the Nunnery of Sion, was perhaps more tender to the conventual system, and was at least

<sup>1</sup> Lichfield and Coventry were then one See.

as strongly attached to the old ideas. Sutton was a lawyer of distinction, a lover of learning and a lover of letters. There are indications which suggest that he may have had some Yorkist sympathies. It is not impossible that he had been at Brasenose Hall, where a William Sutton was Principal in the reign of Edward IV. At any rate in 1508, by obtaining from University College a lease of Brasenose Hall in Schools Street and of Little University Hall beside it, at the generous rental of three pounds a year, he procured, in "the very centre of this our Athens," a site for the College which the Bishop and he had designed.<sup>1</sup>

The heart of the new foundation was the ancient Brasenose Hall, bought long ago by the University with the legacy from William of Durham. By 1279 it had acquired its name, and even before that date it seems to have acquired the celebrated trophy, the lion's or leopard's head of bronze with a ring through its jaws to act as a knocker, whose history is one of the lesser romances of Oxford life. The knocker, which may once have belonged to a Sanctuary older than the University itself, was carried off to Stamford by the Brasenose students in the days of Edward III. Another Brazen Nose in Oxford took its place, which the College wits alleged to be the nose of Duns Scotus. But the original knocker remained at Stamford for five centuries and a half. Then, in 1890, the College brought it home again and hung it in their Hall, and obstinate believers can still discern the dent inflicted when it was wrenched from its fastenings in Oxford nearly six hundred years ago.<sup>2</sup> Beyond the Stamford incident, however, we know very little of the history of the Hall till the list of its Principals begins in 1435. But the last of them, Matthew Smyth, who may well have been a relative of the Bishop, carried its ancient traditions with him when he became the first Principal of the new College.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The best accounts of the two Founders are given in Churton's *Lives of Smyth and Sutton*, by Mr. Leadam in Monograph IX of the *Brasenose Quatercentenary Monographs*, and in *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> At any rate the dent was visible in an engraving of 1727. Experts agree that the knocker was probably a sanctuary knocker of the early 12th century, and it may, Mr. Madan thinks, have come from an ancient sanctuary in St. Edward's Parish. There seems to be no doubt that the knocker was the origin of the Hall's name, and not the mongrel derivation from the Low Latin *bracinum* (malt) and the Teutonic *haus*, which would make Brasenose the brew-house of King Alfred's palace! The earliest form of the name is "Brasennose." (See *Quatercentenary Monograph II*, and Mr. H. Hurst's *Four Noses of Brasenose College*.)

<sup>3</sup> Two former Principals of Brasenose Hall (Matthew Smyth and John Fornby) became members of the new College; and other members of the old Hall, who seem to have been lodged at Staple Hall opposite during the building of the College, may have formed another link between the two. (See the College periodical, *The Brazen Nose*, III, 106-7.)

To the North of Brasenose Hall, which covered the spot where the main gateway of the College stands, Sutton secured Little University Hall also, at the corner of Schools Street and St. Mildred's Lane. This building too had been purchased by the University out of William of Durham's bequest, and with three small Halls adjoining had been annexed by Brasenose before the building of the College began. Soon afterwards, in February 1510, Oriel granted to Sir Richard Sutton for a perpetual rent of thirteen shillings and fourpence, two Halls on the other side of Brasenose, Salesurry<sup>1</sup> and St. Mary's Entry; and before many years were over the College was renting from Oseney two other Halls further to the South.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile the walls of the new quadrangle were rising. In 1509 Bishop Smyth laid the foundation stone, with an inscription which may still be studied over the doorway of Staircase No. 1. The site of six of the old Halls was cleared.<sup>3</sup> By 1516, it seems, the buildings of the College were on their way to completion.<sup>4</sup> A battlemented tower, looking East towards St. Mary's, and containing the Principal's Lodgings, marked the entrance from the street. On the South side of the quadrangle<sup>5</sup> lay the Hall, with its buttresses, its timbered roof, its louvre and its oriel window. Beyond it, in the South-West corner, was the little Chapel, on the first floor upstairs. The kitchen behind, a relic possibly of older buildings, projected into the garden on the South. The Library was on the North side, also upstairs and balancing the Chapel. There may have been from the first some attics or "cock-lofts" in the roof over the first floor.<sup>6</sup> But before the new College was completed in the form which it was to retain for a hundred years, the Bishop chiefly responsible for founding and planning it was dead.

The King's Charter, given at Westminster on the 15th January 1512, provided for a Principal and sixty Scholars,<sup>7</sup> "*Aulæ Regiæ et Collegii de Brasen Nose in Oxonia*," to study sophistry, logic

<sup>1</sup> This name, sometimes given as "Salisbury," may have been originally "*Sale de Syrrae*," a corruption, it is suggested, of "*Salle Désirée*" (*Quat. Mon.* I, 6). But Mr. Hurst boldly suggests that "*sale de Syrrae*" is a corruption of Salisbury (*Oxf. Topography*, 160).

<sup>2</sup> Little St. Edmund Hall on Schools Street, just to the South of St. Mary's Entry, and Haberdasher Hall on the High. But these two Halls were not finally acquired till later.

<sup>3</sup> *Quat. Mon.* (III, 7). Yet it is possible that some fragments of the old buildings were retained.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Allfrey (*Mon.* III, 7) thinks that everything except the tower roof was probably finished by 1516. But Mr. Leadam points out (*Mon.* IX, 151) that the Chapel was not dedicated till 1520.

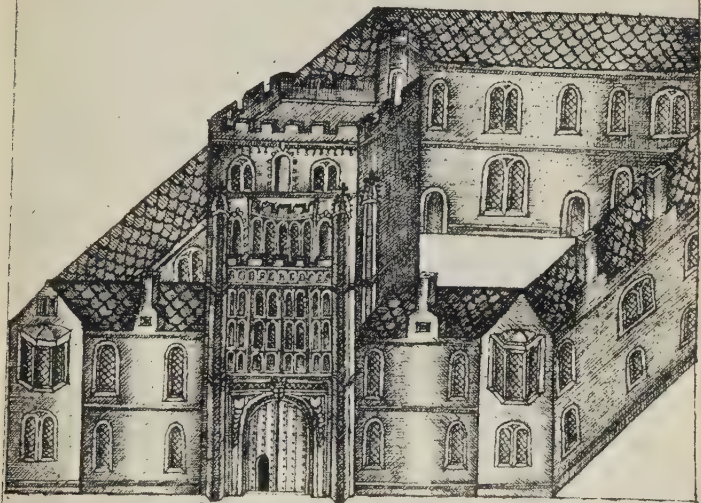
<sup>5</sup> The quadrangle measured 120 ft. x 90 ft.

<sup>6</sup> One is left near the old gateway, probably much in its original state.

<sup>7</sup> "*Ad numerum sexaginta scholarium et ultra*." The name becomes in the English version of the Statutes "The King's Haule and Colledge of Brasennose in Oxford."



COLLEGIUM ÆNEI NASI.



Æneus huius nasus prælucet. ut insula ponto  
 Prommet, aut reliquo nasus in ore mitet.  
 Quæ domus impensis Guilielmi structa Smythæi,  
 Æneo & æterno nomine digna manet.  
 Multis illa quidem turbis conferta studentum.  
 Spes ut sit messis magna futura bonæ.

BRASENOSE COLLEGE  
 (Bereblock)





and philosophy as a training for holy theology. The earliest Statutes seem to have been drafted by Bishop Smyth without Sutton's co-operation, and the power of amending them was conferred on Smyth's executors to the exclusion of Sutton after the Bishop's death.<sup>1</sup> But Fate disposes even of a Bishop's plans. The executors after a few years declined to be responsible any longer. An appeal to Sutton as co-Founder followed. And in February 1522 he issued with some important modifications the revised code for the government of the College. A Principal and twelve "Scholar-Fellows"—the sixty of the Charter remained a pious aspiration—were to study philosophy and theology. They were to be chosen from Bishop Smyth's old dioceses, if possible, with a preference for Lancashire and Cheshire men.<sup>2</sup> The Principal was to be a Doctor or Bachelor of Divinity, or at least a Master of Arts studying Theology.<sup>3</sup> He was to be elected by the Fellows and presented to the Bishop of Lincoln. He was to receive beyond his commons a hundred shillings a year. He must not be away more than a month in term or two months in the Great Vacation.<sup>4</sup> But he might accept benefices which did not interfere with his College duties. In matters of importance he was bound to consult with the six senior Fellows, and for unbecoming conduct he might be removed. But he was entitled to the obedience of his colleagues. He could enter their rooms and summon them as he pleased. And he could with the consent of two of his officers forbid them to enter any layman's house.

A Vice-Principal of the College was appointed, chosen by the Principal and the six senior Fellows. He was expected to reside continuously in College, and he received beyond the usual allowances twenty-six shillings and eightpence as pay.<sup>5</sup> Two Bursars were to guard the College property, at a salary of thirteen and fourpence each. A Reader or Lecturer was to be chosen, to instruct the undergraduates in sophistry and logic, who besides

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Leadam thinks the Bishop may have distrusted Sutton's partiality for the regular clergy. For the Statutes and the early revisions of them see *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford* (vol. II) and *Quat. Mon.* IX. Smyth's will is given by Churton in App. XVI, and Sutton's in App. XXII. The Bishop's Statutes have disappeared, but a MS. book in the possession of the College contains the Statutes as revised by Smyth's executors, and has enabled Mr. Leadam to point out the changes which Sutton introduced.

<sup>2</sup> The old diocese of Coventry and Lichfield extended to Cheshire and Lancashire. Natives of Prestbury and Prescot were preferred to others.

<sup>3</sup> "Ac presbyter triginta annorum aetatem habens" (*Statutes*, Brasenose, 2).

<sup>4</sup> Except on College business or with special leave (*Ib.*, 28).

<sup>5</sup> The original Statutes apparently assigned him only 20s.

other small emoluments received twenty shillings a year. Those who came late to his lectures had to pay a farthing or a half-penny, those who missed them altogether a penny, and those who laughed or talked or interrupted might be fined or corrected with the rod. Undergraduate Fellows must attend disputations in the Parvise, and study sophistry and logic for three years. Then as Bachelors they must study philosophy for three years longer before becoming Masters, unless special leave to break the rule were given.<sup>1</sup> Postgraduate study was carefully provided for. Elaborate rules for disputations were laid down for Bachelors and Masters alike. The former might be asked to teach the Scholars and to lecture to them in Hall. All Fellows who were Regent Masters were expected still to dispute in the Schools. But Brasenose, though she rejected new ideas and clung to the old Scholastic learning, recognised like Magdalen that the old monopoly of the Schools was passing, and that in future most of a student's education would probably be given him within his College walls.

Every Fellow elected was if possible to be a Bachelor in Arts,<sup>2</sup> and was to undergo a year's probation before admission as a true and perpetual Fellow. He must not have a net income of more than four pounds a year,<sup>3</sup> and he must not continue to hold his Fellowship if he received preferment worth more than ten marks. He was disqualified also by taking a benefice outside the University, by entering religion or marrying a wife, by striking the Principal or by yielding to other temptations which students of philosophy were expected to resist. The allowance for commons was twelve pence a week. A Steward of the Hall, a graduate, supervised the purchases of food. There were the usual rules for Latin talk and bible-reading during dinner. There were regulations about clothes. The Bishop disliked peaked shoes. Sutton objected to tippets. Velvet and damask and satin and "chamblet" and costly furs were banned. So were dogs and birds and weapons and games—though card-playing was permitted at Christmas in the Hall. Walking out alone was as usual discouraged, and down to the nineteenth century it remained a College custom for undergraduates to walk through the College portals arm in arm.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The expenses of suppers or dinners on taking degrees were limited to 5s. for Bachelors and 20s. for Masters (*Statutes*, Brasenose, 17).

<sup>2</sup> "Qui in eadem facultate probabiliter determinaverit" (*Ib.*, 9). Elections were made by the Principal and the 6 Senior Fellows, and might take place in any term after due notice, and not only, as in most Colleges, once a year.

<sup>3</sup> Sutton strengthened this provision and introduced the year's probation.

<sup>4</sup> See Buchan's *Brasenose College* (43).

Sutton's rules were detailed and comprehensive. Fellows must not stay away for more than a month in term time—a sufficiently liberal provision—and they must not spend a night in Oxford out of College without leave. They were allowed eight weeks' holiday in the year, but six Fellows at least must always be in residence, except in days of pestilence or plague. Strangers must not be a nuisance and must not pass a night in College. Every Fellow had a bed to himself, but three or four Fellows and Scholars shared a room together, if "the longitude and latitude of the room" allowed.<sup>1</sup> An upper and a lower room between the Hall and Schools Street were reserved for nobles' sons. The gates were closed at nine: after that the Bishop would have locked out absentees altogether: but Sutton was content to punish them with fines.<sup>2</sup> Money payments preserved discipline and rendered costly every species of offence. Bad language and abuse cost eightpence, a blow with the fist three and fourpence, an attack with weapons six and eightpence, and the drawing of blood thirteen and fourpence at least. But an undergraduate's blood was naturally priced lower than a Fellow's. Fellows and Scholars alike might have to take a beating. In sixteenth-century Oxford the rod came into its own.<sup>3</sup> In cases of suspicion innocence had still to be proved by compurgation. This obsolete ritual was maintained and even strengthened by the lawyer who recast the plans of Bishop Smyth.

Sutton made one change of great importance in the Statutes. He gave the six senior Fellows a special position of authority, and practically vested the government of the College, under the Principal, in their hands. One result of this was that in later days the seniors appropriated the surplus income to themselves. An important clause, which might have been made clearer, empowered the Principal with the Vice-Principal's assent, to admit Scholars who were not Fellows, so far as the capacity of the College rooms allowed. Each of these Scholars was to be under the care of a tutor—a noticeable term—who was to be a member of the College and to answer for the Scholar's expenses and fines.<sup>4</sup> They were provided, at the cost of the

<sup>1</sup> Three in the upper storey, four on the lower floor.

<sup>2</sup> Still, for the fourth offence, sleeping out of College without leave meant expulsion (*Statutes*, Brasenose, 29).

<sup>3</sup> "The Statutes of Brasenose," says Dean Rashdall (II, 622-3), "are the first which exhibit the undergraduate completely stripped of all his medieval dignity, tamed and reduced to the school-boy level." At Corpus and at Cardinal College they used the birch up to 20 years of age.

<sup>4</sup> The tutor corresponds to the "creancer" or "creditor" of the Magdalen Statutes, a phrase which Bishop Smyth had used. His duties were financial and disciplinary rather than instructive. (See also *Quat. Mon.* IX, 32-3 and 42-3.)



College, with rooms and lectures, and with the services of the washerwoman, the barber and the cook.<sup>1</sup> Students from the Lichfield diocese, from Prescot and Prestbury in particular, were to have a preference, and some of these Scholars were clearly intended to be poor.<sup>2</sup> But six of them were apparently intended to be young men of family and fortune, to correspond with or replace the six youths of noble birth, whom Bishop Smyth, following Waynflete's example, had admitted as Gentlemen Commoners at their own expense. If Sutton thought it desirable to offer such advantages to rich men's sons, his action would seem to indicate some change in University ideals.<sup>3</sup> These well-born lads were allowed to rank as Scholars. They too had tutors to look after their expenses. They too wore surplices in Chapel. But they enjoyed one privilege denied to their poorer colleagues, a claim to dispense with inconvenient Statutes if the authorities allowed.

Other regulations followed the customary lines. There were clauses about College servants: all Fellows and Scholars received their ministrations free. The Bible-clerk or reader was door-keeper in the Chapel, and had charge of vestments, lights and bells. There were to be as many cooks as the Principal and Bursars thought necessary. The porter was to act as barber, but his spare time was at the Principal's command. There were careful rules for borrowing books, and a fine of twelve pence for any careless reader in the Library who did not close the windows or the books he used. There were rules for managing the College properties, for inspection, audit and accounts. There were rules for the Bishop of Lincoln's visitations, for inquiries into conduct, and for a reduction in the number of Fellows, if it were really needed, but not merely to increase the good living of those who remained. Even if other Colleges fell into such temptations, Brasenose Fellows were expected to avoid them, having before their eyes the fear of God. The final clause, which forbade the adoption of new Statutes in a different sense, ended with one of those personal touches which were apt to grow into meaningless

<sup>1</sup> But nothing is said here—in Cap. VIII of the *Statutes*—about commons. In Cap. XVII it seems to be assumed that Scholars as well as Fellows received them. But the point is not quite clear; and the poor Scholars mentioned in the *Valor* of 1547 appear to have gone without (*Quat. Mon.* IX, 161-2 and 206), if the facts there stated are accurate and complete.

<sup>2</sup> An income of 10 marks disqualified for election, and a benefice of 12 marks yearly put an end to their connection with the College.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Leadam (*Ib.*, 33) thinks that the rich men's sons were maintained like the poorer scholars at the expense of the College, and the *Statutes* (12) certainly speak of their being admitted in the same way—"modo praedicto,"

traditions in Oxford life. A certain Roland Messynger,<sup>1</sup> one of the earliest College Bursars, a high-handed and litigious pluralist whom Sutton had evidently learned to distrust, was prohibited from joining or staying in the College, and for centuries after his memory was forgotten each newly-elected Fellow swore to keep him out.

As time went on the Statutes required interpretation. The College Visitors, Bishops of Lincoln, were appealed to for advice. Elizabethan prelates found it necessary to insist on the payment of battels, and to remind the Fellows that College endowments were not intended for men to whom preferments fell. Bishop Barlow<sup>2</sup> in the days of James I was called on to distinguish between noxious and innocuous games. He allowed a tennis-court,<sup>3</sup> as bodily exercise had its value. "Bowes and braynes, if long and deeply bent, will quickly weaken and cracke." The same Bishop again required the College to talk Latin, an obligation they were tempted to forget. Questions arose in regard to discipline, questions also in regard to leave and fines and payments, which decrees by the Principal and Fellows from time to time resolved.<sup>4</sup> But as a whole the Statutes seem to have fulfilled their purpose, and to have roused less controversy than some other College codes. Old-fashioned as in part its objects might be, compared with the broader ideas of Wolsey or of Fox, the little College grew and quickly prospered, to the praise of God and the glorious Virgin and its two patron Saints, St. Hugh and St. Chad.<sup>5</sup>

Basset's Fee, the first property bought by Bishop Smyth for the endowment of his College, consisted, it seems, of a number of small quit-rents paid annually at the Hundred Court of Northgate outside the town.<sup>6</sup> But the great Priory of Cold Norton in Oxfordshire, with lands in one and twenty parishes, bought by the Bishop in 1513, was a more important acquisition.

<sup>1</sup> Or Messenger. Mr. Leadam's Monograph throws light on his career. The clause was sworn to, with the others, down to the time of the first Universities' Commission. (See also Boase, *Register*, I, 39.)

<sup>2</sup> Or Barlowe.

<sup>3</sup> Sphaeristerium (*Statutes*, Brasenose, 73). But Mr. Wakeling thinks it was never built (*Quat. Mon.* XI, 19).

<sup>4</sup> *Statutes*, Brasenose (86 sq.).

<sup>5</sup> Patrons respectively of Lincoln and of Lichfield. St. Michael the Archangel, who is associated with them in the Preface to the Statutes, has perhaps a less distinctive claim.

<sup>6</sup> The lord of the manor of Headington, from early times, held this Court and took the profits. One of these quit-rents may have been for a meadow in Bradmore, which probably belonged to Godstow. Here, as so often, I owe much to Mr. Salter's suggestions.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Leadam (*Quat. Mon.* IX, 54 sq.) gives the history of this property in detail.

Incidentally it supplied a country-house, where the Fellows could take refuge from the plague. Sutton, besides the Halls which he secured in Schools Street, gave lands in Leicestershire, Oxfordshire and Essex, and the White Hart Inn in the Strand, where Fellows travelling to London on College business stayed. Mrs. Morley, perhaps a connection of Sutton's, and the widow of a trader who dwelt in a Westminster tavern, gave lands at Faringdon, which brought with them litigation and chicanery. John Cockes, a wool-merchant, gave six score pounds and the Red Lion at Wycombe, an Inn which, unhappily, had ceased to pay. Sir John Port gave the Godstow garden in Schools Street, to the South of Little St. Edmund Hall, and funds provided by his family enabled the College later on to buy the house and site of St. Mary's College.<sup>1</sup> From the estate of a Warden of New College came lands at Marston and elsewhere. Gifts of money were not infrequent: Brasenose appealed to Conservative opinion. Within twenty years of its foundation the College received thirty-one properties large or small.

As the sixteenth century proceeded, other gifts not less valuable flowed in. John Claymond, President of Corpus, generously gave funds to increase the Scholarships of Brasenose. Other Scholarships came from other quarters. Lord Mordaunt, an Elizabethan noble with forbidding features, founded three. Queen Elizabeth founded six and Dean Nowell seven, chiefly in connection with Middleton in Lancashire. The Queen herself, at the Dean's instigation and expense, refounded the Middleton Free School, and made the College Governors of it. In 1572 Richard Harpur established a Greek Lecture, to be supported by the College: old prejudices were slowly passing away. Mrs. Frankland, the daughter of Robert Trapps, the great London goldsmith, with whom Thomas Cromwell had large dealings, and some of whose money went to Lincoln College, gave besides other lands the Red Lion and certain tenements in Kensington. They were worth seven pounds yearly in 1586; they are worth over three thousand yearly to-day.<sup>2</sup> One new Fellow, four new undergraduate Scholars, and some increase of commons and of stipends came from her bequest. The seventeenth century showed itself as liberal. A Hebrew Lecture was provided. Principal Radcliffe, even in days of Civil War, left large sums for College buildings. A Duchess of Somerset after the Restoration endowed a number of Somerset Scholars, to be chosen from Manchester, Marlborough and Hereford Schools. And among other valuable legacies and donations the Hulme bequest

<sup>1</sup> In 1580.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 39 to 53, Kensington High Street, described as "the Royal Street" in an early 14th century deed.



of lands in Lancashire, to help four of the poorest Brasenose Bachelors of Arts, swelled, to an extent which public policy at last refused to sanction, the revenues and resources of the College.<sup>1</sup>

With these endowments Brasenose soon made way. The exact number of Fellows at the start is doubtful. But there were fourteen besides the Principal in 1547.<sup>2</sup> The first Principal, Matthew Smyth, was apparently a shrewd and cautious ruler. There was some little trouble with Corpus, and attacks upon the workmen there. There was more serious cause for anxiety when the King repudiated the Pope's supremacy. But Matthew Smyth and eight Fellows of Brasenose, in spite of their Conservative traditions, accepted the decree. There was still more cause for anxiety when Parliament began to vest Colleges and Chantries in the Crown. In 1547 Brasenose felt bound, in yielding a statement of its revenues, to point out that its expenditure exceeded its receipts. But the revenues amounted to nearly two hundred pounds,<sup>3</sup> considerably more than they had been twelve years before. And gradually, though the College had to contribute at times to the King's necessities,<sup>4</sup> and was compelled by an Act of Edward VI to surrender thirteen pounds a year to the Crown,<sup>5</sup> the fear of confiscation passed away. One member of the College had a father involved in the Pilgrimage of Grace. Another thrust his opinions upon Cranmer at the stake.<sup>6</sup> Another was imprisoned later for corresponding with Mary, Queen of Scots. Others later still reinforced the Jesuits

<sup>1</sup> Details of these and other gifts and College properties are carefully set out in *Quat. Monographs* IV, VI and IX.

<sup>2</sup> This was above the average of the previous twenty years (*Quat. Mon.* IX, 149). The *Valor* of 1547, printed in *Monograph* IX (App. II), together with the Bursars' Roll of 1545-6 on which it is founded, is not in its statements of numbers easy to follow. On p. 188 we read of 14 Fellows, 5 Scholars and 5 servants. On p. 204 we hear of 14 Fellows, 7 Scholars and 8 servants. On p. 206 we are told of 60 "pore Scholers and other," who by old custom have free rooms and service: nothing is said about commons. But there were apparently only 8 poor Scholars in 1566 (*Colls. of Oxford*, 272), and the first reference to them in the College Register is in 1564 (*Mon.* X, 30-1). Can the 60 poor Scholars of the *Valor* be only a reminiscence of the 60 Scholars of the Foundation Charter? At the end of the *Valor* is the statement—"Numerus personarum Studentium et Ministrantium xxix." Mr. Leadam interprets "Studentes" as "the Governing Body and the Scholars on the Foundation" (*Mon.* IX, 162): but the phrase is not clear. The numbers of the College are put at about 70 in 1552 (*Colls. of Oxford*, 272).

<sup>3</sup> £198 (*Mon.* IX, 162).

<sup>4</sup> But not very much. There was a rather puzzling payment of 49s. in 1523, and a contribution of £8 to the forced loan of 1545 (*Mon.* IX, 167-71).

<sup>5</sup> On account of Bishop Smyth's chantry at Lincoln.

<sup>6</sup> William Elye. One story says that he refused to take the Archbishop's hand.



and suffered death for the old religion. There were expulsions from Brasenose, possibly on account of religion, in the days of Cardinal Pole. But on the whole John Hawarden, the second Principal, steered his College without calamity through the perilous years from 1548 to 1565, and he must have acquiesced, willingly or unwillingly, in a good many changes in the College Chapel.

Under Blanchard, the third Principal, numbers increased, and benefactions of value again flowed in. We hear of thirty-one graduates, besides the Principal, in 1566, with fifty-seven undergraduates, eight poor Scholars and five matriculated servants.<sup>1</sup> Principal Harris had a longer reign than Blanchard, and he also had a hotter temper, which he vented on the Vice-Chancellor when he took offence. But he played a leading part in the welcome given to Queen Elizabeth in 1592, and ran up an enormous bill for the College. Even in Elizabethan days, it seems, an undergraduate at Brasenose might find himself practically without food or clothes,<sup>2</sup> though others had their own body-servants to attend them. Harris' reign ended in a long struggle with Sir Edmund Hoby, who tried to withhold rent due to the College, but was forced to yield by "clergy clamours," and perhaps by the inherent weakness of his case. Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, who stood by the College through that little controversy, was for years a liberal benefactor both of Brasenose and of Middleton School. He was elected Principal in 1595. But he held the post only three months, and the election could have been little more than a compliment, for the Dean was at the lowest computation well over eighty at the time.

Nowell, a conspicuous Reformer, had many titles to respect. In the days of Henry VIII he was a Fellow of Brasenose and Master of Westminster School. In 1553 he was elected to the House of Commons, but as a Westminster Prebendary was refused admission. Exiled under Mary—Bonner, seeing him catch fish in the Thames, had grimly threatened to catch him—Nowell was made Dean of St. Paul's by Elizabeth, and he became the author of the new Church Catechism and one of the leading Protestant divines. Elizabeth, who once hectorred him in the middle of a sermon, must have enjoyed rebuking him for his attachment to images, when he placed a richly illuminated

<sup>1</sup> *Colleges of Oxford* (272). Servants on the foundation, like the manciple and porter, are often found matriculating and drawing commons (*Mon.* XI, 21). In 1578, 70 undergraduates matriculated, varying in age from 12 to 24. In 1589 there were boys of 10 and even of 9 (*Mon.* X, 34-5). But most of course were older.

<sup>2</sup> Unless he lied. See the Batt letters quoted by Mr. Jeffery (*Mon.* X, 13).

prayer-book with pictures of the Saints and martyrs in her seat. The Dean was an able scholar, preacher, controversialist, and a generous friend of education. Incidentally he was credited with inventing bottled beer.<sup>1</sup> He was known also as a devoted angler—there are fishing-hooks beside him in his picture in the College Hall. Izaak Walton declared that he owed to his angling and his temperance the undimmed eyes and the unweakened faculties which marked him even at the age of ninety-five. "I wish the like to all that imitate him and love the memory of so good a man."<sup>2</sup>

Principal Radcliffe, whose long reign covered a large part of the seventeenth century, spent his life in the College and proved a valuable friend. Elected in 1614, though King James had suggested another candidate, he held his post for four and thirty years. He found the numbers surprisingly high for the space at the College's disposal, dangerously high considering the risks of overcrowding and the constant liability to plague. The Buttery book for 1612 accounts for a hundred and thirty-three Commoners and a total of two hundred persons.<sup>3</sup> Distinctions of grade had grown up already. The Fellow Commoners<sup>4</sup> might dine with the Fellows, have separate rooms and feather beds, fine clothes, fine linen and powder for their hair. Their tutors had often, it seems, to pay for the damage which they did. The poorer Commoners and battlers had to do without these luxuries. The battler felt the real pinch of poverty. He had sometimes to act as a servitor and to put up with "a gound 2nd. hand."<sup>5</sup> Each tutor had his own little company of pupils, and when the Court came to Oxford and taught the scholars there "debauchery," his hands must have been full. Brasenose was one of the prosperous Colleges, but with rising prices and mismanagement it fell into debt. Before the Civil War began it is said to have owed its tradesmen two thousand pounds, and the political revolution carried ruin in its train. Laud found other matters to complain of. He did

<sup>1</sup> By leaving a bottle of ale buried in the ground, where he found it after some time "not a bottle but a gun, such the sound of it when opened." (Churton's *Life of Nowell*, 80-1, and Fuller's *Worthies*, ed. 1840, II, 205.)

<sup>2</sup> *The Compleat Angler*, Chap. I (p. 58 of the illustrated ed. of 1897). See also Churton's *Life of Nowell*, and other references in *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> *Quat. Mon.* (XI, 7). It is no wonder that the Matriculations in that year were only 3 (Buchan, *Brasenose*, App. G.). Some were lodged in the Halls owned by the College on the other side of Schools Street. Twyne's figures for 1612 are still higher, though incomplete. He speaks of 145 Commoners (*MS. XXI*, 514). But I think his figures are sometimes too high.

<sup>4</sup> Or Gentlemen Commoners.

<sup>5</sup> For these and other interesting details see *Mon.* XI (16-17 and *passim*).

not like Bishop Williams of Lincoln, the Visitor. He did not like the sermons preached by Brasenose men. He did not like the "strong and unruly Argument" drawn from the College cellar. He did not like the temper which produced the war.

The war brought with it a recourse to bows and arrows—poor weapons to face Cromwell's Ironsides with.<sup>1</sup> It brought also Royal demands for money, with a vain promise of interest at eight per cent. The College found five hundred pounds for the King. Its plate was sent to the Mint in New Inn Hall.<sup>2</sup> Its tower was stored with food, in case of siege. Its members toiled at the defences in Christ Church Mead—roused by a drummer who went round the Colleges at dawn. Strangers, courtiers, soldiers, Life Guards, serving-men were quartered in the College. Scholars and Commoners naturally fell off.<sup>3</sup> Only one or two undergraduates were admitted in the two years 1644-45.<sup>4</sup> In 1646 the College finances showed a serious deficit. Yet Brasenose men found courage for long to resist the Parliamentary Visitation, and in that struggle Dr. Radcliffe played a conspicuous part. In January 1648 he was expelled from his post. But he died in his Lodgings over the Gateway with the keys of the Treasury still in his power. And though his long reign ended in disaster and his methods of business were open to reproach, his benefactions silenced his detractors and for generations kept his memory green.<sup>5</sup>

Daniel Greenwood was appointed Principal by the Parliamentary Visitors after a curious scene in the College Hall. But six of the Fellows—there were only seven at the time in Oxford—took counsel with Sheldon at All Souls and secretly elected Thomas Yate. In the end, out of sixteen Fellows on the books, some thirteen retired or were expelled, and several undergraduates suffered the same fate.<sup>6</sup> Greenwood, for all his "gossop-

<sup>1</sup> But they were among the weapons which the Junior Bursar of Brasenose had to supervise (*Quat. Mon.* XI, 31).

<sup>2</sup> But the fine old chalices of Bishop Smyth, dating from 1498, were kept and are still used. Notes on the plate signed by Radcliffe are in the College archives.

<sup>3</sup> The Scholars fell from 15 in 1641 to 3 in 1644, the Commoners from 42 to 6 (*Mon.* XI, 39).

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Buchan's List of Matriculations (*Appendix G.*) gives two in 1644 and none in 1645. Mr. Wakeling (*Mon.* XI, 39) gives only one admission of an undergraduate in 1644.

<sup>5</sup> Radcliffe was accused by Wood of "playing the knave" with College property, and his dealings with leases are not easy to explain. But Mr. Wakeling deals fully with the charge (*Quat. Mon.* XI, 61-4). One little habit attributed to Radcliffe has not been unknown in Oxford later. He was apt to misplace words—"a poor man will buy a dagger," i.e. die a beggar. Better examples could perhaps be given.

<sup>6</sup> *Mon.* XI (53). Compare Prof. Burrows' Table (*Register*, 481-2).



ping conventicles," proved an able and respected Head. Cromwell made him Vice-Chancellor and bore witness to his integrity. The College finances improved. The numbers went up. The new buildings were laid out. Houghton, the Bursar, though representing the old order, found it quite possible to work with the new Principal. Even while the Commonwealth lasted, the Royal Arms were put up over a back gate. When the Restoration came and the Royalists returned, Yate stepped quietly into Greenwood's place. But it is pleasant to note that he tried to secure an asylum for his predecessor in the College. The Restoration brought with it a readiness for compromise, conviviality, good living. Wood mentions one occasion when the Proctors "drank out in wine at dinner at Brasenose the sum of £80." Brasenose men were found dancing at the Mitre with a citizen's daughter "in boy's apparel." A baby was left in the College quadrangle and a Bachelor of Arts carried it off under his gown.<sup>1</sup> Undergraduates had to swear to be careful of furniture, crockery and windows. Revenues rose.<sup>2</sup> Caution-money was re-established—eight pounds for a Gentleman Commoner, six pounds and four pounds for lesser men. The gifts of Gentlemen Commoners helped to replenish the College store of plate. Degree fees were substituted for the old entertainments. Pepys visited the College and noted in the cellar the gigantic hand-measurements of the Child of Hale.<sup>3</sup> Yate, who loved to work at College records, "*desideratissimus senex Collegii pater et patronus*," died in the stirring year 1681, bequeathing his famous ledger to the College. We know little of Principal Meare who took his place. Brasenose Tories clung to King James as long as possible, but only one Fellow refused the oath to King William. The College was happy in having no history in those difficult and uncertain days.

Brasenose makes no claim to a long line of prelates or of judges, though Richard Barnes was a notable Elizabethan Bishop, and Thomas Egerton, a great Elizabethan lawyer, became Lord Chancellor under James I. Barnes found his church at Durham an Augean Stable, "whose stink is grievous

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Lodge refuses to attribute his action either to an uneasy conscience or to anatomical designs (*Mon.* XII, 14).

<sup>2</sup> One estimate puts them at £600 in 1680. But this is only what Gutch, perhaps erroneously, made them in 1612. In 1665 the College paid Hearth-money on 65 hearths, while New College had only 53. For general rating purposes it stood eighth on the list of Colleges, between Merton and St. John's, about 1681 (*Quat. Mon.* XII, 9).

<sup>3</sup> He calls him the "Child of Hales." This famous Lancashire giant of James I's time visited Brasenose, and the shape of his hand was cut upon a stone in the College cellar. (See *Pepys' Diary*, ed. by M. Bright, V, 299-300.)



in the nose of God and man." Ellesmere, a recipient of Ben Jonson's praises, and an early friend to Francis Bacon, was Chancellor of the University also for six or seven years. But other celebrities were certainly not wanting, and no College has done more than Brasenose to keep a record of its sons.<sup>1</sup> John Foxe, the Martyrologist, has been claimed, perhaps on insufficient authority, as a member of the College.<sup>2</sup> Nowell was eminent among Reformers. Philemon Holland, distinguished as a translator, started probably at Brasenose, if he fell away to Cambridge afterwards. Sir Henry Savile with his learning and his fine complexion, and his brother, Sir John, who found fame as antiquarian and lawyer, were both Brasenose men in early Elizabethan days. Richard Barnfield, a poet of rare sweetness, rusticated, it seems, for a time in boyhood, wrote lyrics which the world mistook for Shakespeare's. Robert Burton, his contemporary, the "fantastic old great man" whom Charles Lamb loved, by whom Melancholy was "Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically, opened and cut up,"<sup>3</sup> was said in his youth to be a very merry person. He belonged to Christ Church in his later years. A Bishop has vouched for the tradition that Burton, when he wished to laugh "profusely," would go to Folly Bridge and listen to the bargees swearing in the stream.

<sup>1</sup> The materials for the College history are ample. Besides the *Statutes* published in 1853, the Statutes and excerpts printed in 1772-73, the information given by Wood (*Colleges*), Ingram (*Memorials*), Foster (*Oxford Men and their Colleges*), Churton (*Lives of Smyth, Sutton and Nowell*) and others, recent works like the *Brasenose College Register, 1509-1909*, which has quite eclipsed the earlier Registers, Mr. Madan's article in *The Colleges of Oxford*, Mr. Buchan's history of *Brasenose College*, and above all the valuable volumes of *Brasenose Quatercentenary Monographs*—containing in Monograph VIII a list of books since 1710 relating to the subject—have done justice to the College and its story. I have to thank the College authorities and in particular the Bursar for allowing me to see the College muniments and accounts—the Foundation Charter and the early MS. Statutes revised by Smyth's executors, the Day Books, which are full of interesting details, the Bursars' Rolls, which, however, give no account of the fines which formed so important a part of the emoluments of the senior Fellows, the Buttery Books and admissions—signatures of Fellows on admission are preserved from 1556—the 17th century Building Accounts, the Vice-Principal's Register—an important record of College history—Principal Yate's great book of transcripts of deeds, Principal Heberden's collection of notes, and Mr. Hurst's valuable and voluminous Calendar of College muniments. I have also to thank Mr. Jeffery and Mr. Coxhill—not to speak of Mr. Madan—for much help kindly given.

<sup>2</sup> Foxe's name is not in the College books. He seems to have been a pupil of Hawarden of B.N.C. But his connection with Magdalen is much better established.

<sup>3</sup> See the full title of Burton's famous book. And for some peculiarities of the 5th edition see *Bodl. Quart. Record* (II, 101).

And a greater than any Bishop, Dr. Johnson, has left it on record that Burton was the only author who ever took him out of bed two hours before he meant to rise.

Country Squires sent their sons to Brasenose. The Cromwells were among them, but not the greatest bearer of the name.<sup>1</sup> Laurence Washington, kinsman of an even greater rebel, has left his seal with its stars and stripes among the College records. He was admitted in 1619, but he owed money to the College when he left. Robert Holborne was counsel for Hampden in the Ship-Money case. Richard Norton, a "notorious rebel," was a companion in arms of Cromwell and Ludlow. The Great Protector consulted him about his own "two little wenches,"<sup>2</sup> and in 1653 he served on the Council of State. Philip Nye, a divine "of uncommon depth," though he did "wear a tail upon his throat," helped to negotiate the Solemn League and Covenant, and fought for more toleration than the Presbyterians would allow. William Erbery, a fiercer sectary, carried to strange lengths the voluntary system, and forced his theological rivals to hold a disputation in St. Mary's Church. Sir William Petty, an illustrious outsider, was Vice-Principal of the College in 1651, put in when "Loyal persons" were put out. He taught mathematics and anatomy in Oxford. He "cut up doggs" and "pickled" bodies, and won a great reputation among the students by restoring to life a young woman who had been hanged. Elias Ashmole, virtuoso, astrologer, collector, whose twelve waggon-loads of treasures founded the Ashmolean in later days, joined the College in 1644. He was then already a Commissioner of Excise, and he was bracketed with the Duchess of Buckingham—so mixed was then the society living in the College—for failure to pay his battels to the Bursar. Thomas Frankland, "impostor and annalist," Proctor in 1662, Vice-Principal in 1664, passed in turn as theologian, doctor and historian, forged his diploma as an Oxford M.D., and ended his singular career in gaol. Other students of medicine belonged to the Royal Society or the College of Physicians. Jeremy Taylor took his Doctor's degree from Brasenose, but he had closer ties with Cambridge and All Souls.<sup>3</sup> Carte, the historian, who joined University College at the age of twelve, came on to Brasenose a year later.<sup>4</sup> George Clarke took his degree there

<sup>1</sup> But in the 16th century the Cromwells had also a close connection with St. John's. (See Hutton, *S. John Baptist College*, 86-7.)

<sup>2</sup> Before the days of the Protectorate (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letter LVI). Mr. Buchan has a pleasant chapter (VII) on the College and its famous men. See also the College Register, the *Quatercentenary Monographs* and *D.N.B.*, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> See the *Brasenose College Register*, 1509-1909 (152).

<sup>4</sup> *Quat. Mon.* (XII, 28-9).

in 1679, before he became an All Souls Fellow, and in after years he contributed a famous statue to the College Quadrangle.<sup>1</sup> John Robinson, a humble Bachelor of Arts in 1673, helped forty years later to negotiate a discreditable treaty,<sup>2</sup> and was the last Bishop to hold Cabinet office. And other sons of Brasenose did credit to their College and served their country or their turn in public life.

The College must soon have become too large for the accommodation provided. But it was not for a hundred years, till the days of Principal Radcliffe, that any substantial change in the buildings was made. Radcliffe, however, had great designs of improvement. He introduced the line of dormer windows which gave fresh space and charm to the old quadrangle. He added an oriel window to the old Lodgings, where a beautiful room remains, as well as a "flowring wainscot," hangings, closets, stairs. And his will provided funds which enabled the Fellows to begin a definite extension of the College to the South. In 1656 Little St. Edmund Hall was finally acquired, and on its site a new Chapel arose, connected with the old quadrangle by a cloister walk. Over this cloister, on the East side of the new Quadrangle, a new Library was built. The College woods furnished timber. St. Mary's College in New Inn Hall Street contributed materials for the builder's use. The Bursar laid out the money and superintended the accounts.<sup>3</sup> But Jackson, the builder, must have been a remarkable man; and if, as seems probable, the Jackson of the Brasenose buildings was the Jackson largely or principally responsible for St. Mary's porch and for Laud's buildings at St. John's, Oxford owes him a memorable debt. In 1663 the new Library was opened: the Great Cloister underneath it has since been filled in with College rooms. In 1666 the new Chapel was consecrated, with the Little Cloister on its Northern side. In these Cloisters the members of the College were buried, and under the present Ante-Chapel was the drainage-pit:—arrangements which, coupled with insanitary streets and constant overcrowding, may help to account for the frequency of small-pox and the early death of many of the Fellows. The old Chapel and Library were turned to other uses.<sup>4</sup> Rents were increasing, but comfort was increasing

<sup>1</sup> The well-known Cain and Abel, given in 1727.    <sup>2</sup> At Utrecht.

<sup>3</sup> See *The Book of Accounts for the New Buildings* in the College archives, and Mr. Allfrey's interesting Monograph (*Quat. Mon.* III), to which I am constantly indebted. John Jackson, the overseer of the works, was responsible to the Bursar. On Jackson's other work in Oxford see Wood's *Life* (I, 320, and IV, 54-7 and 62-6).

<sup>4</sup> Converted into rooms. The old Chapel is now the Senior Common Room. The Common Room before 1707 was on the West side of the old quadrangle (*Quat. Mon.* III, 37).





BRASENOSE COLLEGE  
(Loggan)





also, since the days when Dean Nowell had boarded over the "dampeshe and unholosome" rooms on the ground floor.

The new Chapel proved to be a curious combination of Gothic and Classical features, of Gothic forms and Classical proportions, of Gothic tracery and fan vaulting with Renaissance ornaments of fruit and flowers. Gothic traditions lingered on in Oxford much longer than elsewhere. The school of Inigo Jones was now in the ascendant, but the old tradition still influenced Oxford builders. The master craftsman of mediæval days was disappearing; the architect had not yet definitely taken his place; and at Brasenose the overseer of the works had to use, and he used with great ability, such materials as came to hand. A fine old hammer-beam roof was brought over from St. Mary's College, and a new plaster ceiling seems to have been fitted with great ingenuity into that.<sup>1</sup> The whole effect in spite of some extravagances was dignified and striking, and later changes have not lessened that result. Of the Library in the seventeenth century we know little. Its present ceiling is of later date. But Brasenose Library is said to have been the last in England to dispense with chains and to have its books set free. Those books, which began with a legacy given before the College was built, included also Bishop Smyth's collection, books by John Longland, a later occupant of his See, a notable gift from Dr. Henry Mason in the reign of James I, and other valuable additions in later days. A tenth-century Terence, once Cardinal Bembo's, is among the Library treasures. So is an Aristotle—*De Anima*—from the first Oxford Press, and an illuminated missal with a miniature of Sutton which bears little resemblance to his portrait in the Hall.

Before the close of the sixteenth century the Hall was altered. A bay window on the South was added. The roof was restored or renewed;<sup>2</sup> and both there and in other rooms new panelling was introduced. The glass in the North bay showed portraits of both Smyth and Sutton, for comparison or contrast with their pictures on the wall. Nowell, Egerton and Mrs. Frankland hang not far away, Lord Mordaunt and Burton, with peculiar expressions, and the two Principals Radcliffe and Yate.<sup>3</sup> It was not till 1769 that King Alfred was discovered to be among the Founders of the College, and that his portrait required a place among the rest. Before the end of the seventeenth century

<sup>1</sup> On the Chapel roof see Mr. Allfrey's *Monograph* (27-9), and on the Chapel generally consult Mr. Vallance's book, *Old Colleges of Oxford*.

<sup>2</sup> But the plaster ceiling is later.

<sup>3</sup> The portrait of Lady Margaret, Henry VII's mother, in the Common Room, is earlier than any portrait in the Hall, and was probably painted about 1509 (*Mon.* VII, by Dr. A. J. Butler, 23-5).

the Principal's Lodgings had been much improved, and the upper storey in the old quadrangle completed. A screen of stonework closed the new quadrangle on the West. A pleasant garden with a maze and clipped hedges occupied the centre of the older court. The eighteenth century was destined to bring further changes and many unachieved designs. But the Brasenose of King William's day, which showed no excessive reverence for King William, was still a little College based on Schools Street, extending the outline of its new court to the South, but with no dignified or graceful front upon the High Street to rival the grace and dignity of the old court within.

Before the buildings of Brasenose were finished, the walls of Corpus had begun to rise. Its Founder had first planned to build a house in Oxford where the monks of St. Swithin's, Winchester, should be trained. But tradition says that his friend Bishop Oldham of Exeter persuaded him to establish a College for the increase of learning instead. A devoted churchman of the old school, who could yet appreciate the liberal learning of the new, Richard Fox had already played a great part in Oxford and in English public life. His device, the pelican feeding her young,<sup>1</sup> was not chosen without reason. He had planned, it seems, for a long while to found an institution for the training of young men. As a boy he was probably a student at Magdalen.<sup>2</sup> Wood thought that he went on to Cambridge, when driven by the plague from Oxford, and he was certainly well known at Cambridge later. But Fox was ambitious. He held it sacrilege for a man to linger at any University too long. He passed to Paris and may have taken his degree there. He met and won the confidence of Henry of Richmond. And after Bosworth, where he led the prayers of thanksgiving, he took a leading place in Henry's Council as Bishop, Secretary of State and Privy Seal. He became executor to Henry VII and to the Lady Margaret. He baptized Henry VIII. As Bishop of Durham he negotiated the fateful Scottish marriage, which was to seat a Stuart on the English throne. As Bishop of Winchester, then a richer See than Durham, his influence in educational matters rapidly increased. He became Chancellor of Cambridge and Master of Pembroke College. He helped Fisher to settle the foundation of Lady Margaret's College of St. John's. At Oxford he became Visitor of New College and

<sup>1</sup> It is found in the wood-work at Durham Castle, dated 1499. Bishop Fisher speaks of Fox's devotion to the Sacrament of the Eucharist as illustrated by the name which he gave to his College. (Fowler's *History of Corpus Christi College*, 25.)

<sup>2</sup> But there is no official proof of this.

Magdalen. He drew up new Statutes for Balliol. He contributed largely to the restoration of St. Mary's Church. He proved a generous benefactor at Winchester, Glastonbury, Grantham and elsewhere. He drew Wolsey into the public service, and as his years advanced and his eyesight failed him, he was probably ready enough to pass on the burdens of office to his successor.

"A man made old to teach the worth of age,  
Patriarke-like, and grave in all designes,  
One that had finish't a long pilgrimage." <sup>1</sup>

Fox may well have felt little jealousy of Wolsey, and have been content to spend in acts of devotion and munificence the closing years of his successful life.<sup>2</sup>

Fox and his friends provided so well for the endowment of his College as to make it largely independent of benefactions in a later age. Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter and Founder of the famous Grammar School at Manchester, who had once been chaplain to the Lady Margaret, contributed no less than four thousand pounds. William Frost, the Founder's steward, bestowed a valuable manor. The first two Presidents, John Claymond and Robert Morwent, both gave lands in the neighbourhood of Oxford; and other benefactions followed as the years went on. The site consisted of parcels of land bought, from Merton, Godstow and St. Frideswide's,<sup>3</sup> with several tenements in bad repair. Corner Hall, close to Canterbury College, the North-West corner of the Merton property, with Nevill's Inn to the South and Bachelors' Garden stretching away to the Town Wall, were cut out of the Merton lands, by an arrangement which produced severe criticism from Archbishop Warham. The negotiations for this transfer probably began before 1513.<sup>4</sup> Three smaller plots, Urban Hall in the

<sup>1</sup> See Thomas Storer's stanzas on *The Life and Death of Thomas Wolsey Cardinall* (Pt. I, 33-6). They are quoted in Dr. Fowler's smaller history (10).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Fowler has dealt fully with Fox's life in his two histories of Corpus and in *D.N.B.* A manuscript life by Fulman (*MSS.* vol. IX) is in the College Library, and the Corpus MS. CCLXXX (ff. 169 and 188-93) contains several short sketches, attributed to President Greenway. See also the valuable Life prefixed by Mr. E. C. Batten to his *Register of Richard Fox*.

<sup>3</sup> Wood describes the situation accurately (*Colleges*, 389-90).

<sup>4</sup> Between January and May, 1513, £120 was paid to "Mr. Walter Morwent of Marton College," who had been Principal of Corner Hall, no doubt by Fox and for the benefit of Merton. The money passed through Claymond's hands. The building was begun, it seems, in 1512. But on June 30, 1513, as a long and interesting indenture of that date in the College archives proves, Fox was still intending to transfer it to St. Swithin's



North-East corner, Beke's Inn and Nun Hall on the Western side, were ceded formally by St. Frideswide's and by Godstow in the early months of 1517.<sup>1</sup> But long before the purchase of the land was completed Fox had secured leave to begin building his College, and it seems that there were quarrels between Brasenose men and the workmen at Corpus as early as 1512. The front quadrangle may have been ready in part at any rate for occupation before the end of 1517. The Bishop's Charter of Foundation was signed on the 1st March in that year. The King's Patent was dated the 26th November of the year before.<sup>2</sup> Claymond as President and Morwent as Vice-President came over from Magdalen with several of their colleagues, and took possession of the new College. The Statutes issued about the same time by the Founder were revised by him a few months before his death.

The Statutes of Corpus marked a new departure which all lovers of the New Learning approved. Fox's "bee-hive," as he called it, was to be no monkish College after all, but a place of liberal education, wider than any known in Oxford yet. Theology still held the first rank in the Founder's estimation. But it was to be theology based on a study of the ancient Fathers, Jerome, Augustine, Origen and Ambrose, not on mediæval teachers of inferior learning and of later date. And besides a Public Lecturer in theology, there were to be Lecturers or Professors in Greek and Latin, to whose teaching the busy bees of the whole University might swarm.<sup>3</sup> Greek had at last entered into its own. Erasmus declared that the new foundation would prove "one of the chief glories of Britain," would draw to Oxford more scholars than had ever been drawn to Rome. The Greek Lecturer was to lecture daily on grammar and rhetoric and the great Greek authors. Euripides and Sophocles, Aristophanes and Hesiod, Demosthenes, Thucydides, Aristotle and Plutarch were among those mentioned: Homer and Herodotus, Plato and Æschylus were not. All Fellows

Priory at Winchester for a small monkish College. Merton also asked a rent of £4 6s. 8d. for the land given up. (See Chap. III of Dr. Fowler's larger *History*.)

<sup>1</sup> See the plan from the Fulman MSS. (vol. X, 106-7) which Dr. Fowler reproduces (*History*, 69), and Hurst's *Oxford Topography* (200-1). The boundaries of Nevill's Inn are a little uncertain, but included what is now the President's garden. The old Bachelors' Garden, it seems, corresponds with the present College Garden. The ancient conveyances are preserved in the archives.

<sup>2</sup> There seems to have been an earlier License of March, 1512, which is referred to in the indenture of June 30, 1513.

<sup>3</sup> "Ut apes ingeniosae e toto Gymnasio Oxoniensi convolantes ex eo exugere atque excerpere poterunt" (*Statutes of Colleges*, C.C.C., 48).

and Scholars, but not Bachelors of Divinity,<sup>1</sup> were bound to attend the public lectures and to be examined in them too. In vacations all members of the College below the degree of Masters were to have private instruction in Greek. The Professor of Humanity, "sower and planter of the Latin tongue," was to lecture at eight in the morning all through the year. The list of Latin authors for instruction included Cicero and Sallust, Pliny and Livy, Virgil and Ovid, Lucan and Terence.<sup>2</sup> In the appointment of his Lecturers Fox may have co-operated with Wolsey.<sup>3</sup> He was as ready as the Cardinal to welcome scholars from abroad. The teaching of logic and philosophy was also fully provided for. Bachelors of Arts had to attend two lectures a day at Magdalen, one of which might begin as early as six. All students of logic of a certain standing had to be present at disputations in the Parvise. "That glorious contest" was not to be contemned. Theologians and artists alike were to have their special exercises. The education of the choristers was not forgotten. Elaborate rules were laid down in regard to disputations and degrees. Fellows, Masters of Arts, were intended to take Orders,<sup>4</sup> but the Public Lecturers need not. Even for feast-days and vacations subjects of study were assigned. Bachelors might lecture in vacations on mathematics and the movement of the planets. Fellows might spend forty days away from Oxford, Probationers and Scholars twenty only, in the year. But even Fox's hard-worked scholars, busy day and night making honey in their hive, might have special leave of absence on the King's service or the Bishop's. And a travelling Scholarship for three years was provided, tenable in Italy or elsewhere abroad.

In other respects the Statutes of Corpus, though lengthy and remorseless in their metaphors, ran more upon the usual lines. The King's patent contemplated a College of a President and thirty Scholars, more or less, holding property worth three hundred and fifty pounds a year. But Fox more specifically assigned to his bee-hive twenty Scholars or Fellows, twenty Disciples, three Readers and six servants of the Chapel.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> "Omnes nostri Collegii Socii, scholares et discipuli, etiam Magistri, non theologi" (*Statutes*, C.C.C., 50).

<sup>2</sup> And others like Juvenal, Plautus and Quintilian. Horace is not mentioned. But the lists of Greek and Latin books are in neither case complete or exclusive. Fox himself presented to the College Library copies of Horace, Homer, Herodotus and Plato (Fowler, *History*, 93, n.).

<sup>3</sup> See later (p. 30).

<sup>4</sup> Except one Fellow, "studio medicinae deputatus" (*Statutes*, C.C.C., 62).

<sup>5</sup> Two priests, two acolytes and two choristers. Of the two priests or chaplains one was "Praecentor" and the other "Sacrista." Of the two clerks or acolytes one was organist and one sub-sacristan. The chor-

Fellows, to be chosen by preference from certain districts, especially from dioceses which Fox had ruled, might be undergraduates if graduates failed, and were to have two years' probation as Scholars before they became perpetual Fellows. The Probationers and Disciples must not possess more than five marks a year; and an inheritance of a hundred shillings or preferment exceeding eight pounds a year in value disqualified a Fellow, though the President was excepted from this rule. The Disciples were students corresponding roughly to the modern Scholars, who in the ordinary course would succeed to Fellowships, and who might enter before they were fourteen. The Readers might or might not be Fellows themselves. Four or at the most six well-to-do Commoners might be admitted at their own expense.<sup>1</sup> And there were provisions for the usual College servants, who might also be students and even take degrees. When complete, the little community would number more than sixty persons, but they had more space to live in than some of their neighbours. Fellows and Probationers slept only two in a room, each with one Disciple. Every one over fourteen years old had a separate bed. The Fellows who acted as tutors to the younger Scholars, took charge of their money rather than their minds, and so long as they were undergraduates and under twenty might give them a whipping if circumstances required.

The President was expected to be thirty years old and at least a Bachelor in Divinity.<sup>2</sup> He was elected by the seven senior Fellows, in whose hands a great deal of authority lay. The Vice-President was one of the seven seniors and was also elected by them.<sup>3</sup> So were the two Deans or Censors. So were the two Bursars. No member of the College was allowed to act as Proctor. None except the servants were to visit shops or laymen's houses. None were to walk in the town alone. None were to carry arms except bows and arrows. None were to play forbidden games, to wear unclerical garments, to indulge in luxuries like mantles or liripipes or long hair. Commons were elaborately regulated; twelve pence a week for Fellows, Probationers, Public Lecturers and Chapel priests,<sup>4</sup> eight pence

isters stayed till their voices broke; they got food and clothing, but no pocket-money.

<sup>1</sup> Sons of nobles or of lawyers (*jure regni peritorum*), under the charge of tutors (*Statutes*, C.C.C., 80).

<sup>2</sup> Or at any rate qualified to take that degree in four months' time (*Statutes*, C.C.C., 2).

<sup>3</sup> Of course with the President's co-operation.

<sup>4</sup> The "clericus computi" or clerk of accompts, not necessarily a permanent officer, was also reckoned in the first class and drew the highest rate of commons (*Statutes*, C.C.C., 73).



for Disciples, acolytes and choristers, ten pence for servants. But these rates might be increased if the prices of corn went up, and the College officers might vary them in individual cases. A Seneschal, a graduate Fellow, supervised the food supplied in Hall. Besides commons there were salaries and liveries<sup>1</sup> and allowances all round. The President's salary was ten pounds a year, and he had horses and servants provided. Fellows who were priests drew besides food and clothing four marks a year. Fellows who were not priests drew forty shillings, Probationers and Disciples twenty-six and eightpence each. The Vice-President's salary was also twenty-six and eightpence, double that of the Deans and Bursars.<sup>2</sup> Readers in Sophistry and Logic received so many pence for each of their pupils.<sup>3</sup> The Public Reader in Humanity had five pounds a year. The Greek Reader had that or a little more. The Reader in Theology might draw up to ten pounds, and so might an exceptionally brilliant Latinist or Grecian. The two priests were each allowed forty shillings, but if the Precentor were exceptionally good he got a little more. Other servants of the Chapel also had salaries assigned. Nobody in College was forgotten.<sup>4</sup> The endowments, happily, were enough for all. Oxford Fellows of the sixteenth century had travelled already far beyond the meagre standards with which the poor scholars of Balliol had begun. And rules as careful and elaborate for managing the College property, for prayers and services in Chapel, for the use of books in the Library,<sup>5</sup> for the punishment of offences—loss of commons was a favourite fine—set forth the Bishop's views of College government and his determination to make them understood.<sup>6</sup>

In spite, however, of Fox's care, his successors were sometimes asked to interpret his Statutes. Bishop Ponet under Edward VI<sup>7</sup> had to remind the Fellows that they were all "saving the student in physic" under obligation to prepare themselves *ad ministerium Dominicum*, "which ministry remain, though massing be gone." Bishop Horne, having read the Statute again and again, came to the same conclusion and

<sup>1</sup> Also described as gowns and vests.

<sup>2</sup> These salaries were, like the President's, in addition to allowances.

<sup>3</sup> For the details see *Statutes* (C.C.C., 83). But the Chapel attendants and College servants did not pay for lectures.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. the Porter had 33s. 4d., the two cooks 40s. and 26s. 8d., etc. (*Ib.*, 83).

<sup>5</sup> Only books of adequate value and utility were chained (*Ib.*, 90).

<sup>6</sup> There was an interesting provision for arbitration by the Chancellor, the Warden of New College and the President of Magdalen, in the case of disputes between the President and Fellows of Corpus, irrespective of the Visitor's (the Bishop of Winchester's) rights (*Statutes*, C.C.C., 65).

<sup>7</sup> The date is wrongly given in the *Statutes* (123) as 1558.

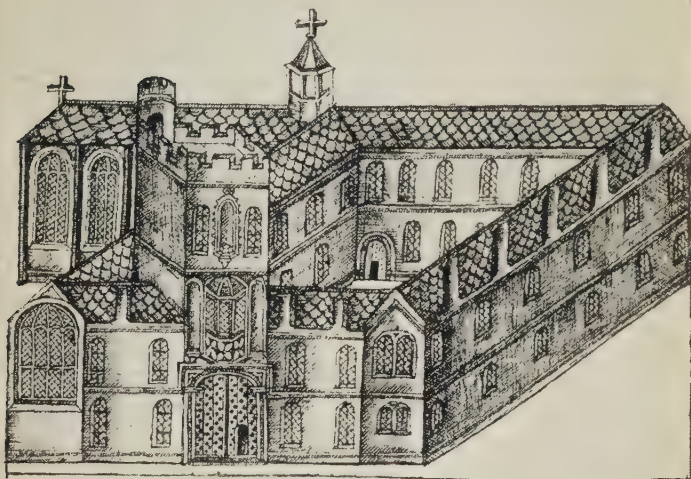


enforced it. He was also led to think that Fox would have forbidden "periwigs," had they been in fashion in his time. Later on, as College surpluses increased while prices rose and individuals grew poorer, Bishop Montague sanctioned an increase in the allowances for livery, on condition that a fair proportion of the surplus went to the treasury in the College tower. As revenues improved still further, the "double vest" was doubled and quadrupled again, until in the early years of the nineteenth century the original allowance was multiplied by sixteen. Bishop Andrewes interpreted the Statute permitting an occasional Fellow to study abroad so as to cover the case of Dr. Jermyn, Chaplain to Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Winter Queen. After the Restoration Bishop Morley undertook two Visitations of the College. His questions suggested the possibility of abuses, though the grave charge of corrupt resignations was denied. He intervened, it seems, with more vigour than judgment in the affairs and quarrels of the Fellows. But he dispensed with the old provision which forbade Corpus men to take office as Proctors. Bishop Mews, his successor, a militant Royalist, was content to adopt the standards of his day. He found reasons why Fellows in search of promotion should be absent from College for more than six months. He realised that at Court it was "highly improbable" that any man would get preferment in so short a time.

Fox drew from Magdalen the two earliest Presidents of his new College, and in his old friend John Claymond he found a coadjutor after his own heart. Claymond was widely recognised as one of the first Latin scholars of his day. But he was also a man of character and fortune, pious, frugal, austere in his conduct, and singularly generous to other men. He resigned the Presidency of Magdalen to take up his new post. He held the latter twenty years. And he not only gave freely to Corpus and to Magdalen, to Balliol and to Brasenose, but he found means to set up a covered market for the sellers of corn near Carfax, to repair the West Gate and the roads of Oxford and the bridges through the Botley fields. He saw Pole admitted as a Fellow. He had to submit to a Visitation by Cranmer. But he passed away before the Revolution was completed, leaving to his successors a famous sapphire ring. His monument in the Chapel represents him as a skeleton enveloped in a shroud.<sup>1</sup> Morwent carried the College through the difficult days which followed. He found means of adapting himself to the requirements of King Edward and Queen Mary. But in spite of outward conformity he remained attached to the old religion, and King Edward's Council sent him for a few weeks to prison.

<sup>1</sup> A brass, now moved from the inner to the outer Chapel.

COLLEGIUM CORPORIS CHRISTI.



Quinta iubet nostra memores nos esse salutis.  
 Quo modo, & vnde salus parva sit illa docens.  
 Quam Deus assumpto quia Christus corpore donat.  
 Corporis a Christi nomine nomen habet.  
 Censibus hanc amplis Richardus Foxus abunde  
 Sustinet, & Musis apta dat esse loca.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE  
 (Bereblock)



He died too soon to conform to the Elizabethan order, but not too soon to take part in selling off as lumber the wood-work of Duke Humphrey's ruined Library. In place of a famous sapphire he had a famous dog, to which Jewel as an undergraduate wrote verses. On his death he left the College some valuable plate.

Cheadsey, who succeeded Morwent, owed a good deal to the influence of Bonner. A famous disputant, he was pitted against Cranmer. But his perilous eloquence landed him in gaol; and his successor, who owed his appointment to a Commission of Queen Elizabeth's, held office little longer than he. President Greenway, who wrote a life of the Founder, had to face a Visitation by the Bishop's Chancellor, and to answer serious charges of misconduct. He was accused of misapplying College funds, of taking bribes and keeping shocking company, of drinking till he tottered on his legs, of behaving like a wanton boy in doorways and in gardens, so that those who saw him cried "fye upon all such spirituall men." It is only fair to add that the graver charges were disputed, and that their chief author, a man of small credit, was expelled.<sup>1</sup> Other Fellows were dismissed at the same time, possibly on grounds of religion, but the whole story throws a curious light on the humorous irregularities of College life. Cole and Rainolds were more distinguished Presidents.<sup>2</sup> The Queen recommended Cole. He had been in exile at Zurich, and was determined never to go back there to "eat mice" again. The Romanist Fellows had little liking for Cole's wife and children, still less for his "Zurichian discipline." But Bishop Horne, as autocratic as his Sovereign, expelled the objectors and forced the College to submit. The younger generation were probably more in sympathy with the new President's views. He held his own for thirty years in spite of quarrels and contentions, and in spite of dealings with the College leases which stricter standards disapproved. Cole was Vice-Chancellor in 1577, and in 1592 he joined in welcoming Elizabeth to Oxford. Corpus was taxed for this purpose on a rental of five hundred pounds a year—the same as All Souls, half as much as New College, a quarter as much as Christ Church, five times as much as Balliol.<sup>3</sup> Rainolds, a man of far higher character and a "treasury of erudition," had spent most of

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Fowler (*History*, 115 sq.) gives curious details of the charges brought against the President, from the Register of Bishop Horne.

<sup>2</sup> Cole held office from 1568 to 1598, Rainolds from 1598 to 1607. Reynolds of course is the modern spelling; but I think Rainolds or Raynolds among many variations was the commoner form in the 16th century.

<sup>3</sup> Christ Church paid on £2,000, New College on £1,000, Corpus and All Souls on £500, Balliol on £100 (Gutch, *Collectanea Curiosa*, I, 190-1). These were probably not full rentals.



his life at Corpus since he was thirteen.<sup>1</sup> He preferred the Presidency to the Deanery of Lincoln. He was one of the first Protestant theologians of the day. If Queen Elizabeth once "schooled" him for his "obstinate preciseness," King James condescended to jest with him on his need of a wife. Rainolds played a conspicuous part in the Hampton Court Conference, in suggesting and preparing the Authorised Version of the Bible. On the monument erected to his memory in the Chapel his virtue and piety were lovingly recalled.

Of the seventeenth-century Presidents, Spenser, who succeeded Rainolds, was an intimate friend of Hooker. He edited the *Ecclesiastical Polity* and was one of the translators of the Bible. Anyan, who secured the increased allowance for liveries, was said to be "a bibber" and had a scandalous career. The House of Commons demanded his removal. Spenser was married, like his brother-in-law, Cole. Anyan's wife was commemorated by celibate Fellows in unseemly verses, and buried her husband "ignominiously" after his death.<sup>2</sup> President Holt is little more than a name, though he was buried in Westminster Abbey. But Thomas Jackson, elected in 1631, was a man of character and weight. Originally intended for business, "he chose rather to be a factor for heaven." Once nearly drowned while bathing in the river, and revived by the care of the "medicinæ deputatus," he was marked out as reserved for greater things. At first something of a Puritan, he became identified later with the school of Laud, "transported beyond himself," says Prynne, "with metaphysicall contemplations." But apart from his theological opinions, his sweet and generous nature won respect. His writings on theology filled many volumes. He was "very prophetic" of the troubled times approaching.<sup>3</sup> But "God took him from the evil to come."

Robert Newlyn, Jackson's successor, remarkable chiefly for his love of his relations, took office in October 1640, and died as President in 1688. He lived in comparative obscurity, but he saw tempestuous days. In the Civil War Corpus by good management or good fortune saved at least a large part of its splendid plate.<sup>4</sup> But we hear little of its share in the struggle.

<sup>1</sup> He is said to have been at Merton before that. Weary of College dissensions, he retired in 1586 to Queen's. When he came back to Corpus as President, he resigned the Deanery of Lincoln to Cole. Vol. IX of the Fulman MSS. quotes several letters of Cole's and is full of references to Rainolds.

<sup>2</sup> See Wood's *Life* (I, 154), and Fulman's MSS. (IX, 235<sup>b</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> See the brief life of Jackson by E. Vaughan, prefixed to vol. I of the 1844 edition of Jackson's *Works*.

<sup>4</sup> There are various traditions as to how so much was saved, but none quite convincing. Dr. Fowler suggests that a money payment was

The record of admissions dwindles, but the College Register has little of human interest to record. The Parliamentary Visitors were kept at bay till 1648. Then the storm burst and the College was "generally ruined." Newlyn was deposed and Staunton made President in his stead. "There was not one Fellow left," a contemporary tells us, "but Mr. Noel Sparks, the Greek Lecturer who was bed rid, and could not answer the Rump Visitors at their visitation." One Probationer was also left, being consumptive and expected to die. It is alleged that eighteen Scholars also were ejected, and that some forty-two intruders were put in.<sup>1</sup> Even the College bees, with very good feeling, seized the opportunity to disappear.

Staunton, though accused of verbosity and idleness, was an earnest Puritan minister, who seems to have ruled strictly but not unwisely,<sup>2</sup> till the Restoration brought back Newlyn and his friends. Seven of the intruded Fellows were then dispossessed in their turn. But Newlyn's later years were marked by laxity and nepotism, by sharp differences with the Visitor and among the Fellows. The College had a struggle to recover its fine Chapel vestments. Bishop Morley's interference led to trouble. The wearing of periwigs cropped up again as an offence. Worse still, an immoral priest, to whom the College had refused a Fellowship, appealed to the King for protection, and the Visitor supported his appeal. Dissatisfaction increased and numbers fell away. Educational activity died down. If, as estimated, the College then consisted of some five and twenty Masters, some ten Bachelors and a dozen undergraduates, there could have been little work for the tutors to do. Servitors also appear in the lists of the seventeenth century,<sup>3</sup> but the days of enthusiasm for studious poverty were gone. There was enthusiasm left,

offered: but in other cases that did not prevent a further claim. (See *Corpus*, 123-4 and Appendix B.) Fox's famous salt-cellar is reproduced by Skelton (*Oxon.* Pl. 73).

<sup>1</sup> These statements of numbers must be taken with reserve. The College Register beginning in 1648 has lists which do not exactly agree with others. Fulman, one of those expelled, gives a list of 36 new Fellows and Disciples elected in 1648, and of others added later (*MSS.* XI, 36-8). Prof. Burrows estimates that 39 members were expelled and that 11 submitted (*Register of Visitors*, 571). Among 25 answers given by members of the College, on May 9, 1648, there is only one submission. Dr. Fowler concludes (*Corpus*, 134) that the proportion of those who finally disappeared was probably about 4 to 1.

<sup>2</sup> Punishments in Staunton's day included a week's loss of commons for offenders—"quod globulos niveos in aula projecimus," and "quod explosi bombardum in cubiculum condiscipuli per fenestram" (Fowler, *History*, 362).

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Fowler thinks that some names in the Buttery Book for 1648-9 represented servitors (*History*, 50, n.).

however, for the Court and for the ideas it represented. Charles came more than once to Oxford. Monmouth's name was entered in the College books, and erased when his cause went out of favour. President Newlyn lived to be over ninety and died in the year of the Revolution. His successor, Thomas Turner, a generous benefactor of the College, had a brother among the Seven Bishops. But not even persecution could destroy the Stuarts' claim. Turner took the oaths to King William, but his Jacobite sympathies apparently remained.

Apart from the Presidents who ruled it, Corpus had its full share of famous men. How far some of the early Public Lecturers like Vives and Lupset were members of the College, it is difficult to say. It seems on the whole more probable that they and one or two others were appointed under Wolsey's scheme, and lodged and lectured at Corpus until quarters could be found for them elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> But Reginald Pole, the future Cardinal, was undoubtedly one of the early Fellows. It seems that he drew at the same time a pension from the Prior of St. Frideswide's, paid to him by request of the King.<sup>2</sup> Nicholas Udall was another Fellow—Latinist, dramatist, school-master and turn-coat, a Reformer who found equal favour with Edward VI and Bishop Gardiner, a Headmaster dismissed from Eton for disgraceful conduct but appointed to Westminster a few years later, and the author of the earliest English comedy known to fame.<sup>3</sup> James Brooks was also a Fellow: "Blasphemias evomuit plures," adds Fulman.<sup>4</sup> He became afterwards Master of Balliol, a Marian Bishop and one of the judges of the Oxford Martyrs. So, on the other side, was John Jewel, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury and one of the most illustrious of Protestant divines. Jewel was elected in 1539 as a boy of sixteen to a scholarship at Corpus. He had already been three years at Merton. His life, written by Humfrey, the President of Magdalen, portrays him as a tireless student, rising at four and working late till

<sup>1</sup> The others were Nicholas Kratzer ("Cratcherus"), the Bavarian mathematician and astronomer, who set up dials in Corpus garden and St. Mary's Churchyard, Thomas Moscroffe or Musgrave, Wolsey's Reader in Medicine, and perhaps John Clement, the tutor of Margaret More. Hegge, in his Catalogue 100 years later, included both Vives and Kratzer as members of the College; but his authority for this is doubtful. Fulman, the College antiquarian, thought that the Corpus lectures were the same as the Wolsey lectures—"for Wolsey's readers were there lodged, till he had built his Coll., and Lud. Vives was one of them." Dr. Fowler discusses the point fully in his larger history (85-9, 369-71, 381, and notes).

<sup>2</sup> Brewer's *Letters and Papers of Hen. VIII* (I, p. 932).

<sup>3</sup> See W. D. Cooper's *Life of Udall* prefixed to the Shakespeare Society's edition of *Ralph Roister Doister*, and Sir S. Lee in *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> MSS. (X, f. 8). Fulman has also some interesting notes about Jewel (X, ff. 12 sq.).



ten, as a successful lecturer and tutor, as an earnest advocate of hard work and pure religion, whose expulsion in the days of Mary even political opponents felt able to regret. A still greater theologian, Richard Hooker, owed to Jewel his introduction to the College. He may have come up as a chorister. He was admitted as a Disciple in 1573. After some sixteen years spent in accumulating learning, in struggling with poverty, in struggling perhaps against "unrighteous dealing,"<sup>1</sup> Hooker passed, says Izaak Walton, "from that garden of piety, of peace and a sweet conversation" into the "thorny wilderness of a busy world." He took from Oxford an established reputation and the foundation of a noble style.

Other names of some distinction carried on the traditions of the Elizabethan age. Charles Turnbull, rivalling Kratzer, constructed the curious dial which still graces the quadrangle. The great name of Cranmer appeared in the lists of the College, like the great name of Raleigh later on.<sup>2</sup> Brian Twyne came up in 1594, to begin his indefatigable labours. His rooms, we are told, had book-shelves everywhere.<sup>3</sup> Many a volume of his careful manuscript is in the College Library to-day. John Hales, the ever-memorable, followed him three years later as a boy of thirteen. Robert Hegge, admitted in 1614, "a prodigy of his time," died when only thirty. But he left behind him a valuable Catalogue of the early Fellows and Scholars, and a treatise on Dials with illustrations admirably drawn. Another devoted antiquary, William Fulman, elected and expelled under the precarious conditions of 1647-8, bequeathed to the Library over twenty volumes of notes, which, though denied to Wood, have proved invaluable for the College history.<sup>4</sup> Speaker Lenthall's son, knighted both by Cromwell and by Charles II, and in the opinion of a political opponent, "the grand bragadocio and lyer" of his age, found a place at Corpus before the Civil War began. Sir Joshua Reynolds' father and uncle, and Fiddes, not the least of the biographers of Wolsey, were counted among its members before the seventeenth century closed.

<sup>1</sup> Hooker was expelled in 1579 or 1580, with John Rainolds and two or three others, for reasons which are not very clear: but he was promptly restored by the Visitor (Fowler's *History*, 140-1). The College Register notes his admission but not his expulsion.

<sup>2</sup> George Cranmer, a great-nephew of the Archbishop, was admitted in 1578; he is said to have been elected a scholar at twelve, and to have become a pupil of Hooker's four or five years earlier (Fowler's *History*, 153-4). Walter Raleigh, the great Sir Walter's eldest son, was admitted as a Commoner in 1607.

<sup>3</sup> *Second Report, Hist. MSS. Commission* (126).

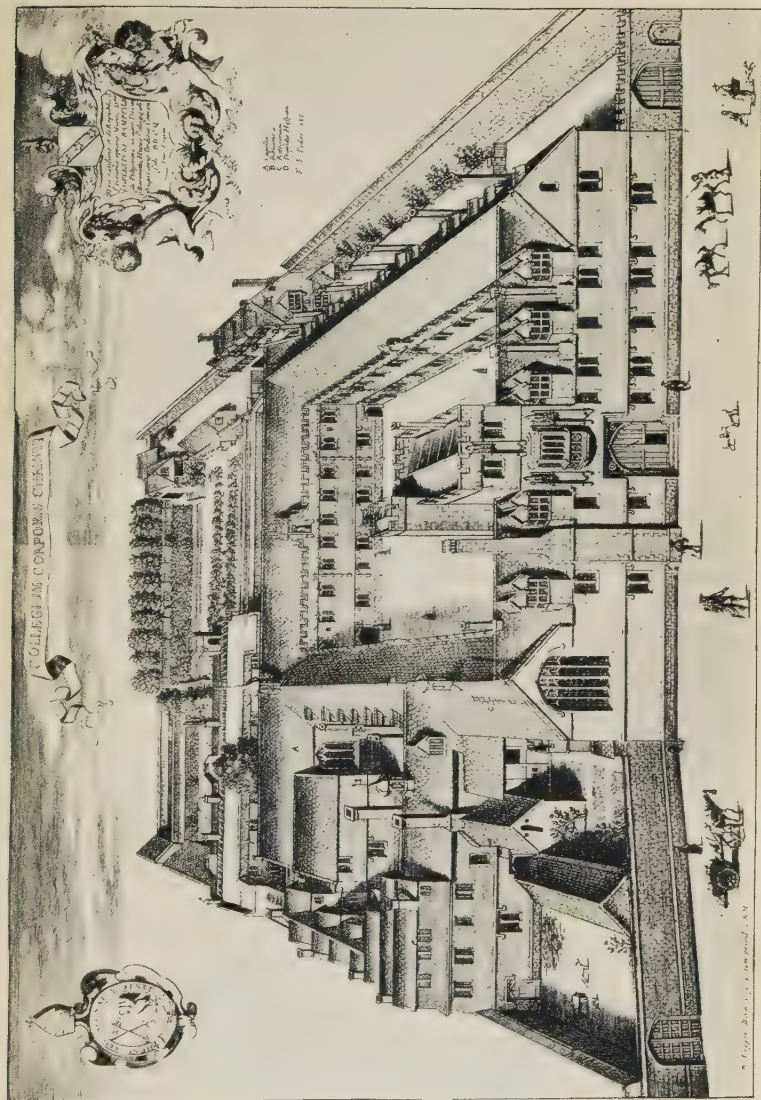
<sup>4</sup> Vols. IX, X and XI are devoted to the College history.



Overshadowed almost from the beginning by the splendour of Christ Church and the ancient dignity of Merton, the buildings of Corpus in their homelier pattern still showed a quiet beauty of their own. The oldest part of the College is the kitchen, which may once have been the refectory of Urban Hall. The original quadrangle, completed in the Founder's lifetime, contained the tower, with the President's Lodgings in it—one beautiful room at least remains—the Chapel and Hall, the Library and chambers for the Fellows. It is possible that, had not Fox at first intended to build only a small House for monks, the quadrangle might have been framed upon a larger scale. At the South-east Corner, running Eastwards towards Merton, was the Chapel, soon released from the claims of the Bishop and the parish priest. It seems to have been left with little alteration until the days of Charles II. But its services, no doubt, saw many changes, and its rich store of vestments and hangings, its embroidered pelicans, its gold and silver vessels, had to face many perils in revolutionary times. Of early plate, designed for Chapel uses, only Fox's crozier and his golden chalice and paten remain. The brass lectern is a memorial of Claymond's rule. In 1675-6 the Chapel underwent—it may have needed—restoration. Wood says that it was lengthened at its Western end at the Library's expense.<sup>1</sup> It was paved with marble, wainscoted and painted. A new screen and new stalls were introduced. And about the same time, it may be, the vestry on its North side, shown in Loggan's plan, was removed. North of the Chapel also and near the Merton boundaries there were out-buildings and a wood-yard. On the South side a Cloister was begun in 1517.<sup>2</sup> The Founder, we are told, thought it necessary to increase the accommodation of the College, and in the Cloister Chambers then constructed, where the bees settled and made honey overhead, Ludovic Vives is reported to have lodged. The Hall, with its fine roof and louvre, lay on the East side of the quadrangle, and was little altered apparently till the seventeenth century closed. It dispensed with a chimney and was contented with a charcoal brasier until 1741. The arms which Wood traced in its windows have disappeared. But the portraits of Fox, blind as he was after the foundation

<sup>1</sup> Wood (*Colleges*, 401-13) describes the inscriptions in Chapel and Cloisters in detail, and Dr. Fowler has printed, in Appendix B. to his larger history, some interesting extracts from the Chapel Accounts. In 1653 the two clerks, the "Pulsator Campanae" and the "Modulator Organorum," lost a part of their employment, and had to turn their attention to starting the Psalms.

<sup>2</sup> In the old building accounts preserved in the Library, there is a charge of 10s. 6d. in May 1517, for "digging of the foundation of the cloister" (Fowler's *History*, 70-1).



CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE  
(Logan)



of his College, and of Oldham, his friend and coadjutor, still remain.<sup>1</sup>

The Library, the chief glory of Corpus, lay on the South side of the quadrangle. It is still, what its Founder made it, the typical College Library of the Renaissance, in form, in fittings and in its contents. Time, which has mellowed it, has brought little alteration. The stalls of books are still there, set at right angles to the walls, with flat desks fastened to the book-shelves. The sixteenth-century chains for books have gone, but the treasures which they bound are happily unplundered. The tranquillity of the noble room is only deepened by the four hundred years which have passed over its head. Fox bestowed on it, to begin with, a fine collection of manuscripts and books. Claymond, Rainolds, Brian Twyne and many others added to its store, as generations followed. President Turner's great bequest did not reach it till the eighteenth century. But from the first the Corpus Library and its classical traditions represented worthily the learning of the day.<sup>2</sup> A Latin and a Greek manuscript of the tenth century, an almost unique Irish Missal, marked still, it is said, with the stains of an Irish bog, a Saxon Bede of the eleventh century, and the earliest manuscript of Florence of Worcester, are among its unprinted treasures. Saints' lives, chronicles, classics and philosophy are stored there beside manuscripts of Wycliffe and of Chaucer and the collections of Fulman, Miles Windsor, Brian Twyne. Fox and Claymond in early days contributed no small proportion of fine printed books. Splendid Aristotles from the press of Aldus,<sup>3</sup> the Florentine Homer of 1488, a rare Venetian Tacitus twenty years earlier, a *De Officiis* of 1466 from Mainz, and Aretino's Phalaris from the earliest press at Oxford, bore witness from the first to the scholars and craftsmen of the Renaissance. There are books from the presses of Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde hardly less memorable than these. And the Prayer-Book of 1559 with the autographs of the Lords of the Council in it, the Bible of 1611, a copy worthy of its theme, the sailing-orders of the Armada—a sheet translated from the Spanish—Shakespeare's Second Folio and the first edition of *Paradise Lost*, main-

<sup>1</sup> This picture of Fox is probably the earliest portrait of an Oxford Founder taken from life. There are six other pictures of him at Corpus. For the portraits placed in the Hall later see Dr. Fowler's shorter history (*Corpus*, App. C.).

<sup>2</sup> See the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (I, 157-62), Dr. Fowler's full note on the College Library (*Corpus Christi*, App. A.), and Mr. Gibson's *Some Oxford Libraries* (84-6).

<sup>3</sup> There are two copies, one on vellum and one on paper. The former is defective (*Corpus Christi*, 229). There are other fine classics also from the Aldine founts, and many other treasures which I cannot name here.



tained, as time went on, traditions which have never been allowed to fail.

The Library looks South over the President's garden towards the terrace and the Christ Church fields beyond. The President's house, which commands that garden from the West, dates from the end of the sixteenth century, and for some eighty years or more it seems that the President kept his old quarters in the tower as well. Dr. Turner before the end of the seventeenth century added a projection to the house upon the East. The Fellows' Garden and terrace on the Southern boundary of the College, were by that time fully planted, and there was a summer-house in the South-west corner, which Loggan's plan depicts. The Common Room on the East side, nearer Merton, was made after the Restoration, together with some new chambers which were afterwards taken down. The battlements of the quadrangle were added about 1624, and a curious little inventory of the same date mentions a crucifix, a "halburt" and a map of Canaan among the College goods.<sup>1</sup> Turnbull's dial in the quadrangle was constructed probably in 1581: Kratzer's earlier dial had not then disappeared. The pelican, dear to the hearts of many generations, was woven into the ancient vestments of the Chapel<sup>2</sup> long before it soared above the College court.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Second Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission* (126). The date of the inventory is 1623.

<sup>2</sup> See Fowler's *History* (114, n.). Dr. Fowler's larger *History*, his smaller history (*Corpus Christi*) and his other writings are now the chief authority for the story of the College. Other references have been already quoted. But the earlier sketches in Wood's *Colleges*, in Ingram's *Memorials* and elsewhere have been displaced by Dr. Fowler's works, my debt to which is obvious. I have to thank the President for allowing me to consult the College documents, and the Librarian, the Bursar's Assistant and incidentally Mr. Gibson for their kind help. The Collections in the Library include 22 volumes of MSS. by Fulman—I did not find the 25 of which Dr. Fowler speaks—of which three, vols. IX, X and XI, deal with the College history, 12 volumes by Twyne and 2 volumes by Miles Windsor, besides some 30 volumes of Fulman's *Evidences* (transcripts of deeds, etc.) and Hegge's Treatise on Dials. Hegge's catalogue of Fellows and Scholars, continued long after his day, is in the President's keeping and has been printed by Dr. Fowler. The foundation documents in the College Archives include the Royal License or Charter of November 1516, interesting deeds relating to the purchase of the site, and among others the indenture of 30 June, 1513, which contains Fox's first plan for a monastic College. The Statutes, printed in the *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, are preserved in the original of 1517, now without a seal, and in the revised copy signed by Fox in February 1528. They have been translated into English by G. R. M. Ward. The College Registers, chiefly a record of admissions, are less interesting than they might be. The first runs from 1517 to 1648, with one or two entries of 1660; the next begins in May 1648; and the third, which is called the second, ignoring the Commonwealth, dates from the Restoration. A small volume, mainly a Register of "absences" between 1641 and 1653, contains notes of

Fox may well have discussed with Wolsey his plans for encouraging education in Oxford. But his new foundation was completed before the Cardinal's more magnificent schemes took shape. By the end of 1523 Wolsey had resolved on the creation of his College. In 1524 his agents secured, by persistent importunity at Rome, two Bulls authorising the suppression of St. Frideswide's and of other monasteries to the value of three thousand ducats a year.<sup>1</sup> Their revenues supplied the endowment needed, and in July 1525 the King granted his license for the foundation of Cardinal College. Even the King, however, could not extinguish the heart-burnings to which the suppression gave rise, and there is little doubt that the Minister's agents showed themselves harsh and high-handed in their work.<sup>2</sup> Whether or not Wolsey was indifferent to the sufferings of the "poore wretches" whom he turned out, his Sovereign took occasion to point out to him the "mumbling" and "murmuring" which his methods caused. The ancient Priory vanished, under whose shadow Oxford had grown up. The Prior, John Burton, was transferred to Oseney. The venerable buildings with their eight centuries of dim tradition made way, wherever necessary, for a new and stately plan. Portions were allowed to stand and were worked into the new structure. But the Western end of the old Church and part of the Cloister beside it were removed.<sup>3</sup> Peckwater Inn, which had belonged to St. Frideswide's for many generations, was swept into the Cardinal's scheme. Other inns and tenements adjoining were pulled down. On the South the ruinous town wall and St. Michael's Church by the Gate were demolished, to find space for the South side of the

punishments, chiefly loss of commons, under the Commonwealth. But Dr. Fowler prints a fuller list, including later entries of a similar kind. And the *Libri Magni*, books of accounts running from the 16th century, contain other interesting items, some of which Dr. Fowler also prints in the Appendices to his larger History.

<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Gasquet gives a careful account of this transaction (*Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, ch. II), with full references to Rymer's *Fœdera* and to the *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*. Wood (*Colleges*, 414 sq.) gives a list of Convents suppressed, with an account of their revenues. But the details are in some cases doubtful. A priest, it seems, was paid, "for keeping of the Monastery" of St. Frideswide's and saying the service there after the suppression, for some 13 months till the Dean and Canons were installed (Gutch, *Collect. Curiosa*, I, 207).

<sup>2</sup> The most notorious were John Allen and Thomas Cromwell. Their critics noted that they all came to a bad end.

<sup>3</sup> Wolsey destroyed the three Western bays of the nave. But the rest of the Church, the Chapter House, the Refectory, and most of the Cloister were preserved. St. Frideswide's cemetery lay largely to the North of the Church, and was bounded by St. Frideswide's Lane which ran from the site of the house of the President of Corpus to Fish Street, now St. Aldate's.

new quadrangle. Several small houses must have made way for the West front upon St. Aldate's. London College was secured, and round it in the ancient Jewry other annexations and clearances began.<sup>1</sup> Canterbury College, though spared by the Cardinal, its voices not yet silenced like St. Frideswide's, was destined to provide a site for another new quadrangle later on.<sup>2</sup>

The Cardinal is said, perhaps with some exaggeration, to have employed hundreds of workmen. He quartered his masons in Peckwater. He poured out money freely. Wood tells us that nearly eight thousand pounds were spent within a year.<sup>3</sup> Wood mentions also among the comptrollers of the building Roland Messynger, so lately a Fellow of Brasenose, who had found a patron more powerful than Sutton.<sup>4</sup> At the end of 1526 Dr. London, Warden of New College, reported that the lodgings on the West side were almost completed,<sup>5</sup> that the tower over the entrance was as high as they, and that the arms of the King and Cardinal were most curiously set over the gate. On the South side another tower was rising: it is loftier now than it was in earlier days. The foundations of the Hall were five or six feet high. On the North side the foundations of a new church were visible, a Chapel which would have surpassed even King's College at Cambridge in stateliness and scale.<sup>6</sup> On the East side, near the old Church, lodgings or chambers were begun. The famous

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. H. Hurst's notes on the site of Christ Church (*Oxf. Topography*, 198-201), and above all Mr. Salter's valuable note on Burnel's Inn (*Oxf. Balliol Deeds*, 91 sq.). Mr. Salter shows how Wolsey got hold of the lands and buildings West and North-west of the old Priory, and the "dexterite and policie" used in "handling," not to say defrauding with vague promises of future compensation, Balliol College, Godstow, Studley, and other owners whose property he required. Members of the College may have been housed at first in the Priory buildings before the site of the quadrangle was secured.

<sup>2</sup> Surrenders later of Canterbury College, dated 27 Nov. 37 Hen. VIII, and of Peckwater Inn, by the Warden and Scholars of New College, dated 4 July of the same year, are at the Record Office (*Augmentation Off. Deeds of Surrender*, Nos. 187 and 192). New College, Mr. Salter suggests to me, really surrendered Vine Hall, a property to the North, which the King united to Peckwater, and which for the purposes of the surrender is treated as a part of it.

<sup>3</sup> £7,835 between Nov. 1, 1528 and Oct. 7, 1529—"and not unlikely twice or thrice as much for the three years preceding" (*Colleges*, 425). See also Gutch (*Collect. Curiosa*, I, 208).

<sup>4</sup> Messynger was granted a dispensation in 1526 because he was managing the Cardinal's buildings (Boase, *Register*, I, 39).

<sup>5</sup> "Fully finished, save only battling of the stone-work" (*Letters and Papers*, IV, p. 1219).

<sup>6</sup> Wood was probably right in saying (*Colleges*, 447) that, when Wolsey died, the Chapel foundations were in places some feet above the ground: he says three yards. See also Hurst (*Oxf. Topog.*, 47-8).



kitchen, with larder-houses, pastry-houses, slaughter-houses, stables and servants' rooms beyond it, was the earliest part of the building to be finished. The sixteenth century laughed to find that food was the Cardinal's first consideration; but the Cardinal's scholars had no reason to complain. In essentials the kitchen has been very little altered: Wolsey's gridiron still hangs on its wall. The Hall, one of the noblest refectories in Europe, was ready for use in 1529.<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Campeggio made presents of timber and materials to his brother Cardinal.<sup>2</sup> Foxe, no lover of Roman Cardinals, bore witness to the excellent work that was done. And, while clearing and building went on continuously, the Staff were appointed and the Statutes drawn up.

The elaborate regulations of Cardinal College, which Wolsey revised in 1527, fell to the ground with his original design.<sup>3</sup> But they contemplated a great foundation, including nearly a hundred and eighty persons,<sup>4</sup> and possessing a revenue of two thousand pounds a year. A Dean and sixty Senior Canons<sup>5</sup> were to form the Corporation. Forty Petty Canons corresponded to the junior scholars found elsewhere. The forty-two servants of the Chapel included sixteen choristers and a teacher of music. Six Public Professors,<sup>6</sup> twenty-three servants and five lawyers or men of business completed the Staff. The Sub-Dean, the four Censors, the three Bursars and the four "Private and Domestic" Professors were chosen from the Senior Canons. But of this

<sup>1</sup> The Hall, Mr. Thompson says (*Christ Church*, 235 and 237) is 115 ft. long, 40 ft. wide and 50 ft. high, and the kitchen a cube of 40 ft. Among the Chapter House records there is a magnificent account of Wolsey's plate. See also Gutch (*Collect. Curiosa*, II, 283-344). Gutch gives the cost of the yellow and green tiles with which the Hall was paved (*Ib.*, I, 206).

<sup>2</sup> The grant is in the Chapter House, in the thin folio containing copies of charters.

<sup>3</sup> They are printed in full, with the revision of 1527 and the Statutes of Henry VIII's College, in vol. II of the *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, from MS. copies at the British Museum and the Record Office. An unsigned copy with a broken seal of Wolsey's is in the Christ Church Chapter House. Christ Church has no Statutes but is governed by orders of the Chapter.

<sup>4</sup> The exact number, it seems, was 177. Wood (*Colleges*, 422) speaks of 186 persons " (or rather 200)," but his figures do not agree with the original Statutes. Nor does it seem that Mr. Thompson's figures (*Christ Church*, 3-4) are quite right. There were 23 servants in all and 5 lawyers or men of business, including the auditor and the clerk of lands. The Dean alone had 7 servants (*Statutes*, Card. Coll., 105-6 and 162).

<sup>5</sup> "Primi Ordinis."

<sup>6</sup> The married ones—Professors of Civil Law, Medicine and Litterae Humaniores might be married—must live out of College. The Professors of Theology, Canon Law and Philosophy, unmarried men, were to live in College (*Ib.*, 123).



large community only eighteen Canons were at first appointed with John Higdon or Hygden, ex-President of Magdalen, for their Dean. And though Wolsey soon added to their number, and imported additional students from Cambridge, his plan was far from completed when he died.<sup>1</sup> In many respects Wolsey's Statutes followed the usual lines. Their distinctive features were the scale and generosity of the arrangements, and the strong encouragement given to education, not in the College only but in the University at large.<sup>2</sup> "Insatiable to get and more princelike in bestowing," Wolsey spared nothing to make his College worthy of his wealth and fame. But he had only a few years to carry out his project, before all his schemes and ambitions were destroyed.

No prayers availed to save the Cardinal's foundation, when the Cardinal himself was overthrown. Higdon, the Dean, carried to Court a petition for mercy. Henry seemed for a time disposed to listen to the plea. But in the end, as was not unusual, his less generous instincts overcame him. There were too many greedy claimants for the spoil. The ornaments and vestments of the Church were seized and taken to London. The lands were sold or "begged away by hungry courtiers." The College was suppressed.<sup>3</sup> Its beneficiaries were for the most part left to shift for themselves. Great schemes of confiscation and of ecclesiastical reorganisation were on foot. In July 1532, not uninfluenced, it may be, by "the dispersed remnant of the Cardinal's scholars," the King established a new College of a Dean and twelve Prebendaries or Canons in Oxford, subject to no Bishop, Archbishop or Legate, but to the King alone.<sup>4</sup> It was to be an ecclesiastical foundation, like other Cathedral Churches. But it was no such house of learning as the Cardinal had planned. A prebend in the diocese of York was appropriated to the Dean, and stipends of ten marks a year to the Canons. Provision was made in the Statutes for masses and other services, Anne's name

<sup>1</sup> Wood gives a list of early Canons, and thinks Wolsey appointed "a very considerable number." But he adds, "a note which I have seen saith only 30" (*Colleges*, 423). Hutten gives 30 as the number at Wolsey's death. (See Plummer's *Elizabethan Oxford*, 59.)

<sup>2</sup> There were provisions, among others, for tutors to look after the funds of the junior Canons, for 20 rich young Commoners, to be maintained at their own expense, and for hospitality to be shown to Kings and their heirs (*Statutes*, Card. Coll., 100, 103-4).

<sup>3</sup> The deed of surrender, without signatures, dated 15 Jan. 22 Hen. VIII, is at the Record Office (*Augmentation Off. Deeds of Surrender*, No. 188).

<sup>4</sup> See the Statutes of King Henry VIII's College in the *Statutes of Colleges*. They evidently date from 1533. Besides the Prebendaries or Canons there were vicars, clerks and choristers.

replacing Catharine's in the prayers. Provision was made also for the superintendence of the College property, for the upkeep of the Dean's and Canons' houses, for the election of Treasurers and the keeping of accounts. But the provision for education almost disappeared.<sup>1</sup> Higdon, the old Dean, was continued as Dean of the new foundation. But he died a few months later and Dean Oliver took his place. Two of Wolsey's Canons, but only two, it seems, were appointed to the Chapter. Dr. Cottisford, the Rector of Lincoln, brought his University experience. Robert Wakefield brought from Cambridge the reputation of "the prime Linguist of his time." But though some conspicuous scholars were included later in the list of Canons, like John Cheke and Oglethorpe and Leland,<sup>2</sup> King Henry VIII's College had only a precarious life. The chief incidents recorded in its history were the destruction in 1538 of St. Frideswide's venerable shrine and the surrender a few years later of the whole foundation into the hands of the King.<sup>3</sup> Then at last the way was clear for a more permanent settlement. The claims of education were revived. The Bishopric of Oxford, founded in 1542, was surrendered to the Crown and constituted afresh. A new College, uniting the interests of learning and episcopacy, "*Ecclesia Christi Cathedralis Oxon.*" rose upon the ruins of the old. St. Frideswide's and Oseney, Canterbury and Peckwater contributed their history and their spoils. And Henry VIII, though Christ Church men have sometimes been reluctant to admit it,<sup>4</sup> became the Founder of a noble corporation, not unworthy to inherit his Minister's designs.

The new See had its Cathedral at Christ Church, but its revenues were distinct from those of the College. The Dean and Canons appointed by the Royal Charter of November 1546, took possession of Wolsey's buildings and of property valued at some-

<sup>1</sup> The choristers were to be instructed. Mr. St. John Tyrwhitt (*Colleges of Oxford*, 306-7) speaks of Henry reconstituting some of Wolsey's lectures as "the King's Lectures." It is not unlikely. But the Statutes say nothing about it.

<sup>2</sup> Sir J. Cheke, Edward VI's tutor and a figure of some note in Tudor politics, was like Leland a Cambridge man. The Canonry helped to pay his services at Court. Leland, it seems, had more to do with All Souls than with Christ Church. Oglethorpe was a Magdalen man.

<sup>3</sup> The surrender signed by Dean Oliver, Cox, Leland, Oglethorpe and others, and dated May 20 in the 37th year of Henry VIII, is not, as Wood says, in the Tower of the Archives, but at the Record Office (*Augmentation Off. Deeds of Surrender*, No. 191), together with the surrender of the Bishopric of the same date (No. 189), signed by Bishop King—"Ro. Oxon."—and Dean Cox. (See also Wood, *Colleges*, 431, and Gairdner, *Letts. and Papers of Henry VIII*, vol. 21, pt. ii, pp. 333-8, who quotes the important grant of lands dated 11 Dec. 38 Henry VIII.)

<sup>4</sup> See Thompson (*Christ Church*, 11-12, n.).

thing over two thousand pounds a year.<sup>1</sup> The Oxford grants included not only Canterbury College but the buildings of St. Bernard's, with a part of Durham College grove, and the sites and remains of Oseney and of Rewley. The Dean and Canons had special duties towards the Cathedral, and had to keep a full Staff for the service of the church. But they had special duties also towards the University, and had to maintain three Regius Professors, in Hebrew, Greek and Theology. Besides that they presided over a great College of a hundred Students, whose numbers have since been tolled for many generations as a nightly curfew in Tom Quad.<sup>2</sup> The eight Canons were lodged in the precincts. One of them, Tresham, seems to have been a member of Henry's earlier foundation. Some had been previously Canons of Oseney. One was already Provost of Oriel. One became the first President of St. John's. A Sub-Dean, Treasurers, Censors and Readers helped to govern the College. The Students were divided into Theologists, Philosophers, Disciples.<sup>3</sup> Eight Chaplains, eight lay clerks or singing men, eight choristers and other officers were provided for the Church. Some sixteen or eighteen servants and some twenty bedesmen made up the College

<sup>1</sup> Wood's figure is £2,000 (*Colleges*, 433), Mr. Thompson's £2,200 (12). The revenues came largely from Oseney: most of the endowments of Cardinal College had disappeared. There is in the Record Office (*Aug. Off. Particulars for Grants*, 827) a long Memorandum in English giving a detailed account of the lands assigned to the Cathedral Church, with covenants to maintain at certain salaries petty Canons, clerks, choristers, Readers and other officers for the educational foundation. The copy of this Memo. in the Christ Church Treasury is dated 1 Oct. 1546—the original may bear the same date, certain clauses at the end are stained and almost illegible. It seems to contain, as Mr. Thompson says (273-6), the draft of a projected constitution which was not fully carried out. Cardinal Gasquet, relying on certain other Augmentation Office documents at the Record Office (*Misc. Books*, 415, f. 108, and *Treasurers' Rolls of Accounts*, 3, f. 201—he quotes this rather differently), estimates that Henry allotted to Oxford between Mar. 25 "anno 36" and Michaelmas "anno 38" some £3,102, and notes that at the end of the reign the College was in debt and that Edward VI paid £2,400 to Dean Cox. A substantial sum went apparently in building (*Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, 432).

<sup>2</sup> The number was raised to 101 by the Studentship founded after the Restoration by William Thurston's bequest of £800 to "King's College in Oxford." Oriel, relying on Edward II, and Brasenose, as the representatives of King Alfred's brew-house, also put in a claim. One wonders that University abstained. (See Wood, *Colleges*, 436, and Thompson, 12-13.)

<sup>3</sup> The 20 *Theologi* were intended to take Orders. But a few students might graduate in law or medicine. The *Philosophi* varied in age, number and degree. The *Discipuli* are not mentioned in the Chapter Roll of 1548: but 40 Philosophers and 40 Disciples gradually emerged (Thompson, 35).



Staff.<sup>1</sup> Commoners were from the first admitted,<sup>2</sup> and other young gentlemen came over from Broadgates Hall for tuition. A limited number of the hundred Studentships were afterwards assigned by Queen Elizabeth to Westminster, and the connection became in the end a source of strength both to the College and to the School.

Henry's death within three months of the foundation may have hastened the completion of the scheme. It is probably the reason why Christ Church never received Statutes but was from the beginning governed by usage. The Dean and Chapter have always held an exceptional position. They receive their mandate from the Crown. Their Visitor is the Sovereign, not the Bishop. The Cathedral is their College Chapel, and the Dean claims the authority of Ordinary within it. They are primarily an academic body. Their only diocesan function is to elect the Bishop, who has no special authority within their walls. Many generations later, when menaced by a Parliamentary inquiry, they defined their own peculiar status, and the relation of the Cathedral to the College, in language which Athanasius might not have disavowed :

"There is absolutely no separation between them, as if they were two distinct members in one and the same body. Neither is the Chapter an appendage to the College, nor is the College an appendage to the Chapter. They form one single foundation under one head, and so intimately blended together are they in all their parts, that questions involving the constitution of the one cannot be answered without including what belongs to the other."<sup>3</sup>

In the absence of Statutes the Dean and Chapter met on Sunday afternoons to make rules for their College. They had to pay twelve pence if they failed to attend. Every scholar, before entering the House, required to have a tutor, a psalter, a catechism, and honest and comely apparel. He must have also

<sup>1</sup> For the officers and staff see the notes to Wood's *Colleges* (434) and Thompson (36 and App. B.). Hutten's MS. account in the Chapter House (*Liber Successi : Dec : Canon : Alumn.*) reckons 24 officers and servants and as many bedesmen. The number of Students was at first under 100. There were Readers in Natural and Moral Philosophy, Dialectic, Rhetoric and Mathematics. Wood speaks of a schoolmaster, an usher and 40 children : but these were suggestions only of the Memorandum of Oct. 1st, 1546. Wood's mistake, however, pointed out by Gutch and by Mr. Thompson (App. B.), reappears in the Report of the first University Commission and in the *Colleges of Oxford* (307).

<sup>2</sup> There were 4, according to the Dean's *Admission Book*, in Jan. 1547. In the same volume 9 "Hye Commoners" and 18 "Second Commoners" are mentioned in 1553 (f. 26). But in 1557 there is a note—"No Commoners of either sort this and some of the following years" (f. 37).

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Mr. Thompson (*Christ Church*, 278) from a communication made by the Dean and Chapter to the Commissioners of 1853.



sufficient bedding. He must know his grace by heart. And he must take an oath to the King. Attendance at prayers, disputations and lectures was expected; morning prayers began at five o'clock. Some form of "collections" for scholars was established.<sup>1</sup> Eccentricities of dress were forbidden—"whyte and pricked doublets," galligaskins, "lacyd gownes."<sup>2</sup> The price of commons was regulated by a small committee every week. Dramatic entertainments, four yearly, were from the first a favourite recreation, a comedy in Latin and a comedy in Greek, and a tragedy in Latin and a tragedy in Greek.<sup>3</sup> Few Sovereigns who visited Christ Church were spared the performance of a play. Fines were imposed for failures in discipline. In 1554 Bishop Gardiner, as Visitor and Chancellor of England, accompanied a stern warning with the suggestion that the issue of formal Statutes was contemplated by the King and Queen. But whatever Philip and Mary intended, the Statutes never appeared. The Dean and Chapter continued to make the necessary regulations, and their rules proved at least as useful and elastic as the Statutes which pious Founders anxiously elaborated and which Visitors interpreted or misinterpreted elsewhere.

Christ Church was soon involved in the troubles of the Reformation, though both Edward and Mary added to the endowments it enjoyed. Richard Cox, who succeeded to the uneasy seat of Higdon and of Oliver, was an Eton and a Cambridge man, and had been a junior Canon of Cardinal College. He was a figure of note among the early Reformers, a friend of Cranmer, a tutor to King Edward, and one of the authors of the Prayer-Book of 1549. He brought Peter Martyr to Oxford. He was a stalwart on the Protestant side. Chancellor from 1547 to 1552—"Cancellor," his enemies called him, of all the traditions which the University loved best—he was one of the Visitors who worked their will on the Colleges then. High-handed he may have been. It was said none dared deny him.<sup>4</sup> He has been charged with the ruthless destruction of manuscripts and books. His wife was one of the first ladies to make her home in an Oxford College. Mrs. Peter Martyr came to bear her company, and died and was buried there, close by St. Frideswide's shrine. But when Peter Martyr was driven out of England, the poor lady was dug up and flung on a dung-heap—to such singular severities did orthodoxy

<sup>1</sup> "Ad finem biennii" (*Ib.* 38).

<sup>2</sup> In Dean Tobie Matthew's day (*Ib.* 39).

<sup>3</sup> See the Chapter's decree of Dec. 12th in the first and second year of Philip and Mary (*Register of Decrees*, 165). The total cost was limited to £6.

<sup>4</sup> Marian satirists found him "an utter enemye" to virtue. See the malicious verses which Wood quotes (*Annals*, II, 115-7).

lead. Cox, like Martyr, was exiled under Mary, and the Coxians and Knoxians fought out their differences with the fierce piety of Protestants abroad. Cox lost his Deaneries.<sup>1</sup> But he became Bishop of Ely after Elizabeth's return, and tradition has preserved or invented the Queen's threat to unfrock the "proud prelate," if he would not give up the Episcopal garden in Holborn on which Hatton wished to build. The Bishop was perhaps as tenacious as the courtier in holding on to the good things of life. His successor, Marshall, unkindly described as a drunkard and a turncoat—"sub Edouardo publice retractans, sub Maria reversus ad vomitum," comments the Head of a neighbouring College<sup>2</sup>—was at any rate sincere enough in his Romanist opinions to suffer deprivation and disgrace. He is said to have encouraged Cranmer's recantation. He helped to burn him when the recantation was withdrawn. He saw Great Tom baptized afresh in the name of Mary, and the Vice-Chancellor, Tresham, break into ecstasies in Latin on hearing "pulchram Mariam" ring for Mass again.

Marshall's successor, George Carew, came of a famous Cornish family. But he soon passed on to preferment elsewhere. Sampson, Dean from 1561 to 1565, once a Cambridge man and an Inner Temple student, was a friend of Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley, and "a very bitter enemy of the Roman hierarchy and of Papal rites." He would not hear of wearing vestments. He called on the Chapter to sweep idols and images away. He was never satisfied without a scruple or a grievance. And he lost his Deanery by his stubborn and uncompromising ways. Thomas Godwin, his successor, a comely personage, entertained Elizabeth, who could appreciate comeliness in men. The College list about that time seems to have included some two hundred persons, with servants and tradesmen thrown in.<sup>3</sup> One of the Canons wrote a tragedy for the occasion on a grim example of Royal manners, showing how King Tereus ate his son. Thomas Cooper, Dean from 1567 to 1570, was the son of a poor tailor in Cat Street, a chorister at Magdalen in his boyhood, and in turn schoolmaster, physician, historian and divine. The first of Christ Church lexicographers, he wrote a well-known Treasury of Greek and Latin, which his wife in a fury tore up. Leicester nominated him more than once as Vice-Chancellor, and the Queen for the

<sup>1</sup> Christ Church and Westminster. Mr. Thompson calls him "the first of the only two Oxford men" who have held the See of Ely (p. 18). But Morton and Gray, both Balliol men, had held it already.

<sup>2</sup> Laurence Humfrey (*Juelli Vita*, 81). Marshall's name is often spelt Martial.

<sup>3</sup> See the list quoted by Dr. Clark from the first Matriculation Register in 1565. It has 208 names (*Register of the University*, II, ii, 11-14).

sake of his Dictionary forgave him the misconduct of his wife. He was appointed finally Bishop of Winchester, and as Visitor of Magdalen made rules for his old College.

Two Elizabethan Deans, who passed on to the Northern Primacy, left their mark upon the House. One of them, John Piers, Head in turn of Balliol and of Christ Church, has been described elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The other, Tobie Matthew, started his Oxford life, it is said, at thirteen, was President of St. John's at the age of twenty-six and Dean of Christ Church at the age of thirty.<sup>2</sup> His gifts or his looks won him favour with both Elizabeth and James. He was a famous and prolific preacher. "Busy and pragmatical," he had yet discretion, energy and charm. But Matthew also had his misadventures, including a notorious scuffle with the Principal of Brasenose in St. Mary's Church. In later days he had charge of Lady Arabella Stuart, whom he unwisely allowed to escape. At Christ Church he was an efficient ruler. There are decisions of his day in the Chapter records insisting on exercises and Latin and Greek. There is a decree of May 1577, that none "shall be chosen to the divines table that shall not be able to understand at the first sight a psalme, or a chapter of the old Testament in hebrewe." There are notes of punishments, orders "De Pugnīs et Litibus reprimendis," a significant notice that "none of what estate soever shall keepe gelding or other beast in the Quadrant."<sup>3</sup> There are letters in the Sub-Dean's Book from Queen Elizabeth.<sup>4</sup> Christ Church had many reminders of its connection with the Crown. William James, Matthew's successor, was Elizabeth's host on her second visit to Oxford. Ravis, the first Westminster boy appointed to the Deanery, "a grave and good man," saw the end of the Elizabethan age. John King, the nephew of the first Bishop of the diocese, was also a "King of preachers." Five of his sons were members of the College. He passed from the Deanery to the Bishopric of London, and was the last English Bishop to burn a heretic at the stake. William Goodwin, also a notable preacher, spurned or missed promotion, and died in office as Dean. He received at Christ Church the unhappy Winter King, who was pleased "to matriculate himself a member of the University." Goodwin's funeral sermons, we are told, moved both City and University to tears. But Dean Corbet, who

<sup>1</sup> See *ante* (vol. I, p. 398). He had also been a Demy and Fellow of Magdalen.

<sup>2</sup> If the dates quoted in *D.N.B.* are correct. Foster makes him a student of Christ Church in 1561. Other earlier statements (and some later ones) made about him differ.

<sup>3</sup> See the *Register of Decrees* (119-20, 166, 184, etc.).

<sup>4</sup> E.g. f. 289.



# ECCLESIA CHRISTI.



Prima stat aus tralis Domus ampla, Ecclesia Christi,  
 Primo iam duplici nomine digna loco.  
 Tum quia te, patremque tuum sit nata patronum,  
 Tum quia sit reliquis auctorior ista cohors.  
 Coepta quidem Thoma Wulsey sumptibus olim,  
 Sed patris Hentii censibus auribus tui.

CHRIST CHURCH  
(Bereblock)





succeeded him, was a merrier divine. To laugh and make others laugh was thought to be the business of his life. But wit and power mingled with his rollicking fun. He loved boy's play and was loved by Ben Jonson. He loved conviviality too. The "best poet of all the Bishops of England," he was accused, before he attained to that ambiguous distinction, of singing ballads on market day at Abingdon Cross.<sup>1</sup>

Manners change. Brian Duppa had less poetry in him. But he was fitter to adorn a Deanery in the days of Laud. He left it for a Bishopric before the Civil War. Born in the year of the Armada, tutor to the second Charles in boyhood, he lived on to celebrate his pupil's restoration. Originally a Westminster Student, he passed to All Souls as Fellow, and back to Christ Church as Dean in 1629. He entertained the King in 1636; he had restored the Cathedral already, and Charles' first act was to worship there. Plays were produced in honour of the visit. Oxford scholars also signalled their loyalty by elegiacs on the recent birth of a Princess, elegiacs which Puritans might have thought profane:

"Aspice, parturiunt Virgo, Regina, Mariae:  
Edit Virgo Deum, nupta Maria Deam!"

Under Dean Duppa the College grew and prospered. Its numbers were so large that Royal mandates nominating Students for admission were not always easy to obey. Westminster sent up successful scholars, and their brother Students entertained them on arrival with such boisterous hospitality that in 1638 the Visitor had to intervene. The Dean and Chapter were commanded at their "uttermost peril" to stop these Westminster suppers. Already, before this, Bachelor suppers had been forbidden, and the "impertinent complaints" of students sharply checked by the Crown. A new block of rooms for wealthy Commoners had been added. Young nobles, sometimes called Canon Commoners or Doctors' Commoners,<sup>2</sup> dined on the dais with the Canons. Upper Commoners<sup>3</sup> and under Commoners formed two other grades. Poor Scholars, battlers and servitors had their own distinctions. And while the Commoners multiplied and overflowed into the Dean's and Canons' quarters, their servants multiplied still faster. Duppa found it necessary

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Macleane, in his larger *History of Pembroke College* (109-15), gives, among others, an interesting sketch of Corbet. See also *D.N.B.* and Corbet's poems, some of which are quoted in vol. 21 of Fulman's *MS. Collections at Corpus*.

<sup>2</sup> "Commensales ad mensam Doctorum." They were sometimes admitted as young as 12 (Thompson, 58).

<sup>3</sup> Or High Commoners, "Commensales superioris ordinis." Gentleman Commoners is the familiar if invidious name.

to limit the number of servitors who waited on "the students, chaplains and under commoners of this Church."<sup>1</sup> A good deal of discipline must have been needed, and Laud and his supporters were determined to enforce it, in the great and heterogeneous household which the walls of Christ Church sheltered before the Civil War.

The tenure of Dean Samuel Fell covered a stormier period, from 1638 to 1648. A devoted Royalist, Fell did his best, when the Parliamentary troops first arrived in Oxford, to conceal the College plate. Christ Church owes to him, among other important additions to its buildings, the beautiful fan tracery over the Hall stair. He welcomed his Sovereign after Edgehill. He lodged him in the Deanery when the Court came to Oxford, and had a private way opened past Corpus to Merton, for the King to use in visiting the Queen. In 1644 the Royalist Parliament was opened by Charles in Christ Church Hall. Students and Commoners drilled in the great quadrangle. Rupert's troopers jangled through the meadows. Thanksgivings for the Prince's victories rang through the choir. Twenty Christ Church Students were officers in the Royal army. Young John Fell, the Dean's son, whose fame was destined to eclipse his father's, held a commission as Ensign. His friend Dolben rose to be a Major, and was wounded at Marston Moor, in the diocese which he afterwards ruled as Archbishop. The plate which the Parliament men left behind them found its way into the Royal Mint.<sup>2</sup> Samuel Fell grudged nothing to the service of his master. He treated the Parliamentary Visitors with contempt. Summoned to London, he was imprisoned and deprived. But he did not long survive his suspension, for the King's death broke his heart. Mrs. Fell, refusing to leave the Deanery, where she is said to have buried the Bedels' maces so securely that they were never found again, was carried out by soldiers into the quadrangle and took refuge in an apothecary's house. Most of the Canons also refused to acknowledge the new order, and preferred to face deprivation like the Dean.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To 30 (*Ib.* 59). But this number apparently did not include the servants of the higher grades of Commoners. 2s. 4d. a week was allowed for each servitor's maintenance. In the *Register of Decrees* in the Chapter House there are early 17th century entries limiting the Gentlemen Commoners to 4 servitors only at table, and referring to quarrels between the Canons' servants and the Gentlemen's men (pp. 105 and 59).

<sup>2</sup> The Chapter House records fail at this period. The *Register of Decrees* ends with Dean Duppa, and the *Sub-Dean's Book* ends with one or two entries in 1643 and 1646.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Burrows in his summary estimates that there were 52 expulsions and 60 submissions. But the latter included several almsmen and servants. The Students' answers to the Visitors in May 1648 showed little inclination to submit. (See *Register of Visitors*, 571 and 68-74.)

In the dark days that followed for the Church of England, young John Fell and his two friends Dolben and Allestree kept up the old services at Beam Hall in Merton Street,<sup>1</sup> and it says something for the tolerance of the Commonwealth that they were undisturbed. A Presbyterian Dean was followed by an Independent. Edward Reynolds, one of the Parliamentary Visitors, showed himself both moderate and able.<sup>2</sup> John Owen was a conspicuous Puritan divine. Owen had followed Cromwell to Scotland. He preached Ireton's funeral sermon. He became a strong and active Vice-Chancellor in Oxford. He was elected Member for the University, but not allowed, as a clergyman, to sit. He wrote untiringly upon theology, but for all his fighting vigour he was capable of kindness and indulgence to men whose views he did not share. Under Dean Owen, Roundhead though he was, the College improved its discipline and kept up its numbers. Its services were altered, but its Chaplains do not seem to have been dismissed.<sup>3</sup> Prayers were more regular. Godly tutors were insisted on. "Immoderate expences" were discouraged, and even the battels of Gentlemen Commoners limited to five shillings a week. "Scandalous fashions of long and powdered hair" were put down, though the Puritan Dean was something of a dandy. Undergraduates who misbehaved were whipped. But the Restoration brought the old ways back. George Morley, once a friend of Falkland and a lifelong friend of Izaak Walton, was appointed Dean by Charles II.<sup>4</sup> And when he passed on quickly to a Bishopric, the long and famous tenure of John Fell began.

John Fell, we are told, was a Christ Church Student at eleven and a Master of Arts at eighteen. He returned as a Canon on the Restoration, and Dolben and Allestree came back with him. The features of the three friends, the jack, the chub and the red herring,<sup>5</sup> may be studied together in the well-known picture in the College Hall. Within a few months Fell was appointed Dean. Fifteen years later he became Bishop of Oxford also, and few men played so great a part in Oxford life. Versatile, masterful, tireless as he was, too strong in his will, too active in his

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Carøe (*Wren and Tom Tower*, 6) has an important note on Beam Hall, which still exists. It was occupied by Dr. Willis (*Wood's Life*, I, 447).

<sup>2</sup> Reynolds was Dean from 1648 to 1651 and again just before the Restoration. He was afterwards Warden of Merton and Bishop of Norwich. Owen, who had replaced him, was ejected in his favour by Parliament on March 13, 1660 (*Wood, Life*, I, 307).

<sup>3</sup> Thompson (73).

<sup>4</sup> A charming letter of Morley's, written after his withdrawal, is in the Chapter records in the volume of Royal Letters. Mr. Thompson quotes it (81).

<sup>5</sup> So the *Terrae Filius* described them in 1664 (Thompson, 86).



energies to avoid making enemies, as the epigram suggests,<sup>1</sup> Fell's influence was felt in every department of University affairs. He was of course a strong loyalist and churchman. He was resolute in restoring the ejected Anglicans. He renewed the old services, the surplices, the organ. He attended church four times a day. Evelyn even accused him of preaching in blank verse. "However," adds the Diarist hastily, "he is a good man."<sup>2</sup> Fell completed the Christ Church buildings. He hung Great Tom in Wren's great tower.<sup>3</sup> He rebuilt the Palace at Cuddesdon. He opened the Sheldonian Theatre and made it the home of the University Press. He printed Wood's work, and would have forgiven Wood's ingratitude, if Wood had not found his generosity so hard to bear. He urged the East India Company to evangelise the East. He tried to enforce discipline, to check drunkenness—the College had its examples of "notorious and incorrigible" behaviour<sup>4</sup>—to make a reality of the examinations for degrees. He fought hard for the right of his Canons to preach University sermons at Christ Church instead of at St. Mary's as no mere "Punctilio of Grandeur."<sup>5</sup> The old Cavaliers delighted to place their sons in his keeping. The House grew and prospered under his rule.<sup>6</sup>

Fell received Charles II at Christ Church. He received the Duchess of Cleveland also and accepted the charge of her son. At a later date, in a year of crisis, when Charles summoned a Parliament at Oxford, Fell placed the College at the disposal of the Court. He entertained James and his Duchess. He carried out—he had little choice in the matter—the Royal demand for the expulsion of John Locke.<sup>7</sup> One of his last actions was to appeal for volunteers to serve against Monmouth. But his death in 1686 saved him from any further acquiescence in the methods of King James. After some months' interval

<sup>1</sup> "I do not like thee, Dr. Fell," etc. The lines were applied to John Fell and not to his father (*Notes and Queries*, Fourth Series, 4, 313).

<sup>2</sup> See Evelyn's *Diary* under the 24th February 1665.

<sup>3</sup> This subject is fully discussed by Mr. Carøe in his pleasant volume on *Wren and Tom Tower*, where he prints seven letters from Wren to Bishop Fell, which he found in the College Treasury, with other papers.

<sup>4</sup> See the sad records of Sir Morrison and Sir Levett in 1664 (*Chapter Book*, 1648–88, p. 126).

<sup>5</sup> See Fell's statement of 6 March 1674 among the Royal Letters in the Chapter records.

<sup>6</sup> In 1658 there seem to have been 66 members, besides those on the foundation. But in Fell's day Gentlemen Commoners came freely and numbers, no doubt, increased fast (see Thompson, 85–6). Langbaine's total in 1651 is 223, including servants.

<sup>7</sup> Fell had little sympathy for Locke's opinions. But before carrying out the Royal order he pointed out that at Christ Church there was no evidence to condemn him. The King's "mandat" is entered in the first Chapter Book (p. 249) under date 15 November 1684.

that reckless King appointed John Massey of Merton, a follower of Obadiah Walker, to the vacant place, and the new Dean lost no time in conforming to his Sovereign's faith. A new Chapel was made in the old refectory of Canterbury College, where the King heard mass in 1687. Commoners began to fall away. The Christ Church bells found few to share their rejoicings when they rang for the birth of the Prince of Wales. On William's coming, Massey fled. Aldrich, an experienced and a well-loved Tutor, was appointed to the Deanery in 1689. Before the new Sovereign's reign had ended Christ Church was rejoicing in popularity again.

Apart from the Deans who ruled over her, Christ Church can boast of many famous sons. Wood gives an imposing list of Bishops and Archbishops. One of the Archbishops, Lancelot Blackburne, a Student of Charles II's day, was alleged to have had some brief experience as a buccaneer. Scandal told many other stories to discredit him, but the jolly, witty prelate lived them down. Only three Bishops of Oxford lie in the Cathedral, and only two of these, Robert King and John Fell, are known to fame. Cranmer and even Tyndale have sometimes been included among the members of Wolsey's original foundation.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Randolph, Elizabeth's Ambassador to Mary Stuart, was one of the earliest members of the College. To Christ Church or to Broadgates Hall across the way, where Commoners were sometimes lodged who received tuition at Christ Church,<sup>2</sup> there came a group of brilliant young Elizabethans—Philip Sidney, a delicate boy of fourteen, Richard Carew of Antony,<sup>3</sup> scholar, poet and historian of his county, William Camden, rejected by Magdalen,<sup>4</sup> Richard Hakluyt already distinguished by his love of voyages, and, according to one very doubtful tradition, Fulke Greville,<sup>5</sup> who loved Sidney best of all. William Harrison, who

<sup>1</sup> Even Prof. Gairdner thinks Cranmer was asked to join (*D.N.B.*). But, as Mr. Thompson suggests (6-7), Cranmer's name may have been confused with that of Thomas Canner, one of the earliest Canons. Tyndale's nomination seems difficult to credit, for in 1525 he was already abroad and in close touch with Luther. But Foxe again vouches for it, Hutten repeats the tradition, and Mr. S. G. Hamilton accepts it in his history of *Hertford College* (105).

<sup>2</sup> Some came on to Christ Church; some, like Sidney, matriculated and stayed at Broadgates Hall (Thompson, 36).

<sup>3</sup> Not to be confused with his contemporary George Carew, the son of the Dean, who became Earl of Totnes.

<sup>4</sup> Camden had some early connection with Magdalen, but failed to secure a Demyship there.

<sup>5</sup> Sir S. Lee would seem to accept the tradition in his article on Sidney, but to reject it in his article on Greville (*D.N.B.*). Greville was at Jesus College, Cambridge, but was in 1588 created an Oxford M.A. (Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*, 1st Series, vol. II).

may rank with Camden, took his Bachelor's degree at Christ Church but went to Cambridge first. In the same age William Gager, an accomplished Latin poet and a defender of the drama,<sup>1</sup> wrote Latin plays which were acted at the House. George Peele, a greater dramatist, helped in their production. He passed from Broadgates Hall to Christ Church in 1574. There he took his degree and proved his metal as a poet, before descending or ascending into the immortal company of the Elizabethan stage. With Gager there came up from Westminster Leonard Hutten, another fine Latinist and scholar, one of the first historians of the College<sup>2</sup> and one of the first of Oxford antiquarians. His monument in the Cathedral still bears witness to the reputation for piety, simplicity and learning which he bore.<sup>3</sup>

In 1599, when Hutten was appointed a Canon, Robert Burton of Brasenose was elected to a Studentship and became for forty years a member of the House. He calculated the date of his own death and indulged himself by writing his own epitaph.<sup>4</sup> Mischievous undergraduates declared that, to prove his calculation accurate, he "sent up his soul to heaven thro' a noose about his neck." William Strode and William Cartwright were two other Christ Church playwrights, whose dramas King Charles in 1636 witnessed or enjoyed. *The Royal Slave* was a conspicuous success. Busby, then a don of thirty and not yet the most awful and eminent of schoolmasters, won fame in the part of Cratander, who was generally regarded as a prig. Cartwright was not only a dramatist but a "seraphical" preacher, a metaphysician, and a "miracle of industry and wit." When he died of camp fever in 1643, the King went into mourning—"dropt a teare," says Aubrey, "at the newes of his death"—and he found a grave in the Cathedral precincts with many a famous figure of the camp and Court. Wood gives a pitiful list of monuments erected to the loyal servants of the Crown who perished in those unhappy years—Sir John Smith, who saved the Royal Standard at Edgehill, Chief Justice Bankes, once a member of Queen's College, Sir Henry Gage, "*plumbea trajectus glande*," one of the few Royalist soldiers who made himself universally beloved, Sir Thomas Gardiner, the young Captain knighted by the King at dinner in Christ Church for bringing news of a victory from

<sup>1</sup> Against John Rainolds. (See later, pp. 144-5.)

<sup>2</sup> His account of the foundation is in the Chapter House. His dissertation on the Antiquities of Oxford, edited by Mr. Plummer, has been published in *Elizabethan Oxford* (O.H.S.).

<sup>3</sup> Wood gives the inscription (*Colleges*, 503). The Dean's *Admission Books* (I, 66) show that Hutten came up, with William Gager and George Peele, in 1574, not in 1571, as Mr. Thompson (44-5) says.

<sup>4</sup> See Wood (*Colleges*, 490). It was left for discoverers of the twentieth century to credit Burton, like Bacon, with writing Shakespeare's plays.



Prince Rupert, and the three Stuart brothers of the house of Lennox, killed and buried one after another under the high altar side by side. Their names and many another loyal gentleman's shine still among the students and divines of Christ Church, as their armour shone on ceremonial occasions among the scarlet gownsmen in the stalls.

There were other well-known academic figures in the seventeenth century whom the traditions of the House recall. Pococke, a great Orientalist, Professor in turn of Arabic and Hebrew, was nominated to his Canonry in 1648 both by the King and by the Parliamentary Committee. The venerable fig-tree in the Hebrew Professor's garden may be due to his wanderings in the East. Robert Sanderson held the Divinity Professorship so long as the victorious party would allow it during the difficult days of Civil War. Thomas Case, who won a Studentship in 1616, became a great preacher of the Parliament. Wood thought him a fire-brand, but Pepys a dull fellow with a "presbyterian manner." Peter French may have owed his Canonry to the fact that he had married a sister of Oliver Cromwell. Hammond, a very conspicuous Royalist, had received his Canonry from King Charles in 1645. He kept his place and carried on the government of the College after Samuel Fell's imprisonment, till he too was imprisoned and deprived. Dolben and Allestree, "returning poor and bare" with John Fell after years of exile, found their loyalty sufficiently rewarded. Dolben, an ardent soldier, proved a most successful Dean at Westminster.

"Him of the western dome, whose weighty sense  
Flows in fit words and heavenly eloquence."<sup>1</sup>

He was afterwards a high-minded and vigorous Archbishop of York.

Allestree, like Dolben a soldier in the Royal army, was contented afterwards with a more tranquil career. A noted College Tutor first, he became Provost of Eton and Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford. John Fell composed a biography of Allestree and of Hammond too. Philip Henry, who as a boy had played with the young Princes and had even been tipped by Laud in the Tower, was taught by Dr. Busby to care deeply for religion. But he found it impossible to conform to the requirements of the Church. Robert South, another of Busby's pupils, and buried like his old master in Westminster Abbey, was a divine of less exacting views. He wrote a panegyric upon Cromwell in 1654, but won Clarendon's favour on the Restoration. He mocked at Cromwell later in a sermon, acted as chaplain to

<sup>1</sup> *Absalom and Achitophel* (Pt. I, ll. 868-9).



Rochester,<sup>1</sup> stood by Dr. Sacheverell. He dared even to mock at the Royal Society. His "graphic humour" scandalized more serious minds. But South, it seems, was not wholly a self-seeker, for all the vicissitudes that he underwent. He was superior to William Jane, a much more pliant politician, whose defence of passive obedience, till subservient Toryism went out of fashion, was not forgotten when his opinions changed.

Greater churchmen, Compton and Trelawney, were among the Bishops who withstood the tyranny of James. Compton had been an undergraduate of Queen's and a graduate of Cambridge before he became a Canon of Christ Church. Trelawney's glory cast its glow over his old College. John Locke's expulsion reflected on its fame. Locke came up from Westminster in 1652. He made a reputation as student and as teacher. He was Reader in Greek and in Rhetoric. In 1663 he was a Censor, and summoned to answer for scolding one of the servants of the House.<sup>2</sup> He and South joined in the Oxford productions published alike on Cromwell's victories and on Charles II's marriage. The Queen's Royal lover, Locke wickedly suggested, found all the world too "little for his heart." Rumour said that Locke preferred romances to the Schoolmen. At any rate he avoided taking Orders, and after a brief experience of travelling and diplomacy he settled down in Oxford as a medical man. It was his knowledge of medicine which introduced him to Lord Ashley in the days before Ashley had lost the favour of the Court. After Shaftesbury's fall that dangerous friendship was remembered, and the King ordered Locke's dismissal from the College in 1684.<sup>3</sup> When he returned with the Prince of Orange he refused to press for his reinstatement at Christ Church. But his College has long since atoned for its weakness and has hung his portrait in honour in the Hall. William of Orange himself was a visitor at Christ Church in 1670. His father-in-law was entered on the books after Edgehill, and reminded the dons of his seniority when he supped at the Deanery in 1687. Arlington represented the statesmen of the Restoration. Dudley Carleton, a much earlier diplomatist, had his share in the unhappy schemes of Buckingham. William Penn and the second Duke of Ormonde were conspicuous figures later.<sup>4</sup> Atterbury, with his "rare

<sup>1</sup> Laurence Hyde. Fulman (*MSS.*, VII, 139 *sq.* and 174 *sq.*) gives South's oration of 1658 in praise of the dominant party, and his oration on Juxon's funeral five years later in another vein.

<sup>2</sup> Thompson (101).

<sup>3</sup> The King's letter of Nov. 11, and Locke's letter to Lord Pembroke of Dec. 8, 1684, defending his conduct, are shown in the Christ Church Library.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Thompson (223) claims Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Charles Montagu, Earl of Halifax, as Christ Church men. There were

talent for fomenting discord," was an active tutor in the College. The line of Christ Church worthies is not easily exhausted. The House stood high in reputation when the seventeenth century closed.

Wolsey had planned to build the stateliest College ever seen in Oxford, and though his schemes foundered their grandeur survived.

"Non stabit illa domus, aliis fundata rapinis,  
Aut ruet aut alter raptor habebit eam."

So ran the prophecy, framed perhaps after the event. Henry's rapacity justified the distich, but it was Wolsey, and not Henry, who stamped the College as his own. The arms of the Cardinal are still the arms of Christ Church. His devices—the Cardinal's hat and the pillars set saltire-wise—still ornament its walls.<sup>1</sup> His statue stands now over the main door. The Hall is typical of his magnificence. The lines of the great quadrangle are the lines he drew. The piers which surround it mark the preparations for his cloister. The remnants of St. Frideswide's Priory, which he embodied in his buildings, claim at any rate traditions of antiquity with which nothing else in Oxford can compare. Robert of Cricklade and, it may well be, Guimond before him, had laboured as Priors to build the Norman church. Its tower and nave, its choir and transepts, must have been standing in 1180, when the bones of St. Frideswide were solemnly deposited there.<sup>2</sup> But the Normans built on earlier foundations, and there is no reason for doubting that relics of more ancient Saxon days remain.<sup>3</sup> The spire, more than once rebuilt, claims to be one of the oldest in England. The beautiful Chapter House dates

both Harleys and Montagus at Christ Church, but neither, I think, of these two famous Ministers. Charles Montagu was at Trinity, Cambridge.

<sup>1</sup> The two pillars were supposed to represent Wolsey's authority as Cardinal and Legate. Maces, pole-axes and pastoral staves were other emblems which he used (*Ib.*, App. A.). Note among these ornaments the fine console of Renaissance work under the oriel of the West front of the South bastion, which Mr. Vallance reproduces (*Old Colleges of Oxford*, 70).

<sup>2</sup> The Saint was laid first in the North choir aisle, and moved in 1289 to a costlier shrine in the Lady Chapel.

<sup>3</sup> This, though once stoutly denied by high authorities, is now widely admitted. The explorations of Mr. J. Park Harrison and others have not only confirmed the view expressed by Dr. Ingram (*Memorials*, I) that substantial portions of Æthelred's church of 1004 survive, but have established the existence of still older Saxon remains, which may well belong to the eighth century church built in the days of St. Frideswide and her father. See specially Mr. Harrison's papers on the *Discovery of the Remains of Three Apses at Oxford Cathedral*, on *Further Discoveries, on The Pre-Norman Date of the Design*, and on *A Pre-Norman Window* (from 1887 onwards), and Mr. St. John Tyrwhitt's summary (*Colleges of Oxford*, 321-2).

from the thirteenth century, but its fine Norman doorway is older. The Lady Chapel, where the Barbers' Guild kept a light burning before the Virgin, also belongs to the thirteenth century. St. Frideswide found a new resting-place there. Monuments in the Lady Chapel recall a Prior and a warrior whom it would be rash to name,<sup>1</sup> and with more certainty Elizabeth Lady Montacute, a benefactress of the Black Prince's day.<sup>2</sup> The fourteenth century saw the Latin Chapel or Divinity Chapel with its fine glass added to the North. Other changes and additions enriched the old buildings—from Norman to Gothic, to Early English and Decorated work. Wolsey found the Cloister recently rebuilt and swept away part of it without compunction. He left the Refectory of the monks to become the Library of the College. He left, he may have finished, the beautiful vaulting of the Choir; some would even make him responsible for its creation.<sup>3</sup> But history has not yet decided, and possibly the Cardinal never finally decided, how far he intended to use or to preserve the ancient Minster, which seemed to him an inadequate Chapel for the splendid foundation he designed.

The great quadrangle which the Founder planned, with its parapets and hieroglyphics, remained through the sixteenth century much as he left it, with three sides nearly finished and the fourth begun.<sup>4</sup> On the North side the foundations of the

<sup>1</sup> The Prior might possibly be Sutton. It is very doubtful if either monument represents Prior Guimond or Sir George Nowers.

<sup>2</sup> Wood says (*City*, II, 170) that she founded two chantries and gave 46 acres of meadow ground.

<sup>3</sup> There is a puzzling statement attributed by Gutch (*Collect. Cur.* I, 205) to a "Journal Book of the Expences of all the Buildings" of Christ Church, which speaks of payments "for the making, carving, framing and garnishing the vault of the roof of the new Church of the said College"; and there is another reference to the framing and carving of the "new vault" of the roof of the Choir. These entries, if accurate, can only refer to St. Frideswide's Church. But they might conceivably mean that Wolsey spent money on finishing or improving the roof of the Choir which had recently been renewed. There are some reasons for dating this roof from the 15th century, and we know that before the end of that century the Monastery, though much embarrassed, did spend money on its Church and buildings, and was apparently left money for the purpose. Wood (*Colleges*, 462), whom Ingram follows, and Mr. Thompson also (249-50) notice that Wolsey improved the old church and intended to preserve it. But one hesitates to think that, while pulling down one end of it, he spent profusely on re-roofing the other, which he did not intend to use for his Chapel. Sir G. Scott seems to have treated the date of the vaulting as an open question.

<sup>4</sup> It measured 264 ft. × 261. I think it remained in that condition longer than Mr. Thompson (227) seems to suggest. Mr. Carøe (*Wren and Tom Tower*, 5, 8, etc.) definitely ascribes the extension Northwards of the St. Aldate's façade to Samuel Fell. Beresblock's drawing shows Wolsey's rich parapet, which Fell's balustrade replaced.



magnificent Chapel were long visible. It was to have occupied nearly the whole length of the quadrangle and to have measured at its widest not much less than a hundred feet.<sup>1</sup> Grass grew presently over these foundations. "Cattell and hogges" invaded the court. A century passed before the task of completing it was undertaken, and the site of the unachieved Chapel filled in. But Dean Duppa and Samuel Fell repaired the buildings of Peckwater and Canterbury, and gave a definite form to the Peckwater quadrangle, where, as early as 1600, some rooms for Gentlemen Commoners had been built.<sup>2</sup> Brian Duppa did a great deal to alter the Cathedral—improving the music, moving the ancient stalls from the Choir, inserting panelling and screens and paving, displacing the monuments with little regard for their history, carrying away and sacrificing some of the old tombs. Even in Laud's day inconvenient church memorials could be treated as "old superfluous stuff." Duppa removed also some of the fine, old glass and altered the shape of the windows. But he filled them with new glass which included Van Linge's fascinating picture of Jonah and his gourd. The Puritans, no doubt, disapproved of the Dean's work. They took down "the Orgaines." Wood declares that one of the intended Canons "furiously stamped upon" some of the old glass. But the soldiers of the Parliament could not help admiring the "painted idolatrous windows"; and the old glass now in the Latin Chapel, some in the South transept, and some of Abraham Van Linge's has been preserved. The window given by Bishop King's relations, with its well-known picture of Oseney Abbey, was taken down, but returned safely when King Charles came back.<sup>3</sup> Samuel Fell, who succeeded Duppa, left a greater legacy behind him in the vaulted roof of the Hall staircase, one of the most beautiful pieces of seventeenth-century work. "Smith, an artificer of London"—that is all we know of the man who produced it—may at least ask posterity to register his inconspicuous name. Samuel Fell also made the archway, "Kill-Canon," through his garden into Peckwater. He began to build on the North side of the great quadrangle, and he probably completed the West side on St. Aldate's. But the Civil War suspended building operations. The Puritan Canons, it is alleged, chopped up the timbers of the new buildings for firewood. Wolsey's court remained unfinished, and it was left for John Fell's energy to carry through his father's schemes.

<sup>1</sup> 96 ft. Mr. Hurst suggests (*Oxf. Topog.*, 48).

<sup>2</sup> Thompson (41 and 115) and Wood (*Colleges*, 453 and 455).

<sup>3</sup> The Cathedral, as Duppa left it, remained but little altered till Dean Liddell's time. On the glass which Duppa inserted see Mr. Grinling's paper (*Oxf. Architect. Soc. Proceedings*, N.S., IV, 111 sq.).



Fell began by gathering in subscriptions. Christ Church men formed a rich society, and it was a day of triumph for the Cavaliers. Money usually given for plate was devoted to the buildings. The King offered an Earl's patent valued at a thousand pounds. Wren contributed his stately genius. Fell and the Christ Church Canons brought generous gifts themselves. The range of buildings on the North side was finished, Wood notes, in July 1662.<sup>1</sup> The Dean, we are told, covered up the foundations of the Chapel with mould for the Canons' gardens, and carted away the white chippings to make a White Walk in the meadow—a name corrupted possibly to Wide Walk, and so to Broad Walk in a later day.<sup>2</sup> Lodgings for two Canons were provided here. A few years later, when fire destroyed the lodgings of the third stall—called the “*præbenda vivax*” because its holders lived so long<sup>3</sup>—another Canon's house was built beyond Kill-Canon on the way to Peckwater. Over Kill-Canon, the archway in the North-East corner, Fell planned to make an observatory tower. Wolsey's parapet was replaced by an Italian balustrade, destined to give place again to battlements later. A broad terrace was raised on steps against the walls. A great stone basin was erected in the centre. Canon Gardiner, Doctor in Divinity, presented a fountain of water, running through a rock and globe and pouring out of the mouth of a serpent. The Chapter promised to maintain it for ever, and replaced it with a statue of Mercury before the century was out.

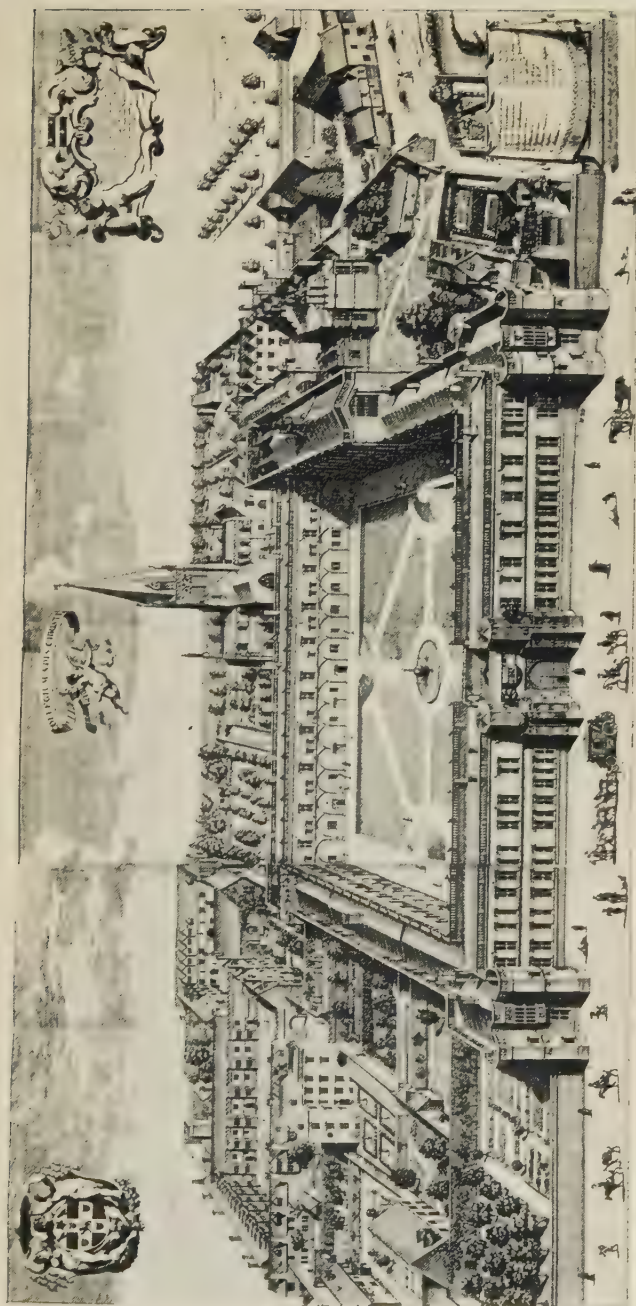
But John Fell's work was not yet done. In 1669, when fire attacked the Chaplains' quadrangle, he constructed a new block of buildings beyond the Cloister and bordering on the meadow. They bore his name for two centuries till newer buildings took their place.<sup>4</sup> Above all, before the great Dean's reign was over, Wren's design for the Gateway Tower, finely effective, if wanting a little in fineness of detail, was carried through. Its vaulted roof was decorated with the shields of the subscribers, “with great curiosity engraven in stone.” Henry's arms and Wolsey's, Charles I's and Charles II's appeared in the centre. Great Tom, “*Magnus Thomas Clusius Oxoniensis*,” its sex and Protestantism vindicated, was brought down from the tower of the Cathedral and successfully recast. On the 29th May 1684, the anniversary of the Sovereign's Restoration, it took up its duties again from

<sup>1</sup> On the outside at any rate (Wood, *Life*, I, 455).

<sup>2</sup> If we may follow Mr. Hurst (*Oxford Topography*, 48). The Walk with its 72 elms on each side was planted by Dean Fell (Thompson, 88). The foundations of Wolsey's Chapel were only discovered in 1893.

<sup>3</sup> For the lodgings assigned to the Canons see Thompson (14-15).

<sup>4</sup> Wood (*Colleges*, 448) speaks of lodgings erected here by Philip King, Auditor of the College, about 1638, which were destroyed in the fire.



CHRIST CHURCH  
(Loggan)



the Gateway Tower, and ever since, instead of singing Bim Bom in praise of St. Thomas,<sup>1</sup> it has tolled its nightly message from Christ Church to the world. The Oseney bells remaining,

“Hauteclere, Douce, Clement, Austyn, Marie, Gabriel et John,”<sup>2</sup>

were strengthened by others in Tom's place. Increased to twelve in later days, and re-hung in the tower over the Hall Staircase, they still compose the famous Christ Church peal.

The Kitchen of Christ Church, its Founder had determined, should be from the first equal to the needs of its members. But the Library of his great foundation was never till the eighteenth century worthy of its fame. Its first home was in the Refectory of the old Convent, above the Cloister which bounded the Chaplains' quadrangle, and Wood is probably justified in saying that before the seventeenth century it was “in a very slender manner furnished with books.” Bishop James and Bishop King, however, who had both been Deans of Christ Church, helped to improve it. “Mr. Otho Nicholson, one of the Examiners of the Chancery,” is credited with contributing eight hundred pounds. Robert Burton and other benefactors of the seventeenth century, including John Fell, added to its stores. And at last in the eighteenth century, on the other side of the College, a far more imposing Library was begun. But the record of its treasures, which include Wolsey's indubitable hat and one of the original copies of his best biography, belongs more properly to a later age.

Meanwhile close beside the old Refectory two rooms, now rarely visited, were fitted up for the books bequeathed by Richard Allestree, John Fell's lifelong friend. They included the volumes which Allestree had inherited from Dr. Hammond, and they were conveyed to the University of Oxford for the use of Divinity Professors in future. A fine Tudor Bible, bearing the arms of Queen Elizabeth, is among the little used volumes which this Library contains.<sup>3</sup> The Common Room, the “new low room beneath the west end of the hall,” was designed by Dr. Busby in 1667. It was intended apparently for “Mathe-

<sup>1</sup> The famous bell, over 7 ft. in diameter—Wood (*City*, II, 220) put it at 6—and weighing over 7 tons, was dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury and bore originally the legend

“in Thomae laude resonò Bim Bom sine fraude.”

Dedicated to Mary in days of reaction, it had been recast apparently both in 1612 and in 1654. (See Caròe, *Tom Tower*, 67–8.)

<sup>2</sup> These old names gave place to more familiar ones, “Mary and Jesus, Meribus and Lucas, New bell and Thomas, Conger and Goldeston” (Wood, *City*, II, 220). Gutch's Note to Wood's *Colleges* (452) seems to make the number one less. As early as October 1680, Wood speaks of the ten bells being hung up “and Tom reserved for the Tower on the great gate” (*Life*, II, 497).

<sup>3</sup> See Thompson (241–3).



mattick and Oriental lectures " as well as for " public fires " and festivities for Masters and Students. The Common Room garden was made at the same time. The Hall, from the first the chief glory of the College, was little altered till the eighteenth century, when a fire destroyed the roof and the old louvre. But the later roof and woodwork seem to have reproduced the old design. Lights of the old glass remain in the West window, and among them the shields of four of Wolsey's Sees. The " noble-men's oriel " contains some other fragments. The woodwork repeats the badges and devices of Cardinal and King. Holbein's pictures of Henry and of Wolsey hang side by side above the dais—the early buildings of Christ Church at the Cardinal's side. Elizabeth is on the left hand of her father. Elizabethan Deans like Godwin and James are not far away.<sup>1</sup> Brian Duppa and John Fell are there, with Busby and Locke and Penn and many another. And the noble portraits accumulated as generations have gone by bear some of the most splendid names in English history. The story of Christ Church may indeed be read upon its walls.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Piers, with Dudley Carleton (Lord Dorchester), Arling-ton and others, is in the ante-hall. Archbishop Matthew is in the Old Lecture Room. Mr. Haverfield has an excellent *Brief Guide to the Portraits in Christ Church Hall*. The Library pictures, which have a separate catalogue, were acquired later.

<sup>2</sup> The authorities for the College history have been already quoted. They have been largely used by Mr. Thompson, to whose little history I am greatly indebted. But I have to thank the Dean and Chapter for kindly allowing me to study those in the possession of the College, and in particular Dr. Watson for access to documents in the Chapter House, the Treasurer for access to the deeds and charters in the Treasury, and the Librarian for leave to see certain exhibits in the Library. I wish also to thank Mr. S. G. Owen for his kind help. Among the most interesting documents are the *Admission Books* kept by the Dean ; the early deeds and foundation charters kept in the Treasury, together with Fine-Books, account books, many volumes of Disbursements and Receipts, and other miscellaneous papers ; and the records kept in the Chapter House, which include not only the early Cartularies of St. Frideswide's, of Oseney and of Eynsham, copies of foundation-charters, and the original Statutes of Cardinal College, but an early *Register* running from 1547 to 1619, the *Register of Decrees*, beginning in 1549 and ending in the days of Dean Duppa, the *Sub-Dean's Book*, running from 1549 to 1646, with the most varied contents, and the *Chapter Book* from March 20, 1648 to Dec. 24, 1688. The Chapter House documents also include, among others, an account of Wolsey's plate, a thin volume of Royal Letters, etc.—one from Oliver Cromwell, the Usurper, is not apparently thought worthy to be fastened in—Hutten's *Liber Successi Dec. Canon. Alumn.*, Gilpin's book of notes and extracts, made by a Chapter Registrar of the eighteenth century, and a thin volume of disciplinary records, entries of fines or punishments, from about 1549 to about 1623. Full as these records are of names and elections, of rules for study, leave and conduct, and of all sorts of personal details, they do not throw much light on the general history of the times.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE UNIVERSITY AND THE REFORMATION

WITH the fall of Wolsey a new era dawned. The years which followed were full of peril for the University to which he had proved so powerful a friend. There was a sharp significance for the clerks of Oxford in the measures of the memorable Parliament which met in November 1529, and which before it separated had launched the Reformation. The King, however mixed the motives which impelled him, was no longer concerned to prevent attacks upon the Church. The deep resentment which had been gathering for many generations against clerical privilege and clerical abuses, against the oppression and venality of ecclesiastical courts, against the scandals too long tolerated in the lives and claims of churchmen, found at last the opportunity which it desired. And a Revolution, cloaked in forms of law, swept over the whole field of faith and teaching, while it served only too well to secure the purposes of the Sovereign who loosed it and who used it as he pleased.

From the meeting of Parliament events moved fast. In the session of 1529 Bills passed to forbid the levying of excessive fees by Church authorities, to enforce residence, to put pluralities down. Popular complaints rang with the great and "importable" charges to which clerical rapacity condemned the poor. Next year the Universities of Europe were pressed for their opinions on King Henry's marriage and the Pope's dispensing power. Reginald Pole at Paris was unwillingly induced to help. In 1531 the clergy were compelled to pay a heavy fine for having acknowledged Wolsey's Legatine authority, and to give the King the title of Supreme Head of the Church. And in the years which followed, the Revolution swept ahead. Benefit of clergy was attacked. Annates<sup>1</sup> were conditionally abolished. More resigned. Warham died with a vain protest on his lips. Henry married Anne Boleyn, and the new Archbishop declared the

<sup>1</sup> The first year's income of Bishoprics, which went to the Pope. Canon Dixon suggests (*Hist. of the Church of England*, I, 139, n.) that the proposal, which was conditional on the Pope's not yielding, may have included the first-fruits of all benefices, which Henry ultimately claimed. Among the many Acts directed against the Church in England, some which had a special bearing on the Universities are noted in Mr. Shadwell's *Enactments in Parliament* (O.H.S., vol. I).

King's earlier marriage void. Parliament stopped tribute and appeals to Rome. A new law of heresy replaced the old one. The Act of Succession entailed the throne on Queen Anne's issue, and Commissioners enforced compliance. The Nun of Kent was sent to the scaffold and More and Fisher to the Tower. The Act of Supremacy and the new Treason Act carried higher and higher the Crown's autocracy. In 1535 Cromwell was made Vicar-General. A survey of Church property, the celebrated *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, was undertaken. The famous or infamous Visitation of the Monasteries began. The monks of the Charterhouse, More, Fisher, many others, suffered with noble courage for their faith. In 1536 Henry summoned a new Parliament, which delivered the lesser Monasteries into his hands. Lincolnshire and Yorkshire rose in rebellion. Henry turned to the Reformers for advice: and Ten Articles, based on the Creeds and on the Bible, expounded the first English Confession of Faith. It was "the study of his Majesty," said Cromwell with fine irony, "to set a quietness in the Church."

Changes so sweeping and dramatic must have filled the Universities with dismay. Fisher had been Chancellor of Cambridge, More High Steward both of Cambridge and of Oxford. Bocking, who died with the Nun of Kent, had been Warden of Canterbury College. No institutions depended more than the Universities upon the Church. None owed more to the special jurisdiction, the privileged immunities, which the clergy had secured. None had more to fear from an anti-clerical reaction. Yet in spite of grumblings Henry had his way. At Oxford the majority of members yielded, if reluctantly, to the King's demands. They acquiesced in the Act against appeals to Rome, though the lawyers complained that it diminished their fees, and the Friars must have felt that it diminished their independence. They found preachers to preach against the Pope's authority: <sup>1</sup> that had never been too popular in Oxford. In 1534 they affixed the University seal to the decision, which at Henry's invitation thirty theologians appointed for the purpose had affirmed, that the Bishop of Rome had no greater jurisdiction in England than any other foreign Bishop. Wood speaks of "a great deal of stir" in the matter: but one wonders that the stir did not lead to more resistance, for in the Colleges dislike of the new policy must have been widespread. Some sufferers there may have been.<sup>2</sup> But the University was not apt to show courage in

<sup>1</sup> "Some very boldly, others faintly, and a third part not at all" (Wood, *Annals*, II, 57).

<sup>2</sup> Wood says (*Annals*, II, 60) that "Foundation men" who would not renounce the Pope were "turned out of their Fellowships, Scholarships and Chaplainships." He mentions Hawarden, a Fellow of Brasenose,



resisting Kings. The friends of the old order were depressed or overawed. The new Chancellor, nominated by Henry, Bishop Longland of Lincoln, was as ready as Wolsey or as Cromwell to carry out the requirements of the Crown. Though harsh to heretics<sup>1</sup> and little loved in many quarters, Longland was no bad friend to the University which had trained him, and in earlier days he had even won the title of a second Colet from Sir Thomas More. Dr. Tresham, who acted as Commissary for some fourteen years, was no friend to heretical doctrines, but he was equally obedient to the Royal will. The University authorities generally represented those in power. It may or may not be significant that their officers, the Proctors, were insulted by the townsmen and forced to carry arms in their walks abroad.<sup>2</sup>

The new Vicar-General appointed Commissioners to visit the Universities and religious Houses, who were soon to acquire an unenviable fame. Cromwell never, we are told, "sent a slug on his errands," and his most conspicuous agents, Layton and Leigh,<sup>3</sup> two lawyers trained at Cambridge, displayed an energy as ruthless as their chief's. Leigh, described as a ruffling fellow of intolerable elation, eloquent in accusations and overweening in conceit, was probably the harsher of the two in his methods. He carried matters with a high hand wherever he went. But at Cambridge, where Cromwell was now Chancellor, Leigh met with no resistance, and his action seems to have caused little alarm. The Visitation of Oxford was entrusted principally to Richard Layton, who, if sometimes less oppressive, was hardly less unscrupulous than Leigh. Reckless in his sweeping charges, pitifully obsequious in his attitude to Cromwell, Layton was equally ready to dismiss the Schoolmen as worthless and to condemn the whole monkish community as "false, feigned, flattering, hypocritical knaves." But Layton's chief colleague at Oxford was far better known in the University than he. John London had been trained at Winchester, though that did not prevent him from bringing scandalous charges against the Founder of his old School.<sup>4</sup> He had become a Fellow and Warden of New College. He had figured in the suppression of St. Frides-

under the year 1534 as being summoned before the Council: the date when Hawarden was charged with not having deleted the Pope's name from a College manual was Dec. 1538 (*Brasenose Quat. Mon.* IX, 171-2). But details are for the most part lacking, and resistance seems rarely to have been pushed to extremes.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. his severity to Oxford heretics in 1528, and the search for heretical books in Oxford bookshops which he ordered in 1531.

<sup>2</sup> But there are earlier precedents for allowing the Proctors to go armed. (See Boase, *Register*, I, 83 and 139.)

<sup>3</sup> Otherwise Leighton and Legh.

<sup>4</sup> See Lowth's *Life of Wykeham* (3rd ed., 288).



wide's Priory. He was made Dean of the short-lived Bishopric at Oseney. He had taken an active part in putting down the early Protestants of Cardinal College. He was believed to be greedy, unscrupulous, immoral. There was talk of his doing penance for incontinence in Oxford. He was certainly no stranger to the pillory when he died. To Cranmer and the friends of the Reformation the "stout and filthy Prebendary" seemed an unblushing time-server.<sup>1</sup> Under Cromwell London was determined to disavow all taint of Romanism. Under Gardiner he was ready to persecute Protestants afresh. But Gardiner's encouragement carried him too far. Plotting against Cranmer, he met at last with the disgrace which he deserved.<sup>2</sup> Yet the Warden of New College had his better moments, and in dealing with "towardly young men" accused of heresy in Oxford he had sometimes shown a kindlier strain.

Layton and London made short work of the Oxford Visitation. It has been suggested that they infused into the University a new spirit of educational reform. They certainly showed no blind reverence for the old system. They poured contempt on the traditions of the Schools. They "set Dunc in Bocardo," Layton boasted. They scattered the time-honoured manuscripts of mediæval philosophy to the winds. A hunting man of Buckinghamshire gathered up the leaves in New College quadrangle "to make hym sewelles or blawnsherres to kepe the dere within the woode."<sup>3</sup> Others turned the pages of the Schoolmen to still baser uses. The Commissioners proved to be Vandals in the work of spoliation. They gave, says Wood, an ill report of learned men. But with these sharp measures schemes of improvement mingled. The Royal Injunctions contemplated reforms. Old glosses and commentaries were to be discontinued. The study of the Bible was to replace the study of the *Sentences*. More modern methods of teaching were in favour, lectures in new subjects and the encouragement of Greek.<sup>4</sup>

These aims the Visitors prepared to carry out. They founded, we are told, a Greek Lecture at Merton and at Queen's, and

<sup>1</sup> A view Wood shared. (See his *Annals*, II, 62.)

<sup>2</sup> For Dr. London's plots at Windsor and his downfall see Dixon (*Hist. of the Church*, II, 330 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> I quote from Layton's letter as given in Wright's *Suppression of the Monasteries* (71). Sewells were a form of scarecrow, to prevent deer from breaking ground. Mr. Froude quotes the passage (*History*, 1893, II, 315); but his spirited account of the Visitation is not always quite accurate.

<sup>4</sup> The Injunctions which accompanied Cromwell's appointment as Visitor at Cambridge in 1535 swept away all regulations which hindered "polite learning," and enjoined the reading of Aristotle, Rudolph Agricola and Melancthon in place of Scotus, Burleus and other Schoolmen. (See Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, I, 374-5, and Fuller's *History*, ed. Prickett and Wright, 216 sq.)

Lectures in both Greek and Latin at New College and All Souls.<sup>1</sup> Students from all Colleges alike had to attend them. Students of "Physick"—the troubles in the Church had turned many clerks to Medicine—were required to be examined by the "Physick Professor" before they began to practise for themselves.<sup>2</sup> New Lectures in Civil Law were established. The Canon Law was out of favour: it had too much regard for the authority of the Pope<sup>3</sup>: and after 1535 applications for degrees in Canon Law practically ceased.<sup>4</sup> The Visitors also had rigorous regulations for monastic students. They forbade them to enter any inn or tavern, or any other house in town or suburbs, on pain of being immediately sent back to the cloister. Layton with a gross chuckle warned the Vicar-General that the women of the town would probably sue him for redress. He and his colleagues did not pretend to be impartial. All traditions which they objected to must go. But the Royal policy towards the University, though rough and ill-considered, was not altogether wanting in liberality and good sense.

Other important regulations followed. Parliament had granted to the King in 1534 the first-fruits and a yearly tenth of almost all the benefices in the country. The Act might have hit the Fellows of Colleges hard, and Cromwell was not deaf to the complaints which reached him. Early in 1536 the King decided to exempt the Universities from the new taxes. But in return he required the Colleges and Halls to contribute to the support of new Public Lecturers.

<sup>1</sup> Corpus had Lectures in Greek and Latin, and Magdalen one in Latin, already.

<sup>2</sup> Wood (*Ann.* II, 62). Warner, it seems, was Reader in Medicine—"publicus praelector"—in 1536, when Richard Smith was "praelector theologiae lectionis" (see *Reg. I*, f. 1<sup>b</sup>; *Trin. Coll. Dubl. MS. D*, 2, 3; and *Mun. Civ. Oxon.* 249). He became Regius Professor in 1546, when the five Regius Professorships were endowed. His fees as Reader are put at XI<sup>s</sup> in a MS. described in Messrs. Leighton's Catalogue, Pt. I (New Series, No. 5), entitled *Revenue of King Edward VI.* 10 Dec. anno 6, which is apparently in the handwriting of Lord Darcy. A transcript of part of this MS., furnished by Messrs. Leighton to Mr. Gibson, has been passed on kindly to me. But I have not been able to trace similar entries at the Record Office.

<sup>3</sup> Layton speaks of joining a Civil lecture "in the place of the Canon lecture" in every College, Hall and Inn (Wright, *Suppression of Monasteries*, 71). I take this to mean that it was substituted, not added as Wood suggests (*Ann.* II, 63). On the improved study of Civil Law, due to men like Alciati abroad and Thomas Smith at Cambridge, see Mullinger (*Cambridge*, II, 125 sq.).

<sup>4</sup> There were some half-dozen applications in 1535, and before that they were of course frequent. But in 1536 and the following years there were none. In 1555 there were four, in 1556 one only. After that they disappeared (Boase, *Register*, I, *passim*).

"His Graces pleasure is that it be enacted by auctoritie of this present parliament that all the Colleges Houses and Halles corporate in eyther of the said Universities shall perpetuallie from hensforth, at theire owne propre costes and charges, fynde in everye of the said Universities one discrete and larned personnage to reade one opyn and publique lectour in every of the said Universities in any suche Science or tonge as the Kynges Majestie shall assigne or appoynte to be mooste profitable for the Studentes in either of the said Universities, every whiche lecture shalbe called perpetually Kyng Henry the eight his lecture."<sup>1</sup>

The old idea of Regents gathering students round them in the Schools, and paid only by such fees as they collected, was yielding slowly to the new system of teachers endowed from College resources if not from public funds. At the same time the King's attention was directed to the number of beneficed clergymen, young men no longer, who lived at Oxford and Cambridge on the pretext of study, but neglecting alike their studies and their cures, occupying quarters intended for scholars, passing their time in idleness and pleasure, and adding little to the University's reputation or their own. Parliament had already attacked the clergy for not residing on their livings. It now required these belated students to return, if over forty years of age, to their duties.<sup>2</sup> Those under forty might remain, but only on condition that they attended the disputations of the Schools. Tithes were not given, the Reformers reminded them, to be spent at Courts or Universities or in keeping hawks and hounds. Further injunctions called upon clergymen holding preferments worth a hundred pounds a year to support scholars at Oxford or Cambridge,<sup>3</sup> a practice which even the Monasteries had found it difficult to maintain. And while these sharp if salutary changes were troubling the tranquillity of Oxford, the great re-valuation of ecclesiastical property was going on, and College Bursars, no doubt, were gloomily forecasting the effects of such an inquisition upon the ever-growing acquisitiveness of the Crown.<sup>4</sup>

But if the Universities were anxious, the Monasteries which

<sup>1</sup> I quote from Mr. Gibson's proofs (*Statuta Antiqua*, 337-8). See also Shadwell (*Enactments*, O.H.S., I, 115). Mr. Gibson gives (339-40) the decree of the Great Congregation, dated Dec. 12, 1536, apportioning the payments to be made by the Colleges. For one Praelector a salary of 20 marks was allowed. See also Wood (*Ann.* II, 64-5 and 840-1). Wood speaks of Henry founding five Lectures in 1540, which were "not settled or confirmed" till 1546.

<sup>2</sup> Shadwell (I, 120-2).

<sup>3</sup> One for each £100 of revenue. It seems doubtful if this had much result. Dr. Rashdall, quoting the order from Wood, dates it 1535 (*Universities*, II, 658, n.). But Wood (*Ann.* II, 66) gives it under 1536, and so do Foxe (*Acts and Monuments*, ed. Pratt, V, 168) and Wilkins (*Concilia*, III, 814-5).

<sup>4</sup> The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 was the only complete survey of Church property that had been made since the *Taxatio* of Pope Nicholas IV in the days of Edward I.



still sent their students to Colleges at Oxford, to Gloucester and Canterbury, to St. Mary's and St. Bernard's, had even graver reasons for alarm. The story of the Dissolution has never failed to waken sympathy. If King Henry's agents blackened the fame of the monks, they helped also to make them pitied and beloved. The darker shadows in the picture are forgotten. The spell of faith, the beauty of antiquity, the appeal of suffering sometimes nobly borne, remain. And beyond doubt the Monasteries were tyrannously used. It is not hard to discredit Cromwell's Commissioners. Their worst accusations cannot in these days be substantiated, and it must always be a matter of uncertainty how far they could have been substantiated at the time. The Act which gave the smaller Houses to the King in the grandiose style of Tudor Statutes contained sweeping charges of abominable living. But it was admitted that in many venerable abbeys religion was still nobly kept. If there were "great and fat abbots" who lived in luxurious sloth, there were abbots at Reading and Colchester and Glastonbury who could die sooner than betray their trust. If there were "hooded hypocrites" who traded on credulity,<sup>1</sup> there were still thousands of Englishmen to whom relics and miracles were holy things. If there were Houses which neglected their duties, mismanaged their property and misused their wealth,<sup>2</sup> there were still some which were popular and kindly landlords, places of hospitality, of alms, and to some extent of education. But the whole system had undoubtedly decayed. Public opinion had long condemned it. Morton and Wolsey were no reckless iconoclasts. Colet and Erasmus were no solitary critics. It was not in England only, but all over Europe, that men who cared deeply for knowledge and religion were determined to have done with the methods of the monks. If there was to be a breach with the Papacy, it was clear that the Monasteries could not stand. They became inevitably strongholds of opposition to the policy of the King. They were inherently reactionary and bigoted in the view of all who hoped for ecclesiastical reform. Their fall was made a pretext for extortion. But it was better for human freedom that they should cease to exist.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Froude quotes Bishop Shaxton's outburst against the "stinking boots, mucky combes, . . . filthy rags, gobbets of wood," and other unsavoury relics in the diocese of Salisbury (*History*, 1893, I, 567-8).

<sup>2</sup> Critics complained that the monks turned to trade, or like other landlords gave up their lands to pasturage. But there is little doubt that a good deal of monastic property was burdened with debt, and impoverished by the claims of the Crown and of the nobles (Gasquet, *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*, 7-9).

<sup>3</sup> Canon Dixon estimates that only 600 or 700 houses of monks or friars survived at the date of the Dissolution out of some 900 founded since the Conquest. Only about 8 new ones were established after the end of the 14th century (*Church Hist.* I, 319-20 and 322).



To Oxford the Dissolution brought great changes, though it affected the University less than has sometimes been supposed.<sup>1</sup> Monastic lands encircled her. Monastic associations had hung round her since her birth. St. Frideswide's was far older than either University or town. Oseney and Rewley amid their "chinking rivulets" beyond the Castle had watched generation after generation passing through the Schools. Abingdon, founded in the seventh century by West Saxon Kings, had claims of antiquity and splendour which none of the Abbeys of Oxford could dispute. Littlemore lay nearer, with its woods and walks and its "devout recesses." Eynsham commanded the upper reaches of the river. There were Abbeys at Thame and at Dorchester, Priors at Studley and at Sandford, where once the Templars had owned lands. The Godstow nuns had ties and property both inside and outside the town walls. They took in young gentlewomen for training. Fair Rosamund had lived her scandal down. Forgiven by "the saints in heaven"—a miracle had proved it—she need feel no shame in the ballads which recalled her or in the crosses built by her Royal lover to mark her passage to the tomb.

Two of these ancient Houses, St. Frideswide's and Littlemore, had already gone to endow Cardinal College.<sup>2</sup> Abingdon for all its wealth had fallen upon evil days. Its great revenues were embarrassed. Its monks were alleged to have sunk into sloth. But Cromwell thought it worth while to spend six hundred pounds "on bringing about" its surrender—an ominous item in an ill-omened scheme. Abbot Pentecost made little difficulty. A large pension and the manor of Cumnor are said to have rewarded his tact. A great part of the Abbey was marked for destruction. Its treasures went to the King. Rewley was less venerable but much nearer Oxford. Its Founder had intended it for Cistercian students. But it had failed to satisfy the needs of the Order, and in the fifteenth century St. Bernard's College had been required. At the Dissolution there was apparently some talk of converting the House into a College, and the Abbot wrote with pitiful humility to Cromwell, in whom "all my refuge, helpe,

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible, I think, to accept Mr. Mullinger's view (*Cambridge*, II, 28–32) that there were many monks in Oxford beside those in the monastic Colleges, and that the Dissolution affected numbers at Oxford and Cambridge hardly less than a wholesale diversion of Public School boys would to-day. The number of Oxford students from the Monasteries was never very large, and the number of applications by Regulars for degrees was, as the Register shows, comparatively small.

<sup>2</sup> In Wood's day Littlemore belonged to John Powell of Sandford, whose ancestor apparently bought it (*Life*, I, 404). Hearne speaks of buildings standing there in 1710 (*Collections*, O.H.S., III, 2).

and socor is.”<sup>1</sup> The site passed before long to Christ Church, but in the interval others shared in the spoils.<sup>2</sup> Stones and timbers from Rewley are said to have been used in the Lady Chapel of St. Mary Magdalen’s Church. But a good deal of the Monastery was left standing amid its pleasant walks and fish-ponds. Wood noted long afterwards inscriptions in the windows, a shorn monk kneeling, ancient arms over the gateway, and other relics which the soldiers of the Civil War had spared.

Oseney, a more celebrated Abbey, was at first reserved for nobler uses. Its fabric, seen across the water-meadows, was one of the glories of Oxford. Its history was closely interwoven with the University’s. Its claims of jurisdiction were a matter of conflict between Abbot and Vice-Chancellor almost to the last.<sup>3</sup> The traveller, leaving the town by “Book-binders’ Bridge” passed by a broad paved footway through the little gate to the great gate of the Abbey. Here alms were waiting for pilgrims and the poor, and here the janitor kept watch upon suspicious persons and on young canons or young women wandering to and fro.<sup>4</sup> Beyond this gateway were court and cloister, a large and curious refectory and an ample kitchen. Wood dwells lovingly if not always exactly on the great range of buildings, the infirmary and dormitory, the fine lodgings of the Abbot and the Canons, the mills and tannery beside the river, the orchards, arbours, dove-houses and fish-ponds<sup>5</sup>: “whatsoever heart could wish these monks did enjoy.” The Monastery kept a large staff of workmen: it was with one of the Oseney carpenters that Chaucer’s poor scholar lodged. Its main quadrangle may have been nearly as large as that of Cardinal College. But its chief pride was its Church. Foreigners came from overseas to wonder at the workmanship, to note the pinnacled but-

<sup>1</sup> Wright (*Suppression*, 73).

<sup>2</sup> Ogle prints (*Royal Letters*, 149 sq.) the grant of Nov. 22, 1541, of Wolvercote, Walton, Godstow and Rewley to Dr. George Owen, one of the King’s physicians. Owen seems to have made a considerable profit out of monastic lands round Oxford, and held for a time both manors of Walton, one of which had belonged to Godstow and the other to Oseney. (See also Wood, *City*, II, 303-4.)

<sup>3</sup> In 1531 there was a fight between one of the Proctors and the Abbey servants, and the Commissary tried to punish the offenders, whom the Abbot refused to give up (Wood, *Annals*, II, 51-2).

<sup>4</sup> This is Wood’s statement (*City*, II, 202).

<sup>5</sup> The principal buildings dated from the 13th century and owed much to Abbot Leech. For details of them see Hurst (*Oxford Topography*, 92-4 and App. F.). Mr. Hurst criticises Wood’s account and Agas’ drawing, and places Oseney third among English abbeys for the splendour of its buildings. But his account should be checked by Mr. Goldie’s *Bygone Oxford* and by Mr. H. W. Brewer’s article on Mediæval Oxford in *The Builder* for Jan. 3, 1891. Oseney had land and tithes in Hokenorton or Hook Norton, whence, no doubt, the Abbot of that name came.

tresses, the stately towers, the exquisite variety of the windows, the dim light shining through painted Abbots, Saints and Kings, the carvings and statues, the altars and relics, "more than ordinary excelling" the splendour of a famous shrine. The ring of bells in the Western campanile, increased by Abbot Leech from three to seven, and re-named with homelier names before the Dissolution, out-sang all the bells of Oxford, if not all the bells of England as their partisans declared.

"Campanis cœnobii de Osneya nullae in Anglia meliores putantur."<sup>1</sup>

Thomas of Oseney was reputed as big as Edward bell at Westminster or Dunstan bell at Canterbury. It was yet to see some strange vicissitudes before Dean Fell hung it in Wren's famous tower.

At the Dissolution Oseney had at first some hope of avoiding plunder.<sup>2</sup> It was assigned to the new Bishopric. The last Abbot, King, became the first Bishop. But the translation of the Chapter to Christ Church meant the destruction of the Abbey. The roof of the church, the lead, the stalls, the bells, the battlements, were before long carried away. Loads of stone were carted off for the "wall at Frideswide's." Yet Mass, it is said, was performed at Oseney in Queen Mary's reign. For some time at any rate the great structure resisted the spoiler. The Cathedral window put up to Bishop King shows the West tower still intact and the South door "exceeding strong and lively." But the process of ruin had begun. The Civil War increased the havoc. The temptation to quarry in the buildings was too strong to resist. In 1718, we are told, the site was ploughed up. In 1771 only an arched window in an outhouse remained.<sup>3</sup>

The nuns of Godstow sought no share in Oxford education. That was left for the wiser virgins of a later generation to achieve. But the Convent in the golden meadows by the falling waters of the river must have been as well-known to Oxford students as the ruins which recall it are to-day. It fell to Dr. London, the Warden of New College, to demand the surrender of the House, and if the Abbess' tale is to be trusted the episode shows him at his worst.<sup>4</sup> But though the Abbess defied the Warden, with his "great rout," his blustering and his wheedling, the pressure put on her prevailed. She made no claim to martyrdom.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Wood (*City*, II, 220) from "John Maior, a Scottish historian."

<sup>2</sup> Its surrender is among the Augmentation Office deeds now preserved at the Record Office.

<sup>3</sup> Peshall (310-11). See also Wood (*City*, II, 226-8, and Clark's notes).

<sup>4</sup> Yet London pleaded with Cromwell for the Abbess and the nuns (Wright, *Suppression*, 228). See also Gasquet (*Henry VIII and Monasteries*, 171-2 and 305-6—where surely there is an error in date).





OSENEY ABBEY

From Skelton's *Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*





She was not unwilling to temporise with Cromwell. "Neither pope nor purgatory, image nor pilgrimage," she assured him, was much regarded by the nuns. Perhaps she hoped that compliance would save them. But a little later she surrendered the House with its income of two hundred and seventy-four pounds a year. Dr. George Owen, the fortunate physician, obtained possession of the Convent grounds. The Church tower with its lovely stone-work survived far into the eighteenth century. Fair Rosamund may still be sleeping under a ruined chapel floor.<sup>1</sup>

The redoubtable Warden of New College was more successful elsewhere. At Eynsham, just across the hill from Godstow, an even older Abbey sheltered a community of Benedictine monks, who had watched the University from its beginnings and seen it take possession of the town. London perhaps cared little for their history, but he secured their large revenues without delay. Their Abbot passed on to a Bishopric. Their buildings slowly fell to pieces. But Wood in 1657 could still see and sketch the great West window and the "very spacious towers."<sup>2</sup> With the farmers of the Monastery, we are told, Dr. London did his best.<sup>3</sup> But neither monk nor nun was left in those tranquil river reaches, no bells to break the stillness, no chants to mingle with the music of the weir. London moved on. His energies redoubled. In the last half of 1539 he is credited with dissolving twenty-two religious houses in the Midlands and the South. Some were miserably poor, and London was probably right in his conjecture that not a few of their occupants were glad to be set free. But in the work of spoliation, defacing buildings, stripping roofs, destroying windows, the Warden of a venerable Oxford College unhappily excelled. At Winchester he and his colleagues put an end to King Alfred's two foundations, and to the great house of St. Swithin's, for whose monks Fox had originally intended his College. Christ Church Priory, which Flambard had established, Amesbury Nunnery with its dim traditions of Guinevere, Winchcombe with its old Oxford associations,<sup>4</sup> St. Peter's, Gloucester, the parent house of Gloucester College, suffered the same fate. The movement spread rapidly. One after another, with short shrift

<sup>1</sup> See Hurst (*Oxf. Topog.* 119), Wood (*Life*, I, 341-6), and Hearne (*Collections*, O.H.S., II, 395).

<sup>2</sup> *Life* (I, 228-9). Mr. Salter tells me that he thinks the site passed into Lord Derby's possession.

<sup>3</sup> In the interests of Sir George Darcy, he told Cromwell (Wright, 233).

<sup>4</sup> Winchcombe was prominent among the Benedictine houses represented in Gloucester College. Wood notes a privilege granted to the Benedictines at the Abbot's instance as late as 1521 (*Annals*, II, 20-1).

and on various pretexts, all the greater monasteries were swept into the royal net. The stateliest Houses of the North, Durham with its magnificent endowments, also the parent of an Oxford College—where St. Cuthbert himself, unchanged in death, dumbly rebuked the despoiler of his shrine<sup>1</sup>—York and Whitby, Furness and Fountains, yielded up their long-accumulated treasures. Evesham, Leicester, Woburn surrendered in the Midlands, and St. Edmundsbury, “like a great city with its brazen gates and towers.” North and South, East and West, the same ruthless policy prevailed. Reading was struck down by the attainder of its Abbot, and Dr. London worked his will on its remains. Westminster fell, the superb bequest of the Confessor, and Canterbury, the richest shrine in Christendom, the mother of an Oxford College, the mother church and monastery of the land.

The wealth of the monks was, no doubt, exaggerated by rumour, and it is not altogether easy to estimate to-day. One reasonable valuation has put it in modern money at some fifty millions sterling. A large annual revenue became available, though most of it never reached the Royal coffers.<sup>2</sup> A stream of spoil, of plate, of vestments and of jewels, treasures of gold and ivory and silver, invaluable manuscripts, lead only too easily valued from roofs and bells and pipes, poured into the newly-created Court of the Augmentation of the revenue of the King’s Crown. The monastic libraries were recklessly dispersed. They went, says Bale, to book-binders and soap-sellers and grocers, some to scour candlesticks, some to rub boots. “Yea, the vnyuersytees of thys realme, are not all clere in this detestable fact.”<sup>3</sup> There were large grants of course to fortunate courtiers, Howards sharing as readily as Seymours, and Dudleys, Russells, Pagets, Cromwells, and many another joining in. There

<sup>1</sup> His body was found fresh and entire. His eyes, composed of mineral matter, alarmed but did not deter the intruders (Dixon, *Church Hist.* II, 150).

<sup>2</sup> Cardinal Gasquet puts the monastic revenues at some £200,000 (in Tudor money); Speed’s tables, based on the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, make them less. But in the eleven years following September 1536, only £415,000 in rents seems to have reached the Court of Augmentation, and in no year did more than £45,000 come in from monastic lands as revenue. Sales of lands, woods, plate and buildings of course brought in more. It seems that in Henry’s lifetime some fifteen millions (in modern money) may have reached the Court of Augmentation, apart from jewels and some other perquisites. But the figures are uncertain. See Gasquet (*Henry VIII and Monasteries*, 397 sq., and Appendix), Dixon (*Church Hist.* I, 249 and 324), Blunt (*Hist. of Reformation*, 1514–1547, 369–71), etc.

<sup>3</sup> See Bale’s Preface to the *Laboryouse Journey* of John Leland (ed. 1772).

were tales of church bells staked across the gaming table, of abbey lands squandered on parasites and cooks. The Universities inevitably hankered after goods so easily bestowed. At Cambridge Queens' College petitioned at once for the Carmelite Friary beside it. "Poverty," pleaded Ascham, "casts aside shame." And at Cambridge there rose on the ruins of the old home of the Franciscans the noblest College which any University had seen. If Oxford showed less forwardness in begging, it could not have been insensible to the chances offered. Cox, the first Dean of Christ Church, wrote to Secretary Paget, in the year in which Trinity was founded, suggesting some endowment of the University, "which is poore and hath scant 5! by the yeare."<sup>1</sup> This was all the more intolerable as Cambridge had "fortie or fiftie" pounds to boast of. But there were too many "importunate wolves" waiting to devour the plunder. There were only too many uses to be found for the possessions which, as another academic spokesman put it, "the remnant of the Pharisees and false philosophers" had too long enjoyed.<sup>2</sup>

Still a good deal of the monastic wealth was better spent. Much of it went to public objects, to forts and ships and national defence. Some was allotted to new Bishoprics, to charities for the aged and the poor. Some was intended for the advance of education, for bringing up children in learning, for nourishing clerks in the Universities, for endowing Readers of Hebrew, Greek and Latin. But Henry's grandiose designs too often found a meagre application. At Oxford indeed five Regius Professorships, in Theology and Medicine, in Civil Law, in Hebrew and in Greek, were endowed in 1546.<sup>3</sup> But of the new Sees suggested only six took shape. Oxford, separated at last from Lincoln, became the centre of a smaller diocese. The revenues of Oseney were assigned to new uses, and the establishment of the Dean and Chapter at Christ Church finally fixed the home of the new See.

The fate of the great Monasteries at Gloucester, Durham and Canterbury had a painful significance for the Colleges which bore their names. Gloucester College had opened its doors for many generations to students from Abingdon, Westminster, St. Albans, from all the great Benedictine Abbeys of the South. But of the details of its suppression we know little, except that it was let for a time to private persons, and that its "ædifices, chambers, walks and gardens" were valued at a rental of twenty-

<sup>1</sup> Wood (*Ann.* II, 81-2).

<sup>2</sup> Mullinger (*Cambridge*, II, 26).

<sup>3</sup> In the Edwardian Code we hear also of Lecturerships in Philosophy, Mathematics and Dialectics, which were apparently contemplated but not endowed. Cambridge had a better provision for some of these subjects.



six shillings and eightpence a year.<sup>1</sup> The Chapel and Library, it seems, were demolished, but most of the old buildings were left. When the new See was created, they became for a time the home or at any rate the property of the Bishop.<sup>2</sup> But Sir Thomas White, the Founder of St. John's, secured them early in Elizabeth's reign, and established a new Hall for students in connection with his College. And though the Bishops of Oxford disputed his rights, and one of them as late as 1604 forced an entrance by night and by water, and drove away the horses pasturing on the land,<sup>3</sup> Gloucester Hall remained the property of St. John's.

Durham College was involved in the fate of the great Northern Abbey it belonged to. Its revenues just before the Dissolution were a hundred and twenty-two pounds a year.<sup>4</sup> The new Chapter of Durham absorbed its estates, but in 1545 the site and buildings were surrendered to the Crown.<sup>5</sup> A Hall for Students was for a time established, under the government of Dr. Wright :

"Durham and S. Bernard's College laid void, and were kept for Dr. Wryght's and Dr. Kennall's Bachelours, called by the waggish Scholars of these times, 'The two Kennells of Hounds and Grayhounds.' " <sup>6</sup>

But in 1555 Sir Thomas Pope procured the property <sup>7</sup> and made it the home of Trinity College. The Canterbury monks in Oxford also shared the fate of their neighbours, when after long preliminaries the great Priory of Christ Church, Canterbury fell. The

<sup>1</sup> This is Wood's statement (*City*, II, 261). He gives John Glin and John James as the first lessees. But Edmund Powell of Sandford seems to have had his share. The annual value of the Gloucester lands was put at 60s. in 1560. (See *Worcester College*, 89-91.) Elizabeth made a fresh grant of the property in that year; but there seem to have been conflicting claims.

<sup>2</sup> The Palace assigned to Bishop King by tradition and by Hutten (Plummer's *Elizabethan Oxford*, 86) is of course still standing near Folly Bridge.

<sup>3</sup> See *Colleges of Oxford* (429-30), and Wood (*Colleges*, 629-30 and 637).

<sup>4</sup> Wood (*City*, II, 273) and Blakiston (*Trinity College*, 17).

<sup>5</sup> The deed is at the Record Office (*Augment. Off. Surrenders*, No. 190), dated 20 Mar. 36 Hen. VIII.

<sup>6</sup> Wood (*Ann.* II, 137).

<sup>7</sup> It passed first through the hands of George Owen of Godstow and William Martyn of Oxford, to whom it was granted by the Crown in 1553, the year when the See of Durham was first dissolved and then revived. (See Dr. Gee's sketch, *Victoria County History, Durham*, II, 34.) The date 4 Feb. 1553 is given for the grant to Owen and Martyn in the document quoted in the Appendix to Warton's *Life of Sir T. Pope* (ed. 1780, No. VIII, p. 302). Warton sometimes at least quotes dates according to the Old Style; but this date is confirmed by Wood (*Colleges*, 517) who speaks of Feb. 4 in the seventh year of Edward's reign. The deed, which is said to be at Trinity, I could not secure leave to see.

site and buildings, valued by Wood at sixteen pounds and eight-pence yearly,<sup>1</sup> passed before long to the new House of Christ Church at their side, and the old monkish buildings were used by the new College till a later generation swept them away. The displaced students of the monastic Colleges prepared to "trudge a begging," with wallets on their backs. There was no place for them in the new dispensation, and some at least must have been harshly "turned out into the wide world."

Of the younger Colleges reserved for cloister students, St. Bernard's was still comparatively recent. Its Hall dated only from the sixteenth century. Its Chapel was not consecrated till the year when Wolsey died. Valued or under-valued at twenty shillings annually,<sup>2</sup> the property was granted by the King to Christ Church in 1546. But for some time students continued to be housed there,<sup>3</sup> and Dr. Kennall as Principal won his meed of fame. In Queen Mary's day the property was sold by Christ Church to Sir Thomas White, a wealthy citizen of London, who had played an important part as Lord Mayor in the new reign. Its later history is the history of St. John's. St. Mary's, when destroyed as a monastic College, passed first to private owners. Its buildings, escaping serious injury, served for a time as a Hall for students. Wood names two of its Principals. Twyne gives the names of some of its scholars.<sup>4</sup> Under Queen Mary, we are told, 'John Fetteplace gave it to the University, and there was a question whether it should be let for students or handed over to Regular Canons again. A few years later it was in the hands of the city, and was used in turn as a Bridewell, an almshouse and a school.<sup>5</sup> But in 1580 the Earl of Huntingdon, its then owner, conveyed it to Brasenose College, and it is on Brasenose that the responsibility for destroying the Chapel where Erasmus may have worshipped rests. St. George's College in the Castle was so poor before the Dissolution that its Fellows, says Wood, were "objects of pitty being reduced but to three."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wood (*City*, II, 289). The valuation seems more reasonable than the very low figures given for Gloucester College and St. Bernard's. Wood speaks of a lease of the site to Richard Master in 1544. But the surrender of the College preserved at the Record Office (*Augment. Off. Deeds of Surrender*, 187) is dated 27 Nov. 37 Hen. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Wood (*City*, II, 310).

<sup>3</sup> Wood says it was "filled with Bernardins and Cistercians" after the Dissolution. We find the manciple in 1549 suing for battels in the Vice-Chancellor's Court (Warton, *Life of Pope*, 2nd ed., 295). "Collegium Barnardinum" is mentioned, as if still existing, in the Statutes of Edward VI. A Hall in some shape may have lasted for some years.

<sup>4</sup> See Wood (*City*, II, 232), Twyne (XXIV, 572), and Clark (*Register*, II, i, 286).

<sup>5</sup> Wood has notes on some of its vicissitudes (*City*, II, 234-7).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* (185).

If this account be accurate, the Dissolution only completed its ruin. The buildings became finally "a den of thieves and robbers," in other words the county jail.

More significant for the University than the destruction of the monastic Colleges was the disappearance of the Friars. St. Bernard's and St. Mary's had little history behind them. The students of Gloucester, Durham and Canterbury had hardly ever taken the lead in academic life. But the influence of the Friars had been profound. No group of men had done so much to quicken the soul of mediæval Oxford, to stir its Schools and its contentions, to open to it new domains of thought.<sup>1</sup> It is true that the tireless energies of Grosseteste and of Bacon, of Duns and Ockham were long dead. The New Learning looked to other leaders.<sup>2</sup> But the Franciscans and Dominicans still served and studied in their island settlements among the poor. The Carmelites still kept their Royal house at Beaumont. The Augustinians still taught the Bachelors to debate. The Friars and monks were not necessarily in sympathy. Certain aspects of the Reformation left the Mendicant Orders undismayed. But Henry's policy soon raised their scruples. The Franciscan Observants took the lead in resistance. As the Revolution swept on, the Friars found themselves inevitably upon the losing side. Richard Ingworth, Bishop of Dover and a former Dominican Prior, was appointed to "visit and vex" his brother Friars. And in 1538 the Warden of New College, with the help of the Mayor and master aldermen of Oxford, began to deal with the ancient Friaries about the city.

The Carmelites came first. The Augustinians, Franciscans and Dominicans followed. But all four Orders were made in London's phrase to change their coats, and the ease with which their surrender was effected is probably evidence of their decay. Foreseeing the storm, they had already begun to dispose of their possessions, to sell annuities, to cut down timber, to get rid of their plate. For the Carmelites London seems to have had a form of surrender ready-made.<sup>3</sup> But apart from their

<sup>1</sup> And, it may be said, to encourage the representative idea in Church and State. (See Dr. E. Barker's interesting essay on *The Dominican Order and Convocation*). Among recent books Father Jarrett's study of *The English Dominicans* has done justice to their work at Oxford. (See especially Chap. IV.)

<sup>2</sup> But there were friends of the New Learning, if not very many, among the Friars. (See Little, *Grey Friars*, 113.) Card. Gasquet (*Hen. VIII and Monasteries*, 311) estimates the English Friaries in the 16th century at about 200—approximately 60 Franciscan, 53 Dominican, 42 Augustinian and 36 Carmelite.

<sup>3</sup> Gairdner (*Letters and Papers*, XIII, i, p. 497). See also Gasquet (325-7), and, for London's dealings with the Friars elsewhere, Dixon (II, 45-6).



land and their vestments he did not think their possessions worth five pounds. Their lands passed to private owners.<sup>1</sup> Their library was scattered: they had cared about their books.<sup>2</sup> Their students, among whom Reginald Pole had been included, were dispersed. Their stately refectory, where Kings had once kept Christmas, became a "receptacle" for the poor of the parish. Stones from Cœur de Lion's Palace are said to have found their way to St. John's College.<sup>3</sup> Bones from the Friars' graveyard were dug up long afterwards at the end of Beaumont Street. Of the buildings which had been the home of the Plantagenets only a stable or cow-house in Wood's time remained.

The Austin Friars were still famous in Oxford, though the number of the brethren was probably small. Their time-honoured disputations were a part of the University system.<sup>4</sup> But their prosperity had declined. Their property was in such disrepair, London reported, that, if they did not leave their houses, their houses would very soon leave them. The Convent outside Smith Gate, even the great church, may have been falling into ruin. Its jewels had already been thoughtfully disposed of, and its surrender was procured without much trouble. The Bachelors' disputations were removed to St. Mary's, to pass on many years later to the new School of Natural Philosophy, where by the ancient and incongruous name of "Disputations in Austins" they were observed for many generations more. But the old home of the Augustinians, farmed out at first for some sixty shillings a year, passed quickly from owner to owner, and each, no doubt, made his profit of the spoils. At last the City of Oxford secured it. The site was conveyed to Nicholas Wadham. A new College, singularly perfect in its proportions, rose upon the spot. And the ghosts of the Friars, content with this memorial, have ceased to haunt the groves they loved.<sup>5</sup>

The Oxford Franciscans also, with their eighteen members, made little difficulty about their dissolution. They, like the

<sup>1</sup> Sold for £388 odd, says Wood (*City*, II, 431), or £338 (*Ib.*, 444); both figures are given; one is evidently a misprint. Wood gives as purchaser Edmund Powell of Sandford, who seems to have speculated freely in monastic lands.

<sup>2</sup> Wood says they kept them better than the Dominicans or Franciscans, "far more free from dust and wormes" (*City*, II, 429).

<sup>3</sup> Hurst (*Oxford Topography*, 100).

<sup>4</sup> "And because the schollers did frequent their exercises and would venture to take their questions and dispute with them, it came to be a custome, then an injunction, and at last a statute . . . that noe Bachelour of Arts should take his Master's degree unlesse he was thought worthy or could answer these Augustin Fryers" (Wood, *City*, II, 465).

<sup>5</sup> Nothing, says Sir T. G. Jackson, remains of the old Friary (*Wadham College*, Chap. I). See also Skelton (*Oxonia Antiqua Restaurata*, 6).



rest, were at the Royal mercy. Their Warden, Dr. Baskerfeld,<sup>1</sup> a well-known figure in the University, seems to have given the authorities all the help he could. The Order had property worth taking, a great house, a fair orchard, "praty gardens." But the buildings, it seems, were in ruinous disrepair. Their plate was most of it pawned. Their leaden pipes had already gone into the melting-pot. Many of their trees were blown down. Their roofs were nothing but slate. Their library even was neglected. "Great Jove, what did I find there!" cries Leland: books not worth three farthings, spiders, dust and dirt. Wood breaks out against the "rude and ignorant asses" who had nailed down books of science for fear of the magic they contained. But Thomas Allen of Gloucester Hall found volumes worth attention and secured for his own library such prizes as he could.

The Dominicans lay a little further South among the marshes. Their old influence had long departed. Their early traditions of learning, the memories of Robert Bacon, of Kilwardby, of Trevet, had long passed away.<sup>2</sup> But they still had plunder to offer to the spoiler. "The Black friars hath in their backside," London writes to Cromwell, "divers ilands, well wooded. There be but ten friars, being priests, besides the Anker."<sup>3</sup> The fine church, which had housed the Mad Parliament and given burial to Piers Gaveston, had a choir covered with lead. The plate was worth attention, especially a great gold chalice set with jewels. There were profits to be made from the groves and buildings, the cloister and the school. The Mayor and aldermen who acted with London—Frere or Freer was among them—received a share of the pickings. The Warden of New College urged their claims. He addressed also an interesting letter to Cromwell, urging that the grounds of the Oxford Friars, when the King had taken toll of their buildings, trees and treasures, should be conferred upon the town. But other and richer tenants were forthcoming, larger speculators in monastic lands.<sup>4</sup> The property of the two Orders changed hands often. The timber was cut, the towers thrown down, the stones and images scattered, the greens trodden

<sup>1</sup> Wood calls him Baskervyle (*City*, II, 389). Mr. Little, whose chapter on the Dissolution (*Grey Friars*, Chap. VIII) is full of information, gives several spellings. Baskerfeld joined London in visiting Friaries elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Valuable notes on the Dominicans in Oxford will be found in Mr. Little's section on The Mendicant Orders in the new edition of *Mediæval England*, edited by Mr. H. W. C. Davis.

<sup>3</sup> Anchorite. (See Boase, *Oxford*, III-12.) The old home of the Trinitarian Friars had already passed into the hands of the town, and the settlements of the Penitentiarians and of the Crutched Friars had been absorbed or disappeared.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Andrewes and John Howe (*Little, Grey Friars*, 122-3).

under foot.<sup>1</sup> The ruins became a quarry for the city builders. Tanners settled there. Diggers from time to time found monuments and treasures—once a leaden coffin containing a man's heart. But all these relics were soon swept into oblivion, with the long tale of love and service they recalled. There was no great profit made from the surrenders, no great charity shown to those who lost their homes. The brethren, with a few shillings to start them, were cast as real mendicants upon the world again.<sup>2</sup> Public opinion was whipped up to justify the King's severities. Among the fierce preachers of the Reformation there was little pity for the crooked necks, slow bellies, idle drones and abbey lubbers, plants which the Heavenly Father never planted, mumblers of praises and creatures of the Pope.<sup>3</sup>

Others besides monks and friars at Oxford must have watched the new policy of confiscation with alarm. College endowments were as tempting as monastic. Courtiers were equally ready to "gape after" both. But Henry disposed of that suggestion with the fine air which he could always assume. He had too much scholarship, we are assured, to wrong scholars. Though the Abbey lands had "fleshed" his followers, they should not devour the Colleges as well. The King would pull down sin by defacing the Monasteries. But he would never overthrow goodness or impair the revenues of a house of learning. "I tell you, Sirs, that I judge no land in England better bestowed than that which is given to our Universities, for by their maintenance our Realm shall be well governed when we be dead and rotten." And the Universities, presumably consoled by this assurance, accepted the Royal policy with little open complaint. Cranmer as Archbishop issued commissions to visit Merton and All Souls. At Merton they altered some time-honoured customs, like the capping of Master Fellows by Bachelors in the quadrangle, with a freedom which caused an academic stir.<sup>4</sup> But Gardiner, the Visitor of New College, Magdalen and Corpus, was a force to be reckoned with on the other side. His hostility to Cranmer increased daily, and in Oxford he probably found more support. The Bishops' Book or Institution of a Christian Man set forth again in 1537 what the Bishops desired churchmen to believe.

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale (*Monasticon*, 1830, VI, 1529).

<sup>2</sup> The monks in many cases received pensions at any rate for a time, but the friars as a rule did not. There is no record of pensions for the Oxford Franciscans, though Baskerfeld was probably provided for. (See Little, 119, and Gasquet, Chap. xxi.)

<sup>3</sup> For these picturesque epithets see Gasquet (109).

<sup>4</sup> The chief Magistrates of the University, says Wood (*Ann.* II, 64) were forced to have the order annulled, lest it should breed malapertness in the students.

But its preparation showed how widely the Bishops differed from each other. The Bible, which Tyndale, Coverdale and Matthew had laboured with rare devotion to translate, and which many an unauthorised version had endeared to Englishmen already, was at last authorised for general use.<sup>1</sup> The famous frontispiece indicated that God regarded King Henry as a man after His own heart. But even the Great Bible by no means satisfied all opinions. In 1542 Cranmer invited Convocation to revise it, and Bishops and Doctors were appointed for the purpose. Gardiner had a long list of corrections ready. But before matters had gone far Henry intervened. He decided that the Universities might undertake the task of revision. The Bishops protested, but Cranmer insisted on obedience to the King. The Universities, for their part, took no action in the matter, and so for the time nothing further was done.<sup>2</sup>

Cranmer remained in the ascendant, and all attempts to shake his credit with the King broke down. But the violence of the Reformation was soon to have a check. Cromwell laboured to discipline the clergy, to denounce idolatry and image-worship, to enjoin works of faith and charity instead. But the Six Articles of 1539 marked a significant reaction. At Oxford, says Wood, few Scholars were entrapped by them, but they became "a noted touchstone to try the consciences of men." Persecution revived. Latimer and Shaxton were forced to resign—"sore thunderbolts" to the old preacher of the Reformation. Melancthon "shuddered with horror." Cranmer put away his wife. The King soon afterwards put away another: Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour were already dead. In 1540 Cromwell fell, unmourned and widely hated. The Archbishop, very sorrowful when he recalled the Minister's faithfulness and wisdom, was yet glad that his treason was discovered in time. Even while working at his beautiful Litany, Cranmer must have realised how precarious were the fortunes of the Reformation. In 1543 another Confession set forth the Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian

<sup>1</sup> For the history of the Great Bible see Bishop Westcott's *General View of the History of the English Bible* and Canon Dixon's *Church History* (I, 519-21, and II, 77-80 and 285-9). Canon Dixon regards it as "an expurgated edition of Matthew's Bible," and Matthew's Bible as "an imperfect conglomerate of Tyndale and Coverdale." To Mr. Froude (*Hist.* II, 498, ed. 1893) its tenderness, majesty, simplicity and grandeur all bear witness to the work of Tyndale. There were various issues of it before the King's death, in one of which the well-known frontispiece appeared. Dr. Westcott's book is the chief authority on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> The reason for Henry's action is not clear, but difficulties may have arisen over the translation. The Universities were not apparently invited to intervene. (Cf. Strype's statement, *Life of Cranmer*, ed. Barnes, I, 136-7, with Canon Dixon's criticism, II, 288-9.)



Man.<sup>1</sup> In 1545 an Act for the dissolution of chantries<sup>2</sup> raised a fresh panic in University circles. Dean Cox, the Prince's tutor, wrote in grave apprehension of the wolves who threatened to devour the realm. But the King repeated to Parliament his assurance that he would never suffer learning to decay. To the last, however doubtful or sinister his actions, Henry held the same lofty and self-righteous tone. And now the days of his imposing tyranny were over. Before the end of January 1547, the King whom all his subjects feared was dead.

The new reign found the University weakened and embarrassed. Students had fallen off. The old Halls were more and more deserted. The Canon Law had gone out of favour. The Schoolmen were held up to obloquy.<sup>3</sup> There was little encouragement to take degrees.<sup>4</sup> Dangerous books had been prohibited and a good many useful volumes among them burned. Henry had spared the Colleges and had expressly exempted the University from payments levied on the Church. But the fear of confiscation still hung over them, and they were not entirely comforted even by Somerset's assurance that, if College lands were attacked, the nobility themselves would hardly feel secure. The year 1543, which had seen the settlement for the time at any rate of the long quarrel with the city over Wolsey's Charter, had been marked by the loss of the University treasure, stolen from the Congregation House by "evil men." The evil men were caught—one of them had been an Oxford scholar. But they were judged apparently with the surprising mildness on which most ecclesiastical offenders except heretics could count. A little earlier the King had intervened to regulate the appointment of the Proctors. Only Masters of Arts of eight years' standing were to be chosen<sup>5</sup>; the independence perhaps of the younger men was feared. And in the same years enthusiasts at Oxford had plunged as readily as enthusiasts at Cambridge into the controversy over Greek pronunciation which had set the Northern University aflame.

Erasmus had already protested against the easy usage of the Greeks of the Renaissance, who, regardless of the niceties of

<sup>1</sup> It was popularly called the King's Book.

<sup>2</sup> The essence of a chantry was the endowment of a chanter, to sing mass for a departed soul. But a chantry might also be a separate building or even a stately College like All Souls.

<sup>3</sup> Wood says that in 1546 Ockham's Dialogues were prohibited by the King (*Ann.* II, 81).

<sup>4</sup> Compare Wood's statement (*Ann.* II, 80) with Boase's volume of the *University Register*. Wood may exaggerate a little, but the years immediately before 1548 were evidently years of depression.

<sup>5</sup> By the Chancellor or Commissary, all Doctors not married and all Masters and Heads of Colleges present and in residence (Wood, *Ann.* II, 71).



spelling, pronounced various vowels and diphthongs in exactly the same way.<sup>1</sup> It was a breach with old Greek custom, the Reformers pleaded. It was careless and confusing. It produced "a feeble piping like that of sparrows or an unpleasant hissing like that of snakes."<sup>2</sup> Thomas Smith and John Cheke, two brilliant Cambridge scholars destined to eminence in many fields, took the matter up with vigour and insisted on reform. The younger men threw themselves into the battle on Smith's side. In vain Gardiner, Cromwell's successor as Chancellor at Cambridge, stormed against the innovators, sentenced Regents to expulsion and undergraduates to be birched. In vain more moderate Conservatives pleaded the weight of Continental usage and the inconvenience of a change. The new method made progress. Gardiner's authority failed to suppress it. Oxford scholars adopted the new views from Cambridge, and before long convinced themselves that the improvement had begun with them.<sup>3</sup>

Sterner controversies, however, were at hand. It soon became evident at Oxford that the new reign meant the triumph of the Reforming party. Dr. Harley of Magdalen, preaching at St. Peter's East against Popish superstitions, was hurried up to London by an over-zealous Commissary to be punished as a heretic. But the tactless Commissary met with no encouragement, and it was thought desirable to hush the matter up. The Protestants in the University, led by Cox, the Dean of Christ Church, came to the front and asserted themselves. The views of the new King's Council were not to be mistaken. In vain Gardiner lifted up his voice in protest, demanded rather than recommended moderation, denounced the Archbishop as no better than a heretic and the iconoclasts as "worse than hogs." He had been willing to submit to King Henry, but he could not tolerate submission to Cranmer. And the Archbishop professed no love for a colleague who fought with a dung-fork and found knots in a rush.<sup>4</sup> Gardiner's successor in the See of Winchester once sketched the famous Bishop's portrait—a swart colour, a hanging look, frowning brows, deep-set eyes, a nose hooked like a buzzard, great paws like the devil, an outward monster with a "vengeable" wit; and the caricature, drawn

<sup>1</sup> Vowels like *η*, *ε*, *ι* and even *υ*, and diphthongs like *οι* and *αι* seem all to have been pronounced alike. (See the paper by W. G. Clark, *English Pronunciation of Greek*, Journal of Philology, I, 98 sq., and the essay by A. J. Ellis on *The English, Dionysian, and Hellenic Pronunciations of Greek*.)

<sup>2</sup> This was Ascham's view. (See Mullinger, II, 60.)

<sup>3</sup> Wood at any rate was so persuaded (*Ann.* II, 76-9).

<sup>4</sup> For Cranmer's opinion of Gardiner's violence and sophistry see Dixon (*Church Hist.*, III, 271).

with the freedom of ecclesiastical polemics, stood for all that the Reformers hated most.<sup>1</sup> Gardiner was a strong man with some strong principles. But he was not free from violence or craft. He could not refrain from attacking his opponents, and in 1547 the Council sent him to the Fleet. Some three years later, still disdaining any compromise, the intrepid Bishop was deprived of his See. He lived to be amply revenged upon his adversaries, and it can hardly be doubted that he commanded the sympathies of all the great party both at Oxford and at Cambridge which still clung to Conservative views.

But Gardiner and his friends were overpowered. The new Protector, flushed with his victory at Pinkie, was strong enough at first to carry all before him. The tide of ecclesiastical reform swept on. The King remained Head of the Church. But recent tyrannous legislation was repealed. The Six Articles, the new treasons, the old laws against heresy, for the most part disappeared. There were outbreaks of feeling against the clergy, vehement outbreaks against images, church treasures and church bells. Erasmus' Paraphrase of the New Testament was translated and published with a preface by Udall. The ex-Master of Eton did not fail to point out that, if Alexander the Great had had Aristotle for a tutor, Edward with Somerset for his guardian was still more fortunately placed. A general Visitation of the Kingdom was ordered, and existing authorities for the time suspended. New Articles, founded on the precedents of Cromwell and of Henry, endeavoured to combine the ever-varying regulations of the last reign with a cautious advance towards the views of the Reformers.<sup>2</sup> One clause, which aimed at the destruction not of shrines only but of pictures and paintings, boded ill for the storied windows of Oxford, the rare glass in her chapels, the frescoes on her walls. The attack on chantries and colleges proceeded, but again All Souls and the Oxford Colleges escaped.<sup>3</sup> The pulpits were tuned and preachers restricted afresh.<sup>4</sup> Cranmer laboured to discover if his clergy were carrying out the new regulations, and maintaining scholars at the Universities as the law required. Latimer denounced the "lording loiterers" placed in palaces and couched in Courts. The Devil, he found, was always residing in his parish. Up

<sup>1</sup> Ponet's diatribe is quoted in full by Maitland (*Essays on the Reformation*, 55-6), who gives other curious specimens of current controversy.

<sup>2</sup> They are given by Wilkins (*Concilia*, IV, 23-6). See also Canon Dixon's comments (II, 430-3).

<sup>3</sup> All Souls suffered as a chantry but survived as a College. Cranmer must not be held responsible for the Act of 1547.

<sup>4</sup> Dean Cox and Bishop King figure with other notable divines among the licensed preachers of 1547. Canon Dixon (II, 485-6) gives the list from the original in the Record Office.

with candles, superstitions and idolatry, away with the light of the Gospel, down with Christ's Cross! But with these outbreaks of enthusiasm or prejudice pleas for charity and education mingled. "In time past when a rich man died, they were wont to help the poor scholars at the Universities with exhibition. . . . Now, when God's Word is brought to light, none helpeth the scholar nor the poor." Let them see more schools, more endowments, more compassion. For the love of God let more teachers and school-masters be appointed, and let them have stipends worthy of their pains.<sup>1</sup>

The temper of the country was rising. The Reformers moved too fast. The rapacity of the men in power was too conspicuous. Bishop Holbeach of Lincoln, a converted monk, signed away under pressure much of the property of his See. Men said that, when he mounted the throne in his Cathedral, the great tower of the Minster shuddered and fell. Ponet at Winchester bartered the possessions of his splendid Bishopric. Somerset, for all his generous theories, was "drowned" like the rest "in this filthy desire of getting together goods."<sup>2</sup> But for the time the new men and the new ideas were supreme. Orders and injunctions multiplied. With the help of German mercenaries opposition was put down. "Quarter the Germans," Paget advised the Protector, "on the disaffected towns, to make them sweat." The gentlemen of Oxfordshire met Lord Grey at Witney to arrange for executions in the new Cathedral city. Parish priests were hanged from the steeples, to emphasise the Council's supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. The Act of Uniformity established the first Prayer-Book. And in the same year, 1549, King Edward's Visitation of Oxford University began.

The King's eyes, directed by his uncle the Protector—so the Royal proclamation stated—had been turned to the Academies of England, as fountains and seminaries of doctrinal learning, whence truth might arise to enlighten the world. Nine Commissioners were appointed, with Dudley, Earl of Warwick, at their head. Holbeach and Ridley<sup>3</sup> represented the new Bishops,

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Dixon (II, 488-9).

<sup>2</sup> See the protest of John Hales, clerk of the Hanaper, quoted by Dixon (II, 508-10).

<sup>3</sup> Wood gives Bishop Heath's name, instead of Ridley's. Ridley was a Commissioner both for Oxford and for Cambridge, but was occupied chiefly at Cambridge. It is very doubtful whether Paget or Petre took part in the proceedings at Oxford, but Warwick's signature appears on the Injunctions. The most prominent signatures to the Oxford Injunctions are those of the Bishop of Lincoln, of Dean Cox and Dean Heynes, and they probably with Nevenson and Morison did the work in Oxford. The Statutes sent to Cambridge were signed apparently by the King and also by Somerset and 8 other members of the Council (Lamb, *Collec-*



Paget and Petre the men of affairs. Dean Cox of Christ Church was prominent among University Reformers. Dean Heynes of Exeter, who had been Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, Christopher Nevenson, a Doctor of Laws, and Richard Morison, an Esquire, completed a Commission of some authority and weight. Existing Statutes were discounted, as "antiquated, semi-barbarous and obscure"—to the delight, says Wood, of the saucy young Reformers, who seized the opportunity to affront their seniors on the other side. The Visitors were given large powers to inquire and to investigate, to suspend offices, stipends and endowments, and if need be to punish and coerce. Moneys devoted to feasts and funeral ceremonies, even money devoted to lectures, might be turned to better uses. College funds for choirs and church expenses, or for training boys in grammar, might be diverted to the teaching of philosophy and arts. Unsatisfactory Heads and Fellows could be replaced. Two or more Colleges might be joined together. The endowments of chantries might go to Scholarships and education. All Statutes, privileges and regulations, both in the University and in its Colleges and Halls, could be revised and altered as the Visitors thought best. Services and disputations, lectures and degrees might be reviewed. The study of Civil Law, "now almost extinct," was to be specially fostered, and for that purpose the Visitors might, if they thought fit, transfer to All Souls the Civil Law students of New College, and to New College the students of arts at All Souls. They had power to make All Souls a College of lawyers, to devote New College to divinity and arts, and to assign one College solely to the study of medicine. They had power to summon and dismiss Congregations, to impose oaths of allegiance to the King and of repudiation of the Pope.<sup>1</sup> The Commissioners who assembled in St. Mary's on the 24th May, to hear an inaugural sermon from Peter Martyr, must have realised that the terms of their appointment were as comprehensive as any Reformer could desire.

*tion of Letters, Statutes and Documents*, xxvii and 138, and *Stat. Acad. Cantab.* 1785, p. 160); and it seems probable, though the Rawlinson MS. which Hearne printed gives no indication of it, that the Statutes sent to Oxford were signed in the same way.

<sup>1</sup> The terms of the two Commissions, to Cambridge and Oxford—the announcement to Cambridge came first—are printed in Rymer's *Fœdera* (2nd ed., XV, 178–80 and 183–5). They are practically identical. The Commission (enrolled on the Patent Roll—3 Edw. VI, pt. 2—and existing also in a paper copy among the State Papers, Domestic, Edw. VI, vol. 7, No. 6) does not direct the Commissioners to report to the Crown; and there is nothing for Oxford among the State Papers of Edward VI corresponding to the two letters from W. Rogers to Sir Thomas Smith reporting the proceedings of the Cambridge Commissioners (*S. P. Dom.* Edw. VI, vol. 7, Nos. 10 and 11).



It appears that the Visitors brought down with them to Oxford a body of new Statutes drafted by the Council,<sup>1</sup> and modified or supplemented these upon the spot. But the original does not seem to be preserved. It is not in the University Archives. It was not known to Twyne or Wood. It is not to be found at the Record Office. But there are copies of it at Oxford, similar in most points to the Statutes given at the same time to Cambridge, and one of these copies, contained in a collection of Oriel College Statutes and Injunctions, was printed by Thomas Hearne in 1729<sup>2</sup>. "Fear God, honour the King," were the first words of the new code after the preamble, as it went on to re-state in no unreasonable spirit rules based on the ordinances and customs of the past. It fixed the length of terms and of vacations, the days and hours of public lectures, and the authors to be studied.<sup>3</sup> Medicine, dialectic and rhetoric were to begin at seven in the morning. Hebrew, Civil Law, philosophy and Greek were to follow from eight to nine. At nine theology took the field alone, and mathematics held it from twelve to one. Law included not only the law of Rome but "the ecclesiastical laws of our realm, which we are about to set forth."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The preamble speaks of "nonnullas leges, in hoc volumine inscriptas." It is clear that this was the case at Cambridge. The Cambridge Commissioners, already appointed in November 1548, spent the winter apparently in drawing up the Statutes, which they took to Cambridge in May 1549 (Lamb, *Collect. of Docts.* xxvi sq. and 102 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> The MS. which Hearne printed (*Rawlinson Statutes* 45) is now in the Bodleian. It was formerly Hearne's property, given him by Richard Graves, who according to a note on the fly-leaf bought it in Paternoster Row in October 1727. Before that it was known apparently as an Oriel Register to Richard James. (See Clark's *Life of Wood*, IV, 131.) Mr. Gibson has taken this MS. as the basis of the Edwardian Statutes printed in his volume (341 sq.), and has collated with it the copy of these Statutes preserved in the Bodleian in *Registrum E*, Darrell's Register. These seem to be the earliest copies extant, but we do not know in either case what they were taken from. References by Twyne and others to the Edwardian Statutes are noted by Dr. Clark (*Life of Wood*, IV, 128-31). Both at Oxford and at Cambridge the original Statutes have disappeared, and Cambridge also is dependent upon copies, preserved in *The Black Parchment Book*, in *Statuta Academiæ Cantabrigiæ* (MDCCLXXXV) and in the Library of Corpus Christi College. I have to thank the Registrar, the Librarian of Corpus and their Assistants for information kindly given me there, and Miss E. Stokes for helping me in my search—a vain search—for the originals at the Record Office. The Privy Council records and the Library at Lambeth also know nothing of them. I give references here to the version printed by Hearne in the Appendix to his edition of Trokelowe's *Annales Edwardi II*, and when necessary to Mr. Gibson's proofs.

<sup>3</sup> See for these regulations Hearne's *Trokelowe* (343 sq.) and Mr. Gibson's volume (343 sq.).

<sup>4</sup> Cranmer hoped to provide a body of Canon Law for the English Church.

Philosophy included not only Aristotle but Pliny and Plato. Medicine still meant Hippocrates or Galen. Cicero and Quintilian were mentioned among teachers of rhetoric, Strabo and Ptolemy among authorities on mathematics, Homer, Demosthenes, Euripides as examples of Greek. The Hebrew Lecturer lectured on grammar and the sources of Scripture.<sup>1</sup> The Canon Law was banned. A revolution was raging in theology. But the old methods of the Schools were slow in yielding, even if the ancient system was being gradually widened and re-shaped.

The new Statutes summed up with a certain distinctness the rules for study, disputations and degrees. The young student from school was now to devote his first year to mathematics, to learn dialectic in his second year, and philosophy in his third and fourth. Four years of lectures and disputations prepared him for the Bachelor's status. Three years more, including philosophy, astronomy, perspective and Greek, qualified him for the Master's rank. The old *Trivium* and *Quadrivium* were apparently to some extent re-cast. Music is not mentioned. The old stress on grammar, Latin grounding, seems to be diminished. New stress is laid on Greek. Masters of Arts taking up divinity were now asked for five years only of theology and Hebrew: but for the Doctorate four more years were required.<sup>2</sup> Peter Lombard's *Sentences* were out of fashion, but for both Bachelors and Doctors of Divinity, lectures, disputations and University sermons were a part of the course.<sup>3</sup> The Bachelor of Laws had to study for six years, the Doctor three years longer.<sup>4</sup> The latter must learn something of the laws of England and of other States. The student of medicine and surgery had to study six years, to dispute twice, to respond once and to see two anatomies before securing his Bachelor's degree. He had to perform two anatomies and to prove that he had effected at least

<sup>1</sup> With these public lectures "domestic lectures" were not to interfere (Hearne, *Trokelowe*, 357). Other authors are mentioned besides those named above. But it is noticeable that the new Statutes omit the *De Animalibus* and the *Analytica* of Aristotle, and that in the Interpretations or Amendments given in *Registrum E* both these old favourites of the Schools are restored (Cf. pp. 344 and 358 of Mr. Gibson's work).

<sup>2</sup> Instead of the old requirements, seven years for admission to read a book of the *Sentences* and two years' further study for the License. Peter Lombard's views on Papal authority were hard to reconcile with the Royal Supremacy. But the Injunctions required Masters of Arts studying theology to take their B.D. within seven years of their M.A. (Hearne, 368), and allowed theological students over 24—who had come up to study theology only—to take it after seven years' study without a previous degree in Arts (*Ib.* 366).

<sup>3</sup> Continuous residence also was probably required. (See Peacock's *Observations*, App., xlvii, n.)

<sup>4</sup> But B.As. and M.As. could secure law degrees more quickly.

three cures before he was admitted to practise.<sup>1</sup> And he had apparently to see two or three more anatomies, to dispute twice and to respond twice for his Doctor's degree.<sup>2</sup> The old practice of disputation was thus elaborately guarded. It could if necessary be enforced with fines.<sup>3</sup> All ranks were subjected to it, Sophisters, Bachelors and Masters, all studies, medicine, philosophy, theology and law. The Colleges were required to supply a certain number of disputers,<sup>4</sup> according to a regular plan. The Schoolmen might be falling out of fashion, but their ancient habit of debate survived.

The new Statutes recalled the old rules about dress, deprecated luxury and vanities like silken 'night-caps'.<sup>5</sup> They re-stated the rules for the election of University Officials, Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, Proctors and Taxors, Bedels and Keepers of the common Chest. The Chancellor and Bedels were to be elected by the Regents<sup>6</sup> and Non-Regents, the Keepers by "the whole senate of the Academy," which probably means the same thing, the Proctors and Taxors by the Regents alone. The statements about the Vice-Chancellor's or Pro-Chancellor's<sup>7</sup> election—the first reference to the subject in the Oxford Statutes—are less clear<sup>8</sup>: but in the end, it seems, the Non-Regents

<sup>1</sup> The three cures may have been required for surgical practice only, though the Oxford Statute does not say so (Hearne, *Trokelowe*, 347–8). The anatomies were certainly part of the medical training. (See also Lamb, 127 and 283.)

<sup>2</sup> No period of study for the Doctorate is mentioned. But there follows a general statement (Hearne, 348) that an M.A.—who could become a Doctor of Laws after 5 years' study of law—could become a Doctor of Medicine after 5 years' study of medicine. Nothing is said here about practical work. Could that have been taken for granted? The necessity for it must surely have been realised more and more, in days when a separate medical College at Oxford was proposed.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* (349–51).

<sup>4</sup> "Disputatores" (*Ib.*, 349). See also the rules for the Colleges which Mr. Gibson prints (359) from *Registrum E* (82<sup>b</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> "ὑποπίλοις, id est . . . nocturnis pileis." (See Gibson's *Statutes*, 349). This is apparently the coif, a cap tied like a night-cap under the chin. I have to thank Mr. E. F. Beaumont of Oxford for this suggestion.

<sup>6</sup> The Cambridge Statutes of Edward VI and Queen Mary extended to 3 years the period of necessary Regency for M.As., and the Elizabethan Statutes later extended it to 5. (See Peacock, *Observations*, 51.) I do not find any similar provision in the Edwardian Statutes at Oxford, which speak of *secundum annum* (Gibson, 347) where the Cambridge version has *tertium annum* (Lamb, 128–9).

<sup>7</sup> "Procancellarius" used here (Hearne, 353) is a term rarely if ever used in early days. "Vice-cancellarius" appears in the Registers in the middle of the 15th century. Wood has a note on the subject (*Fasti*, 89). A Statute of 1551, printed by Mr. Gibson (361), provided for the appointment of a Deputy Procancellarius.

<sup>8</sup> They are in fact confusing. Hearne (353) says first that he is to be elected by the majority of Regents. This seems to have been the rule for Cambridge (Lamb, *Documents*, 133, and Peacock, *Observations*,



were allowed to vote in this case also. The influence of the Non-Regents, no doubt, tended to grow stronger, as the importance of the Regents as a teaching body declined. The prominence given to the Chancellor's office is remarkable. He was to summon Congregations twice a term. He alone could give the Masters present leave to go away.<sup>1</sup> He was primarily responsible for the good government of the University. He might sanction new Statutes "with the whole Academy's consent." The chapter devoted to his office includes provisions establishing University sermons, checking the expenses connected with Determination, maintaining the old ceremonies in conferring degrees, recognising the interest of the Colleges in the advancement of their members,<sup>2</sup> and preventing the marriage of Fellows. To the last point neither Dean Cox nor Peter Martyr paid, it is to be feared, the attention which was due.

The system of education at Oxford was changing. Public Lecturers and College teachers were replacing the old Masters of the Schools. But these new Statutes, imposed by the Crown in days of revolution, retained in no small measure the old traditions. They were supplemented by Ordinances or Injunctions addressed to the University and to separate Colleges as well.<sup>3</sup> Those for the Colleges insisted on the reading and authority

37): and Wood's account of Dr. Tresham's election in 1550 (*Fasti*, 90) seems to confirm this. But immediately afterwards Hearne speaks of his being elected in a Congregation of Regents and Non-Regents who all vote. Doubt may well have arisen on the subject. But the Interpretations or Amendments added later, and printed by Mr. Gibson (359) from *Registrum E*, make the matter clear. "In electione vicecancellarii ius habeant et regentes et non regentes."

<sup>1</sup> The Injunctions, more familiar with University practice, gave the Pro-Chancellor this power (Hearne, 366).

<sup>2</sup> E.g. "Cooptandus in aliquem ordinem, primum approbetur a majori parte collegii, cuius est, et collegii nomine ab uno ex eodem collegio et ordinario lectore facultatis sistetur coram cancellario tum in congregatione" (Hearne, 358).

<sup>3</sup> The Rawlinson MS. printed by Hearne (*Trokelowe*, 342-70) gives first the new Statutes, unsigned, then a series of Injunctions for Oriel College, which, no doubt, were issued to all the Colleges alike, and which correspond, with few changes, with the Ordinances of the Royal Visitors of 1549 given to All Souls, and printed with the All Souls Statutes in vol. I of the *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*. A mutilated copy of similar Injunctions among the Magdalen archives is printed by Macray (*Register*, II, 23-6). There might well be similar ordinances preserved, and even bound up with the Edwardian Statutes, in many College Libraries; but I have not traced any at the older Colleges except those inserted at the beginning of the earliest *Register* of Exeter College. After the Oriel Injunctions, which are signed by the Bishop of Lincoln, Cox, Heynes, Morison and Nevenson, Hearne gives the Injunctions issued to the University, which are signed by Warwick, the Bishop of Lincoln, Cox and Heynes—Ridley does not appear—and then a few more College Injunc-



of Scripture, on services in Chapel, on grace at meals. They regulated worship; the Lord's Supper was to be celebrated every Sunday. They enforced the catechism. They swept away unnecessary altars, superstitious monuments, noisy Chapel-bells. They dealt also with points of discipline and conduct. They guarded against the abuse of College endowments and tried to limit Fellowships to twenty years. They forbade College funds to be spent on teaching grammar; Latin was to be acquired at school. They reminded the Colleges that they had been intended for the children of poor people. They restricted the outlay on eating and drinking which accompanied every stage of a University career. They forbade "prodigious" clothes and shaven heads. They restrained extravagance and gossip. They put down dicing at all times and seasons, and cards except at Christmas. They forbade loose talk and English talk alike: but every man might ring the changes on Latin, Greek and Hebrew as much as he chose.<sup>1</sup> The Injunctions addressed to the University, though they included some rules of importance, dealt mostly with matters of detail, imposing fines for non-attendance at Congregations or at disputations, settling small points of procedure, laying down supplementary regulations for responses, and not overlooking little points of dress.

An interesting diary exists of the Visitors' proceedings at Cambridge, which is probably a fair example of the way in which at both Universities the Commissioners went to work. They visited the Colleges in turn. They summoned the Fellows before them. They examined documents, usages, accounts. They listened to complaints and claims, condemned what they regarded as idolatry, revised College Statutes as they pleased. Incidentally they heard disputations, "to the greate comforte of thawdiens." And they rarely failed to crown the day with supper when their task was done. Indeed on one occasion in the afternoon "the Vyc. and Proctors gave the Vysytors a posset viz. a gallonde of Ipocrace and a pyke." The diary ends with a warning to the College companies, perhaps more easily given than obeyed, to get back to the study of their books and to cease talking of disturbing news.<sup>2</sup> We have no such record

tions, signed by the same four names. Mr. Gibson, while naturally omitting the College Injunctions, gives (358-60) from *Reg. E* (82-3) various amendments and interpretations of the new Statutes, solving doubts which had evidently arisen on them, especially on points of procedure in regard to disputations.

<sup>1</sup> The Oriel Injunctions also abolished an old rule which forbade the College "Scholastici" during their year of probation to visit their parents even at the point of death (Hearne, 365).

<sup>2</sup> Lamb (109-20). The diary, kept by the Vice-Chancellor, runs from May 6 to July 8, 1549.

of the Visitors at Oxford. But their proceedings would not be very different, nor their appreciation of hospitality less marked.

The Visitation was hailed in some quarters as marking the final downfall of the Schoolmen, as setting the Scriptures and the Fathers in their proper place. But apart from that there was nothing alarming in the educational reforms proposed. The rules for better work and better discipline were in no way new. Endowments, it seems, were not seriously threatened. The schemes for throwing Colleges together, for devoting one to Law and one to Medicine, were not pressed. All Souls, though it suffered from iconoclasm, escaped a revolution. The law students of New College were left in peace. If old-fashioned dons complained of change, the younger men rejoiced in their freedom. "The Academians," says Wood, enjoyed "a liberty of opining whatsoever they pleased, and speaking freely their opinions where-soever they listed." Intolerance was confined to matters of conscience, but there, round questions of religion, hot controversies raged. Adherents of the old ideas were still numerous in Oxford. At Merton Richard Smith, till replaced as Professor of Divinity by Peter Martyr, was a pillar of the Roman Catholic cause. Hugh Weston, for some years Rector of Lincoln, and Nicholas Harpsfield, who had been Professor of Greek, were both prominent Romanists who found their triumph later. New College, if it tolerated Dr. London, bred some of the staunchest opponents of the Reformation. Oriel, moved by Morgan Phillips, was no less staunch on the same side. Lincoln had old ecclesiastical traditions. Exeter had strong sympathy with the rebels of the West. James Brooks, Master of Balliol, was destined to be a Marian Bishop, though Jewel imputed to him impurity of conscience and of life. On the other side the Dean of Christ Church was a vigorous partisan. And so, it may be, were Reformers like Bentham and Bickley at Magdalen, Jewel and William Cole at Corpus, Randolph at Broadgates Hall.<sup>1</sup> Between the two sides a certain number of leading men of Conservative opinions stood perhaps for moderate courses—Oglethorpe, President of Magdalen, Warner, Warden of All Souls, and John Smyth, elected Provost of Oriel in 1550.<sup>2</sup> These men may have yielded sufficiently to meet the Commissioners' requirements. If Warner

<sup>1</sup> And, it may be added, Harding of New College, who reverted to Romanist views. Bentham and Bickley became Elizabethan Bishops, and Bickley was for a time Warden of Merton.

<sup>2</sup> Smyth's hurried election was in fact a defiance of the King's Council. But the fact that men like Tresham, Wright and Marshall were prominent in University business both under Edward and under Mary—while it may suggest pliancy—probably indicates that a spirit of moderation was at work. Tresham was no sycophant, and before the end of Edward's reign he fell into disgrace. Oglethorpe withdrew in 1552.

satisfied Cranmer, the Visitor of his College, the Royal Visitors would not be likely to complain. Some ejections, no doubt, there were. Smith and Weston were notoriously hostile to the Reformation, and, it was stated, notoriously irregular in their lives. Morwent and two other members of Corpus passed a short time in prison. Cox is accused of forcing his nominees into Fellowships without regard to College rules. But we have no records of wholesale persecution. And in days when authority and doctrine changed so often, many theologians could make a good case for acquiescing in whatever the Head of the Church ordained.

The Commission lasted for several months, adjourning its sittings from time to time. But the Dean of Christ Church was on the spot to represent it, and his authority as Visitor and Chancellor must have been difficult to withstand. Cox was deep in the confidence of Cranmer. He had friends among the Protestant divines abroad. He was clearly an uncompromising Reformer, and Wood charges him with doings difficult to forgive. He installed Peter Martyr at Christ Church, and, worse still, Peter Martyr's wife. He allowed women to serve in the Colleges. Shy Romanists found this a "damnable" innovation and called the women by hard names. He allowed preachers to rail against the old religion, and rude persons to abuse it in ballads and libels. He allowed surplices and copes to be made ridiculous, and the saying of Mass to be compared to the mumbling of charms. He allowed the weekly correction of students to cease, even though they might "nose and impudentize" their seniors. He allowed fasts to be broken, revels to be held, confession and repentance to be forgotten. But to these and other charges the Dean may possibly, from his own standpoint, have had a good defence. The triumph of one party inevitably brought with it trouble and annoyance for the other.

At Magdalen startling outrages are said to have occurred.<sup>1</sup> A priest was dragged from the altar. A censer was snatched from the ministrant's hands. The symbols of Christ's Sacrament were scattered on the ground. Violent young Reformers broke into the choir with hatchets and chopped the service-books to pieces. In many quarters there was a fresh outcry against idolatry. Painted windows were condemned and removed. The noble reredos at All Souls was demolished. Emblems of superstition were banished from Christ Church and elsewhere. Fanaticism, gathering force from indulgence, turned upon the

<sup>1</sup> Before the Visitors came, says Wood (*Ann.* II, 104). The charges seem to have some foundation, though the Vice-President's *Register* at the College ignores them. (See also Humfrey, *Juelli Vita*, ed. 1573, pp. 72-3).



famous libraries of Oxford. Illuminated missals, unpopular philosophy, diagrams dealing with astronomy and mathematics, "accounted Popish or diabolical or both," manuscripts "guilty of no other superstition than red letters in their fronts or titles," were taken down from desks or shelves, sold off and destroyed. Wood declares that the works of scholars, once the pride of Oxford learning, were carried about the city on biers and burned in the market-place. From Merton Library a cartload of manuscripts, we are assured, was carried away. Bishop Gray's treasures at Balliol were plundered. New College and Exeter, Lincoln and Queen's had to face the same indignities. Books became "dog cheap." Whole libraries could be bought "for an inconsiderable nothing."<sup>1</sup> Duke Humphrey's noble collection and the whole University Library was dispersed. Even the empty bookshelves were sold by the authorities. College Heads like Cox and Morwent cannot be acquitted of acquiescing in the University's disgrace.

One striking feature of the religious conflict was the great public disputation on the nature of the Sacrament, which the Visitors countenanced with their presence, and in which Peter Martyr bore a conspicuous part. Polemical theology had now become an absorbing occupation. The German Universities rang with the combats of Protestant divines. Cranmer would gladly have seen Melancthon in England, and both Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer were invited over from Strasburg.<sup>2</sup> Peter Martyr, after a stay of some months at Lambeth, was appointed Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1549. There he soon showed himself a fighter, and discovered antagonists quite as contentious as himself. Before long the University was aflame. Peter Martyr began by lectures on the Corinthians, in which he denounced the ways of Pharisees and Papists and condemned fasts in Lent. But he went on to deal with the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament,<sup>3</sup> and on that vital doctrine the men of the old school determined to meet him in the field. The Protector and Council had lately warned the University to carry on its

<sup>1</sup> Yet the large remains of mediæval MSS. suggest that the tale of destruction may have been exaggerated. There must have been many College Fellows determined to save all they could.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Martyr Vermigli came originally from Florence. He had ruled over more than one Monastery and had been a great Catholic scholar. (See his Life by Josias Simler—*Oratio de Vita et Obitu*, 1563—and other authorities quoted by *D.N.B.* under "Vermigli.") Bucer, appointed at Cambridge soon afterwards, won popularity by his moderation. He visited Oxford on Martyr's invitation, and lectured at Christ Church, in 1550. (See Mullinger, II, 117-25.)

<sup>3</sup> His refinements on this subject caused some perplexity. (See Dixon, *Church Hist.*, III, 110 sq.)



disputations with lowliness of spirit. But there was nothing lowly in the angry Oxford Doctors who gathered to the attack. Richard Smith, no mean antagonist, challenged the Reformer to a public disputation. Feeling ran high. Violence was threatened. An organised opposition was arranged. Peter Martyr at first, it seems, declined the duel. He would not use the barbarous and ambiguous language of the Schoolmen. He would not undertake a set debate without due preparation and a license from the King. But he went down to the Schools with a body-guard of friends about him, and carried through the lectures which he had meant to give. To save a tumult the Vice-Chancellor interposed. The authorities were consulted. A formal disputation was arranged. But by that time Smith, the head of the opposition, had been arrested and had fled from Oxford. The Government's sympathies were strongly upon Peter Martyr's side.

But the rival factions were not to be baulked. Dr. Tresham, a Canon of Christ Church and a well-known figure in Oxford, agreed to take Smith's place. Cheadsey of Corpus and Morgan Phillips of St. Mary Hall, scholars of repute, came forward to support him. The Visitors were invited to be present, and Cox, the Vice-Chancellor, to preside. After "great hurrying and noise about the University," the long expected contest took place. But, as might have been foreseen, three or four days of disputation left everybody where they were before.<sup>1</sup> Each side claimed the victory. Cox has been accused of favouring Martyr and of saving him from defeat. But he summed up apparently in terms of admiration for all the disputants alike. Peter had been a rock for firmness and a martyr in adducing testimonies. Everybody had shown a passion for the truth. No decision could be arrived at, but further debate was indefinitely deferred. Martyr, Tresham and Cheadsey, it seems, all prepared reports for publication.<sup>2</sup> Oxford opinion in shops and taps, Martyr rather contemptuously admitted, was against him. But he appealed through the Press to the Council and the world. Tresham declared that the "scandalous impudent old madman" had altered his discourse before printing it, in the most calumnious way. But the Reformer had the Government's ear. His manuscript alone was published; and the Protestants who adopted his opinions were content to believe that his argument prevailed.

On one point the Visitors found City and University united in resisting unnecessary change. At Magdalen party feeling

<sup>1</sup> See Wood (*Annals*, II, 87 sq.) and Dixon (III, 109 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> Strype (*Mems. of Cranmer*, 1812, II, 848 sq.) prints Cox's Oration and Tresham's Letter on the subject.

was particularly strong, and the Protestants were certainly aggressive. Cox, perhaps "set on by some of the Society," produced Injunctions for the regulation of the College, one of which aimed at the extinction of the College School.<sup>1</sup> The Fellows resisted and appealed to the Crown. The Mayor and citizens of Oxford joined in with a strong protest. The inhabitants of the town had always received aid from the Colleges in training their children, "some being called Schollers of the Houses and some called Quiristers, and yet learning their Grammar." The children had had "meate, drinke, cloth and lodginge." They had been "verie well brought up in Learninge." They had gone forward to Logic and other Faculties with little or no cost to their parents. The Commissioners, it was said, would have prevented the Colleges from educating choristers or others, and would have cast out of some of the Colleges thirty or forty or even fifty boys.<sup>2</sup> The case was so strong that the Reformers relented. The eloquence and indignation of the "poore Oratours" prevailed.

Other grievances were less easy to amend. It was a time of misgovernment and of economic transition, of grasping rapacity, of "cruel dearness." Twenty pence, said Ascham, would not buy what twelve pence bought in former days. Patronage was misused and the poorer students suffered. Polemical theology interfered with genuine study. The old Grammar Schools had decayed, and the new ones hardly filled their places. Parents, Wood avers, had no heart to educate their children as they used. If the same stern critic may be credited, the old lecture-rooms in Schools Street were deserted. Some of them were bought by townsmen and pulled down.<sup>3</sup> The Arts Schools built by Abbot Hokenorton were taken by laundresses to dry their clothes in. Learners fell off. Determiners diminished.

<sup>1</sup> Wood (*Ann.* II, 101). Wood credits Cox with an attempt to destroy the school at New College also (103).

<sup>2</sup> The figures should be taken with reserve. The wording of the petition in Wood (*Ann.* II, 102-3) is large and general: but it was on behalf of Magdalen College School that the fight was made.

<sup>3</sup> Wood quotes (*Ann.* II, 119) from a charter of Queen Mary's first year a description of the Schools as "vastatas et in privatos hortos conversas"—for what it may be worth. I do not find in Twyne XXI, 215 the account of the maltreatment of the Schools in Edward VI's time which Dr. Clark speaks of (Wood's *Life*, IV, 148). Nor have I been able to trace in the University Archives the *Computus* of receipts and expenses for the Schools building in 1557 which Dr. Clark refers to (*Ib.* 149). On the other hand, at the end of the volume in the University Archives labelled *Computus Vice-Can.* AD. 1621-AD. 1666 there is a reference (p. 359) to the Canon Schools as "ruinosae vel potius dirutae," among the accounts of Vice-Chancellors Wright and Tresham, 1547 to 1554. Yet these Schools are elsewhere stated to have been rebuilt towards the end of the fifteenth century.

Disputations in logic and philosophy ceased. The Universities were despised as Stables of Asses and Stews of the Devil.<sup>1</sup> University possessions, money and muniments to a large extent disappeared.

Some discount, no doubt, should be made from these gloomy generalisations. The Registers do not indicate any sharp fall in numbers under Edward VI.<sup>2</sup> On the contrary, in August 1552, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor made a list of "persons" including Masters, Bachelors and others, which allotted no less than seven hundred and sixty-one to the Colleges and two hundred and sixty to the Halls.<sup>3</sup> A graver source of trouble for the future lay in the introduction of religious tests. One of the last acts of Edward's Council was to call on the clergy to subscribe to the Forty-Two Articles of Religion which Cranmer and his colleagues had prepared.<sup>4</sup> It was intended to make subscription necessary for University degrees.<sup>5</sup> But within a few weeks the King was dead, and the Catholic party, now again in the ascendant, were only too ready to follow the lead given by their opponents. It was at Cambridge that the Reformation had the deepest roots, and that the success of the reaction was at first most striking. It was there that Northumberland's cabal finally collapsed, and that the miserable Protector, deserted by his army, proclaimed with tears the Queen whom he had tried to supplant. It was there that the Vice-Chancellor, Sandys, dragged from his seat in Congregation, was arrested and hurried off to prison in the Tower, "more ready to die than to live." At Oxford these dramatic episodes were wanting, but the Catholic sentiment was even stronger, and on the proclamation of Queen Mary its friends broke into irrepressible rejoicings. Temporisers, no doubt, there were. Sir John Mason, a layman and diplomatist, who had succeeded Cox as Chancellor in 1552, continued to act,

<sup>1</sup> Wood (*Ann.* II, 114).

<sup>2</sup> The lists of degrees quoted from *Register I* by Mr. Boase are clearly incomplete from 1549 to 1551. (See *Reg. of Univ.*, I, 217.)

<sup>3</sup> This list is reproduced from *Register GG* by Mr. Boase (*Univ. Reg.*, I, xxi-v). Magdalen has 138, Christ Church 131 names: New Inn Hall is credited with 49, Hart Hall and Broadgates with over 40 each. But servants are included in the Hall lists, and others besides students probably under Mr. Boase's heading of "Subgraduati" in the Colleges. Wood speaks (*Ann.* II, 113) of 1015 students on the Buttery books, but thinks the greater part of them were absent: this needs proof. Compare Dr. Clark's lists of members on the College Books, 1565-83 (*Reg.*, II, ii, 9-46).

<sup>4</sup> The 42 Articles, ultimately reduced to 39, were published in 1553. The Second Prayer-Book had been published in 1552.

<sup>5</sup> I think this is clear from the Visitors' Letter to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, given by Lamb (*Documents*, 161-4), requiring subscription from M.As., B.Ds., and D.Ds. But I have no proof that similar instructions were sent to Oxford.



so far as his other employments allowed.<sup>1</sup> He was prompt in deserting Northumberland for Mary. He bore the reputation of seeing "further off" than most men, and he served all masters with equal adroitness and success. Some of the leaders in University business like Dr. Wright and Dr. Tresham took the same course.<sup>2</sup> For the Catholics there was now no need to compromise. In both Universities the partisans of the old order came into their own.

Recent innovations were rapidly repealed. They were due, said the Queen emphatically, to the "sensuall mindes and rashe determinations of a few men."<sup>3</sup> Old customs and old Statutes were restored. The Mass reappeared in College Chapels, and Transubstantiation among the doctrines of the Schools. Vestments and chalices were dug out "as if from the grave." Men like Richard Smith and Hugh Weston returned to Oxford. Peter Martyr took refuge abroad, and his eager audiences were scattered. Students from Christ Church, Magdalen and Merton were to be found in the years that followed, gathered at the Protestant centres of the Continent, at Strasburg and Zurich, at Frankfort and Basle. Zurich especially attracted English scholars and treated them with conspicuous kindness. William Cole and Laurence Humfrey, both destined to be Heads of Oxford Colleges, stayed with Froschover, the great printer, who had studied under Peter Martyr, "dwelling together like brothers with great glee." John Parkhurst came from his Fellowship at Merton, and Jewel, who had lost his Fellowship at Corpus. Christopher Goodman, a Student of Christ Church, whose enthusiasm led him to compare Queen Mary with the Queen of Hell, and John Foxe, the Martyrologist, who had ceased to be a Fellow of Magdalen, joined the refugees at Frankfort and elsewhere. From abroad Foxe sent home a noble warning against persecution. "Life will go after liberty: nor only life, conscience will be taken from mankind." Many men destined to be Elizabethan prelates, who faced exile and privation under Mary, owed no small debt to German hospitality, and no small part of their formidable theology to German Protestant divines.

The Bishop of Winchester gave Peter Martyr a safe-conduct.

<sup>1</sup> Mason was a great deal abroad between 1553 and 1556. But his appointment was apparently well received, though he was a layman and married (Clark, *Reg.* II, 1, 239). He was the son of an Abingdon cow-herd.

<sup>2</sup> At the end of 1551 Tresham had been committed to the Fleet. Wright was trusted by Pole but apparently conformed to Elizabeth's requirements later.

<sup>3</sup> See Queen Mary's letter to Cambridge (Lamb, 165). Wood says (*Ann.* II, 119) that the Protestants continued for a time to read "though very faintly," the English Book of Common Prayer.



But he sent Commissioners to Oxford to visit New College, Magdalen and Corpus, and in each case the Reformers had to leave or to conform. At New College Thomas Harding, who had been thought a zealous Protestant, swung round to Romanist opinions. He became Gardiner's chaplain and a leading controversialist upon the Roman side. Lady Jane Grey, whom he had helped to train, was moved to write to him from prison, in grief that so lively a member of Christ should have become "the deformed imp of the devil." At Magdalen, where reform had been more violent, the reaction was more sweeping.<sup>1</sup> Haddon, "scarce warm in his place," the new President imported from Cambridge in defiance of the College Statutes, made way for Oglethorpe again. The strongest Protestants were ejected. The younger sort, says Wood, who refused to conform, were discomfited or whipped. At Corpus one Scholar was beaten so successfully—one lash for every verse that he had written against the Mass—that he became obedient to authority and developed into a Fellow of All Souls. But at Corpus the reaction was welcomed by many members of the College, with Morwent and Cheadsey at their head. The ornaments and vestments, the vessels and candlesticks, mysteriously saved under King Edward, reappeared. Jewel, already famous as a lecturer and one of Peter Martyr's most active supporters, was forced to withdraw to Broadgates Hall. He tried for a time to avoid extremes. He drew up the University's address to Queen Mary, in terms with which even Tresham had no fault to find. A year later, though he had associated himself with Cranmer and Ridley in their disputation, he subscribed to the new Articles which the authorities enjoined.<sup>2</sup> He stayed too long, says his biographer, in Oxford, lingering like St. Peter by the fire in the high priest's courtyard. But his real opinions were well known. The new Dean of Christ Church, Marshall, had marked him down for treatment as a heretic. He fled on foot from Oxford, and faithful friends helped him to make good his escape abroad.

But, as the reaction strengthened, more conspicuous victims were required. Cranmer, already condemned to death for treason, and Latimer, who had refused to fly, had been since September 1553 imprisoned in the Tower. Ridley had been sent there earlier, in July. And in March 1554 orders were issued for the three "sons of perdition and iniquity" to be brought

<sup>1</sup> Letters from Queen Mary are noted in the Vice-President's *Register*, bidding the Fellows observe their ancient Statutes. Humfrey gives a brief account of the reaction at Magdalen and elsewhere (*Juelli Vita*, 68 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> He afterwards publicly expressed regret for this (*Ib.* 84 sq.).

to Oxford, to defend their heresies in disputation if they could.<sup>1</sup> Doctors from both Oxford and Cambridge were appointed to confute them. Tresham and Oglethorpe, Richard Smith and Cheadsey were conspicuous in the Oxford list. John Harpsfield, now a close ally of Bonner's, was among them. So was Henry Cole, who had been Warden of New College, and who is alleged to have been once a Reformer.<sup>2</sup> Weston, a conspicuous pluralist, now high in favour, acted as Moderator, and nothing was omitted which would lend importance to the clerical gatherings at St. Mary's and elsewhere. The questions chosen for debate in the Divinity School concerned the presence of Christ in the Mass. The arguments lasted three days,<sup>3</sup> but the proceedings were not free from disorder. Cranmer disputed on the first day against Cheadsey, Tresham and others, from eight in the morning till nearly two. Ridley followed on the second day, arguing with Richard Smith and other opponents, interrupted frequently by Weston, and met by some clamour and hissing in the School. Latimer on the third day handed in his written answers. He was faint and weary, his memory "clean gone." Facing his opponents, a strange but venerable figure, "with a kerchief and two or three caps on his head, his spectacles hanging by a string at his breast and a staff in his hand," he told them that for lack of books and strength and practice he was as fit to discuss theology as to be Captain of Calais. But the audience had no sympathy for heretics and was not in a mood to be impartial. On the Friday following all three prisoners were condemned. They were taken back to their confinement, and for eighteen months they waited while the triumph of the reaction was secured.

In the interval events moved fast. The Queen married a Spanish husband. Cardinal Pole arrived in England and reconciled the Kingdom with the Roman See. King Henry's ecclesiastical legislation was largely swept away. Persecution and burnings began. Hooper died in his own Cathedral city. Cheadsey assured the people at Paul's Cross that Bonner was

<sup>1</sup> Cranmer seems to have been lodged at Bocardo almost all the time of his imprisonment; but he may have paid a brief visit to the Deanery. Ridley and Latimer, after the first at any rate, stayed with city officials. The name "Bishop's Hole" was given to a small ground-floor cell on the West side of Bocardo (Hurst, *Oxford Topog.* 70).

<sup>2</sup> Henry Cole, Warden of New College in 1542, must be distinguished from Arthur Cole, President of Magdalen in 1555, and William Cole, President of Corpus in 1568 (Boase, *Reg.*, I, 159, 206 and 215).

<sup>3</sup> But on the fourth day, Thursday, Cranmer was brought back to join in a further disputation held in connection with Harpsfield's admission to the Doctor's degree, and won general admiration by his skill in argument. (See Canon Dixon's full account, *Church History*, IV, 181 sq.).

prepared to do his duty. Spanish Friars, Peter Soto and John de Villa Garcia <sup>1</sup> began to teach and to dispute at Oxford in Peter Martyr's place. At last, in September 1555, Brooks, once Master of Balliol and now Bishop of Gloucester, acting under Papal authority, opened his Court for the trial of Cranmer in St. Mary's Church. The Archbishop refused to acknowledge his jurisdiction, and the proceedings were reported to Rome. Cranmer returned to Bocardo, and two or three weeks later Ridley and Latimer were brought up for trial, before three Bishops of whom Brooks was one. Their opinions were condemned. They were sentenced and degraded. Lovers of procedure may note the tradition that, when Latimer was sentenced, the cloth was removed from the table, because, unlike Ridley, he had never taken a Doctor's degree. On the 16th October they were led to the stake, "in the Towne Ditch, over against Baliell Colledge." <sup>2</sup> Cranmer was praying, and it may be watching, in his prison close by. They had confessed to each other that they dreaded martyrdom. Latimer had declared that he would wish to "creep into a mouse-hole." Ridley had feared that he would prove but "a white-livered knight." Yet, when the hour of trial came, they met it with the loftiest courage. Ridley, who was ahead of his companion, an old man with "a very evil back," turned round to welcome and embrace him. They listened to Richard Smith's bitter little sermon—"though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing." They were not allowed to reply. Ridley gave some of his garments to the by-standers. He was carefully

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise Dr. Garcina. Wood mentions more doubtfully two others, Rescius and Carranza (*Ann.* II, 127). Bartholomew Carranza, a famous Spanish divine and Archbishop, was afterwards accused of heresy himself.

<sup>2</sup> This is Hutten's statement: he adds that the stake was "not farr" from Bocardo: he went up to Oxford within 20 years of the execution and speaks of seeing "some Tokens of that Ditch wherein the Bishoppes were burned." (See *Elizabethan Oxford*, O.H.S. 95.) Wood says "where now stand a row of poor cottages" (*Ann.* II, 126). An old engraving in Foxe's *Martyrs* represents Cranmer watching from the roof of Bocardo, and Archbishop Parker thought the site was chosen so that Cranmer might see and be intimidated. The exact spot has been much discussed. Some prefer the ditch or the brink of the ditch near the Bishops' Bastion, behind the houses now on the South side of Broad Street. Others suggest the middle of the street, a little further North, where an iron cross has been placed in the road, and where a stake and ashes were found in 1875. Others prefer a spot opposite the main gate of Balliol, where also stakes and ashes have been found. If the Master of Balliol spoke to Cranmer from the College tower, it is not impossible that he was burned opposite the gateway, and Ridley and Latimer a little further West. (See Mr. Hurst's summary of the evidence, *Oxf. Topog.* 123-4, and the *Proceedings of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society*, N.S. III, 314.)



dressed in a black furred gown. Latimer wore his rough frieze and under it a shroud. They were chained to the stake by the middle. Bags of gunpowder were hung about their necks. And Latimer's immortal words of comfort to his colleague closed a scene which must have lingered for a lifetime in the memory of those who stood beside his grave.

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Within a month of this tragedy at Oxford Gardiner died at Whitehall. A few weeks later the Pope pronounced sentence against Cranmer, and in February 1556 two Bishops, Thirlby and Bonner, arrived in Oxford to complete the work. This time the Court was held at Christ Church. Cranmer was summoned before it, and Bonner has been charged with taunting the accused. "This is the man that like Lucifer sat in the place of Christ upon an altar to judge others; and is now come before an altar to be judged himself." Thirlby's attitude was very different.<sup>1</sup> An old friend of Cranmer, he wept to see his degradation. It was "the most sorrowful action of his whole life." The Archbishop's robes were stripped off and the crozier taken from him. His hair was cut close, his finger-tips scraped where the consecrated oil had touched them. Dressed in a poor gown and a common cap he was led back to prison,<sup>2</sup> and great pressure was put upon him to induce him to recant. Pole had already sent him a long, reproachful letter. Spanish Friars and others worked upon his impressionable mind. And, whatever uncertainty attaches to some of the alleged confessions, there is little doubt that in the pitiful days which followed he was induced to compromise if not to surrender his beliefs. On the 20th March he was visited in prison by Henry Cole, now Provost of Eton, who was to preach before him at the stake, and on the following morning he may have acquiesced in yet another form of recantation<sup>3</sup> before he was led out to die. The day was wet. Cole's sermon was delivered in St. Mary's. Cranmer, an "image of sorrow," placed on a platform opposite the people, was invited to renounce his errors once again. And then, kneeling first in prayer, he rose and delivered to the startled congregation his memorable confession and defiance, renouncing not his faith but everything which he had written against the truth for fear of death. Stopped and borne out of the church to the open ground by Balliol College,

<sup>1</sup> Thirlby has a claim to interest as the first and last Bishop of Westminster. He was Bishop of Ely in 1556.

<sup>2</sup> One tradition says that he was taken first to the Deanery and strongly urged to submit. He may have been taken there later.

<sup>3</sup> This has been questioned, and on the whole subject of the recantations points of doubt exist. Among modern writers opinions vary as widely as among their predecessors. Canon Dixon discusses the difficulties fully, though not conclusively (*Church Hist.*, IV, 491 sq.). But see his references and notes.



he moved so fast that the crowd could scarce keep up. The Friars ran after him, exhorting him in vain. His strength had returned in full measure. His deep humiliation had won pity even from his foes. And the spectacle of the frail spirit conquering its weakness, and strung to rare courage at the near approach of death, touched, as a by-stander, a Catholic, admitted, the common humanity of mankind.<sup>1</sup>

Pole was appointed to the See of Canterbury. Queen and Cardinal alike had taken Oxford into favour. Under Mary the privileges of the University were confirmed. Benefices were bestowed upon it. Exemptions from subsidies were granted. Bequests for poor scholars were left by the Queen's will. The Chancellor, Wood says, was authorised to absolve heretics and to reconcile persons to the Church of Rome.<sup>2</sup> The Star Chamber supported him when the citizens refused to allow the University Steward to try a felonious Fellow of Balliol in the Guildhall. But Oxford had its own examples of the spirit of persecution, in the indignities offered to the dead body of Peter Martyr's wife, and in the treatment meted out to one of the younger Fellows of Magdalen, who had the misfortune to change his opinions out of season. Julins Palmer had been a zealous Catholic and had suffered deprivation under Edward. Generous and indiscreet, he "could in no wise dissemble," in days when to dissemble was the only path to safety. Too late, or too early, he took to studying Calvin. He marvelled at the firmness of the Protestants under trial. He was shocked by their deaths. From the burning of Latimer and Ridley he came away bitterly indignant. He could not meet the Catholic leaders in Oxford any more. Relinquishing his Fellowship for the second time, he left the College and became a schoolmaster at Reading. But his conduct had roused suspicion. The heresy-hunters were on his track. Even his mother, it seems, forsook him. He was seized and tried and burned at Newbury, and his untimely fate moved the compassion of a far wider circle than his Oxford friends.

Pole had once been a member of Palmer's College. He was now Chancellor both of Oxford and of Cambridge—Sir John Mason with his usual adroitness had withdrawn; and in that capacity he issued a new Commission for University reform. A leading spirit among the Commissioners was Nicholas Ormanetto of Padua, the Pope's Datary,<sup>3</sup> whose arrogant methods soon made him unpopular. Bishop Brooks and Henry Cole,

<sup>1</sup> The bill for Cranmer's burning, 6s. for wood faggots, 3s. 4d. for furze faggots, remains (Boase, *Oxford*, 120).

<sup>2</sup> *Annals* (II, 130).

<sup>3</sup> Wood seems to be mistaken (*Ann.* II, 130-1) in denying him the title. His name has been Anglicised as Ormanet.

two conspicuous instruments of the reaction, may not have been much better loved. But Morwent, by this time "an old and frugal father," and Wright, who had acted as Vice-Chancellor under Cox, were at least in a position to know the value of more moderate opinions. The Visitors were required to ascertain if the University's ancient Statutes were observed—King Edward's had already been abandoned—and if the Schism had made changes which derogated from them. They showed zeal in inquiring after heretics, in destroying Protestant literature, in burning English bibles in the market-place. It is not likely that there were many well-known Protestants left in Oxford to remove. But Wood relates that the remnant of the Reformers found a refuge in the house of Garbrand Herks,<sup>1</sup> a Dutchman, in St. Mary's parish, meeting for worship in a cellar underground. Pole's name is unhappily associated with the policy of persecution which did more than anything else to destroy the influence of the old religion. But in his attachment to the faith which he had learned to love as a boy at Oxford, he showed himself always a single-hearted man.<sup>2</sup>

The Injunctions which he sent to the University in November 1556, made, in those days of rapid political changes, no great mark on Oxford life.<sup>3</sup> But they were part of a large scheme of reform, and their efforts to improve discipline were repeated later. The Cardinal invited his Commissary, Thomas Rainolds, to appoint two or three representative men from each Faculty, with the consent of the Greater Congregation, to revise the ancient Statutes and report to him. In the meantime he issued certain regulations which have an interest of their own. He laid stress on the need of rooting out heresy. He strengthened the movement which was driving students into Colleges. He dwelt on the duties of Principals of Halls. He recognised the importance of the Heads of Houses and the part which they ought to play in the Congregation of Regents.<sup>4</sup> He made rules for the

<sup>1</sup> "Garbrand alias Herks" (Harcenius) was admitted Probationary Fellow of New College, from Oxford city, in March 1560 (Boase, *Register*, I, 251). His cellar in the High Street, now divided into two by a wooden partition, remains.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from the important Lambeth MS. quoted below, we have no contemporary account of Pole's Visitation at Oxford comparable for interest with the account given by John Mere, one of the Cambridge Bedels, of the Visitors' doings there.

<sup>3</sup> These Statutes will be found printed for the first time in Mr. S. Gibson's volume (363 sq.). He has very kindly lent me the transcript he made from *Lambeth MS.* 1135, and the use of his proofs. A copy of the Statutes, less exact than the Lambeth MS., is given in *Registrum E* (83<sup>a</sup>-86<sup>b</sup>). Cf. Lamb (237 sq.).

<sup>4</sup> "Adsint due partes ex tribus regentium tum in vniuersitate existentium, inter quos etiam presides collegiorum adesse volumus, quos,

Vice-Chancellor, Proctors and Bedels, for the Clerks of the Market, for officials and teachers. He made provision for lectures and disputations. He drew attention to the needs of discipline, to the risks of idleness and bad company, to the demoralising influences of the town. The Proctors must be twenty-five years old and Regents of two years' standing. The Chancellor could reject an unsuitable nominee. Their expenses were to be carefully kept and limited. Their inquisition into conduct was to range over a wide field. Each Bedel was to keep a book with the name, surname and diocese of every scholar of his Faculty, with the date of his joining the University. Each scholar was to pay twopence for this. The Principals of Halls must see to the lectures of their students. They must also see to their religion and take them to church. No scholar must reside in the town after finishing his twelfth year: every one then must join a College or a Hall. The Public Praelectors were to lecture on every legible day, and could not escape from their duties. There was a touch of pathos in the requirement that the Lecturers on philosophy, who had to treat questions like the eternity of the world and the immortality of the soul, should as far as possible follow the opinion of those who differed least from Christian truth.<sup>1</sup> There was a touch of liberality in the admonition that scholars wishing to question or to argue with their Lecturers should be kindly handled and have their doubts removed.

But neither Pole's schemes nor his Injunctions were destined to last long. Wood suggests that stricter discipline led to a falling-off in numbers, that a great scarcity of Divines, Civilians, even Masters of Arts, marked the last years of the Queen's unhappy reign. Once again he laments the few degrees taken,<sup>2</sup> the neglect of lectures and sermons, the low level of learning, the decay of Greek. Jewel, soon after, coming back from exile, wrote

dum in vniuersitate sunt presentes, in numero regentium habendos decernimus, et id id pro deliberato et obtento habeatur in quod due partes inibi presentium cum commissario expresse consenserint" (Gibson, 365). The granting of Graces is here connected with the Congregation of Regents; but nothing of importance may be decreed unless it has been first put forward in the next preceding Congregation. Pole's ordinances for Cambridge were more elaborate, and among other things gave Doctors, Heads of Houses and Bachelors of Divinity special powers in electing the Vice-Chancellor. (See Lamb, 237 sq., and Peacock, *Observations*, 39-40.)

<sup>1</sup> "Qui de illis rebus minus a veritate Christiana dissentiant." (I quote from Mr. Gibson's transcript of the Lambeth MS.)

<sup>2</sup> *Annals* (II, 135). But the figures given by Mr. Boase in the *University Register* do not altogether confirm this view. Mary's reign shows no special falling off in degrees as compared with Edward's, unless it be in divinity. In 1557, it is true, only 27 B.As. seem to have been admitted. But the number rose to 70 in 1558 and fell to 55 in the following year.



to Peter Martyr that ignorance and obstinacy in Oxford had wonderfully increased, and commented with unrestricted candour on the scandalous lives of certain leading figures there.<sup>1</sup> Most men, no doubt, felt the shadows hanging over the future and realised the effect which the violence of the Romanists must produce on English minds. But it is not clear that Queen Mary's influence at Oxford was much more depressing than her father's, and Twyne has stated that studies and discipline flourished in her day.<sup>2</sup> Even Wood admits that there were brighter spots in the picture. At Oriel William Allen, the future Cardinal, maintained the old traditions.<sup>3</sup> At Merton Jasper Heywood, poet and Jesuit, "bore away the bell" for disputation, and his College friend David de la Hyde, hardly less famous for his wit and learning, delivered a great oration in his honour as a Christmas Lord of Misrule.<sup>4</sup> Balliol, Lincoln and other Colleges also had their redoubtable Sophisters. There were scholars still at Oxford "of no small account." Above all, better days for the University and for the country were at hand. In November 1558, when the last of the Protestant martyrs died at Canterbury, it was known that the Queen and the Cardinal were dying too. Pole lingered a few hours after his mistress, to hear the joy-bells ringing for Elizabeth's accession. And the nation turned with deep relief to new ideals of faith and of authority, to a new confidence in English freedom.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Zurich Letters* (Parker Soc., I, 11 sq.). Two Professors were compelled to resign for immorality, and Weston was deprived of preferments by Pole for a similar cause.

<sup>2</sup> "Colebantur Studia, enituit Disciplina"—no doubt, a general statement. (See Preface to the Laudian Statutes. But Twyne is responsible for very little of the Preface in its final form.)

<sup>3</sup> Allen became Principal of St. Mary Hall in 1556. He was elected to an Oriel Fellowship in 1550, as a probationer.

<sup>4</sup> Heywood had to resign his Merton Fellowship for sundry misdemeanours. But Pole recommended him for one at Trinity, and he held one for a time at All Souls (*D.N.B.*).



## CHAPTER XIII

### ELIZABETHAN OXFORD

THE Emperor Charles may have given Queen Mary a bad husband. But he also gave her wise advice. Let her above all things be a good Englishwoman, and not too hasty at the beginning in altering what she found amiss. Elizabeth understood by instinct the lesson which her sister never learned. Committed as she was to support the Reformation, she was determined not to go too fast. When an Oxford deputation, headed by Tresham,<sup>1</sup> presented her with a loyal address, she received it with a flowing kindness and promised to show herself the University's friend. She confirmed its privileges and exemptions. She checked unseemly preaching and ill-considered change. She would probably have been more willing than most of her advisers to maintain old practices unaltered. And while suspending academical elections and appointing a Commission to visit the University afresh, she intended as far as possible to avoid extremes.

But with two parties in strong opposition circumstances forced the Government's hand. The Queen's first Parliament, which met in January 1559, promptly repealed the Marian legislation. The Act of Supremacy imposed an oath on all persons taking Orders or University degrees.<sup>2</sup> The Act of Uniformity revived the Prayer-Book and ritual of King Edward's day. On the other hand, Convocation led by the Bishops protested its belief in the Mass and in the Pope, and the Universities were said to be ready to endorse this plea.<sup>3</sup> The Bishops were practically unanimous in resisting change. Only one took the Oath of Supremacy.<sup>4</sup> Even Oglethorpe, who had crowned Elizabeth, refused it. Bonner was the first to be deprived, but other Bishops soon suffered the same fate. Bonner died in the Marshalsea later. Several of his colleagues

<sup>1</sup> Acting as "Cancellarius natus" on the death of Pole. The Earl of Arundel was elected Chancellor in January 1559. Sir John Mason succeeded him in June. The race of lay Chancellors had definitely begun.

<sup>2</sup> As well as on all holders of office in Church and State.

<sup>3</sup> At least the Bishop of London is reported to have said so (Strype, *Annals*, 1824, I, 81).

<sup>4</sup> The Bishop of Llandaff. Of 26 Bishopsrics 10 were vacant by the end of 1558.

were sent to the Tower. Other Sees were rendered vacant by death. "Bishoprics," wrote Jewel to Peter Martyr, "will shortly become very cheap." Before many years were over most of the Marian Bishops had passed away. The mass of the clergy were at first hostile or suspicious. But they proved more willing than their leaders to accept the new arrangements, and it seems clear that no very large number of them were deprived.<sup>1</sup>

The Oxford Visitors of 1559 shared the cautious spirit of their head, the Chancellor Sir John Mason. Their names are variously given: but it seems not unlikely that Richard Cox was one, that Walter Wright, whom no revolutions could displace, was another, and that Warner, restored to All Souls, was a third.<sup>2</sup> Cox, who had shaken off the controversies of Frankfort and was soon to be made Bishop of Ely, had a long experience of University business. Wright was a model of non-resistance. Though blind of one eye he was "very acute and clear-sighted in mind," and he had lately recanted his Romanist opinions "with a low voice but strong arguments" in All Saints' Church. Warner was equally willing to avoid extremes. And there was need for caution, if Jewel was right in telling the Reformers that there were scarcely two individuals at Oxford who thought with them.<sup>3</sup> The College Chapels were quietly purged of "superstitious" uses. Cardinal Pole's Injunctions were dropped. Some ejected Fellows were restored. Exiles like Laurence Humfrey and William Cole came back. Others like Cox and Jewel passed on to greater positions. A limited number of decided Romanists were removed at once, others more gradually as time went on. Marshall lost the Deanery of Christ Church and is said to have died in prison. Tresham refused the Oath of Supremacy and retired finally to a country living. Richard Smith, committed to the custody of Archbishop Parker, produced another recantation. But "giving Matthew the slip" he escaped to Douai, and became a chaplain to the King of Spain. Thomas Rainolds, Warden of Merton, forfeited his place. Cheadsey ceased to be President of Corpus, and shared

<sup>1</sup> Dean Gee, after a careful examination, finds it "impossible to conclude that many more than 200 were deprived" between 1558 and 1564. (See *The Elizabethan Clergy*, *passim*, and especially Ch. XIV.)

<sup>2</sup> These are the best known names in Wood's list (*Ann.* II, 140-1), and they all seem likely appointments. Dr. Gee (130) gives, from *Lambeth MS.* 959 (f. 424), a different list, in which only two names, Sir J. Mason's and Sir T. Benger's, agree with Wood's. But Dean Nowell's and Sir Thomas Smyth's are included in it. In the *Lambeth MS.* the names of the University Visitors appear at the end of a long list of Royal Visitors for the different dioceses of England.

<sup>3</sup> *Zurich Letters* (I, 33).

disgrace and imprisonment later with Henry Cole and Harpsfield and other notable divines. Seth Holland made way again for Warner. The Master of Balliol, the Presidents of Trinity and of St. John's were removed. The Heads of Queen's and Magdalen, of University and Lincoln, if undisturbed in 1559, before long suffered the same fate.<sup>1</sup> The Principal of Gloucester Hall went too. The Principal of St. Alban's followed later. Spanish Friars vanished from Oxford, and more than one Professor lost his Chair.

But the number of Fellows ejected in the Visitation was probably not large. Some, no doubt, temporised, "in hopes that things would take another turn." Tests and subscriptions invite evasion. Some were deprived later. Some changed their views and took more decided action as the religious struggle became more bitter and acute. Wood gives the names of twenty-two Fellows and Scholars who lost their places at New College,<sup>2</sup> including men who ultimately passed to Rome, to Douai or to Tyburn. But some of these were removed by Bishop Horne, and the list, whether exact or not, evidently covers several years. St. John's contributed sooner or later valuable recruits to the Romanist reaction. So did Exeter, always a stronghold of the old traditions, Trinity, Lincoln, Christ Church, and other Colleges too. At Magdalen, under the rule of Humfrey, there must ere long have been considerable changes. But there is no evidence that many College Fellows were expelled in 1559. Wood names only three sufferers at Merton, two at All Souls and two at Corpus, one of whom retired for a while to Gloucester Hall.<sup>3</sup> But even

<sup>1</sup> Changes at Lincoln and University were later. Humfrey did not succeed Coveney at Magdalen till 1561. Coveney's retirement could hardly have been due to his not being in Orders. (See Wilson's *Magdalen*, 106.) Dugdale of University was deprived apparently in Nov. 1561 (Clark, *Reg.* II, i, 286). Dr. Gee (136) includes the Provost of Queen's among the deprivations of 1559—Wood (*Ann.* II, 142) makes this a year or two later—but he does not mention the Warden of All Souls, and he assigns Rainolds to Christ Church. Tierney's list (Dodds, II, App. XLIV) is clearly incorrect. President Belsire of St. John's owed his removal probably to his irregular finance. (See Hutton, *St. John's*, 18-19.) His successor, Elye, was probably deprived for maintaining the Pope's authority before Feb. 1561.

<sup>2</sup> *Annals* (II, 144-5). But see also Rashdall and Rait (*New Coll.* II, 114).

<sup>3</sup> James Fenn. Wood says (*Ann.* II, 146) that he was "put by his Bachelaur's Degree for refusing the Oath of the Queen's Superiority." But he was apparently admitted B.A. in Nov. 1559 (Boase, *Reg.* I, 240). The other Corpus man, William Sheperea, took his B.A. in Feb. 1560 (*Ib.*, 241). Five Fellows of Trinity, it seems, withdrew in 1560-1, whatever the causes (Blakiston, *Trinity College*, 76). Dr. Gee (*Elizabethan Clergy*, 136) estimates that 10 Fellows of Colleges, including Tresham and R. Smith, were deprived in 1559; but his list may possibly be incomplete.



these were not necessarily sufferers by the Visitation. William Allen of Oriel, the future Cardinal, found it possible to remain at Oxford till 1561, and did not immediately resign his post as Principal of St. Mary Hall.<sup>1</sup> Every year, no doubt, the position of the Romanists became more difficult. The religious wars in France raised dangerous expectations. The Papists in England were said to be immense in numbers, though for the most part concealed.<sup>2</sup> The year 1562 produced a new Ecclesiastical Commission, and a list of recusants of that date or rather later<sup>3</sup> has interesting notes on various Oxford Catholics then under supervision. Alexander Belsire, ex-President of St. John's, is entered as "old, wealthy and stubborn." Thomas Harding is described as once an earnest preacher, but "now stiff in papistry and thinketh very much good of himself." David de la Hyde is "very stubborn," and is not to come within twenty miles of either University. Dr. Tresham is to remain in Northamptonshire—"a man whose qualities are well-known." Marshall is mentioned, and "Philip Morgan" late of Oxford, and Henshaw the ex-Rector of Lincoln. Cheadsey is in the Fleet, with John Harpsfield and others. Other "wilful scholars" appear, who are to be restrained from rejoining the University, but who are not otherwise molested. Until the danger from abroad increased, and threatened excommunication, conspiracy, rebellion, Elizabeth's Government had no desire to make men of learning suffer for their faith.

Nor is there more truth, it seems, in the allegation that the Visitation emptied the University and brought learning low.<sup>4</sup> The number of men admitted to degrees or supplicating for them in the early years of Queen Elizabeth varied little from the number under Mary. The average was between sixty and seventy, if the records are correct.<sup>5</sup> The list rose with a bound to a hundred and twelve in 1566, the year when the Queen visited Oxford. It exceeded a hundred and fifty four years later, but fell sharply in 1571. There may be more foundation for the statement that preachers were deficient: and if the most frequent University preachers were uncompromising Protestants

<sup>1</sup> It is clear from the *University Register* that some men mentioned as expelled from Colleges took degrees at Oxford after 1559.

<sup>2</sup> See letters of Cox and Jewel quoted by Dr. Gee (174).

<sup>3</sup> Given by Dr. Gee (179-85). The Dean thinks it cannot be dated before, nor much later than, August 1562. It includes "one Ely, late Master of St. John's."

<sup>4</sup> Wood (*Ann.* II, 147).

<sup>5</sup> Compare the numbers given by Boase (*Register*, I) for 1553-58 with those given for 1559-64. Individual years fluctuate a good deal. In 1558 the number seems high, in 1557 unusually low. The records may be incomplete, but the general inference is the same.



like Humfrey and Sampson, it is intelligible that Oxford Catholics hesitated to attend their sermons. Sampson, installed after 1561 in the Deanery at Christ Church, was among the most stiff-necked of Puritan divines. In vain the Secretary of State reminded him that obedience was better than sacrifice. Nothing would induce him to wear the prescribed clerical apparel, and Humfrey on that point was little less strait-laced. Humfrey had already begun to earn the title of "Papistomastix," and to "stock his College with a generation of Nonconformists." But Oxford was still far from tolerating the spectacle which, if Wood's tale be true, it allowed in later years, of a layman marching into St. Mary's and delivering himself from the pulpit in these words :

"I have brought you some fyne Bisketts baked in the oven of Charitie, carefully conserved for the chickens of the Church, the sparrows of the Spirit and the sweet swallowes of Salvation."<sup>1</sup>

In the early years of Queen Elizabeth there were, no doubt, signs of disturbance. They are common enough in times of transition and, it might be added, in most periods of Oxford history. There were troubles sometimes with the town. The Bailiffs in their "sauciness" resisted the University officers. The citizens were quick to note the decline of clerical privilege. But a brewer who disobeyed the Vice-Chancellor's regulations was sent to prison, and the Under-Sheriff with him. The High Sheriff summoned the Vice-Chancellor before the Star-Chamber, but Leicester's influence proved too strong for Sheriff and brewer alike.<sup>2</sup> The University continued to exercise its privilege of licensing brewers and bakers in Oxford. One Register gives a list of some fifty-eight persons, with several women among them, admitted to brew during Queen Elizabeth's reign. The academic authorities settled the days for brewing and fixed the prices to be charged. They issued licenses to ale-sellers and vintners, and to booksellers who found it necessary to keep an inn as well.<sup>3</sup> They watched narrowly the booksellers' transactions with unthrifty scholars who had books to dispose of. They kept an eye, no doubt, on Barnes' shop, the bookseller's at the West end of St. Mary's, where on Saturday nights men gathered to hear the London news. They looked after the bakers and the colour and

<sup>1</sup> Wood (*Ann.* II, 152). The preacher was Richard Taverner, High Sheriff of the county. He had been licensed apparently to preach under Edward VI. Wood adds (199-200) that University sermons were regularly organised in 1580.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* (*Ann.* II, 203-5, under 1581).

<sup>3</sup> Yet an Act of King Edward had endeavoured to limit the number of licensed taverns in Oxford to three. (See Shadwell, *Enactments*, I, 154).

quality and stamping of their loaves. They appointed and supervised the University carriers. In 1575 the London carrier left for the capital on Wednesday and had to be back by Saturday at latest.<sup>1</sup> His charges were two shillings and fourpence for a hundredweight of goods, for small wares not more than a half-penny per pound, for lutes and virginalls a rate of their own. There were other carriers for other places, Worcester, Lincolnshire, Windsor and elsewhere, but none so famous as Thomas Hobson of Cambridge, and no Milton to immortalise their names. The Exeter carrier obtained from Convocation a sealed license as "Tabellarius a partibus occidentalibus ad Academiam Oxon." Occasionally a carrier failed: Richard Smout's bankruptcy caused great inconvenience, and Convocation had to appoint a committee to advise about his debts.

The claims of privileged persons, of booksellers and other tradesmen, of barbers, cooks and other servants not residing within College walls, were again a constant source of friction between the University and the City. In 1576 the Mayor tried to make them contribute to a subsidy. But summoned before the Vice-Chancellor and shown "the privilege of Henry VIII," he declared that he had not known of its existence and would never so offend again.<sup>2</sup> Next year, when the City sued a privileged person for "exercising manual arts," the University determined to stand by him. But it was a fair claim that no man should enjoy the privileges of both University and town.<sup>3</sup> In Elizabeth's reign there were many such struggles over points of privilege and law. The citizens would have dearly liked a monopoly of trade. The University was determined to control it. The University was resolved that the Mayor and fifty-eight burgesses should renew each year the ancient oath to maintain its liberties and customs. The Matriculation Statute of 1581 took occasion to insist upon it. The citizens who regarded the oath as an infringement of their independence, resisted and evaded it whenever they dared.<sup>4</sup>

Too often there was serious trouble from sickness to be faced. Lectures and disputations had to be suspended. Wood notes among other visitations a "violent Plague" in 1571, and a still more mysterious epidemic a few years later, due to infection contracted at the trial of a notorious Romanist bookbinder

<sup>1</sup> These days were altered later. See the details in regard to carriers, brewers and other tradesmen quoted, chiefly from *Register GG*, by Clark (*Reg. II, i, 315 sq.*).

<sup>2</sup> See Clark (*Register II, i, 381 sq.*).

<sup>3</sup> A list of privileged persons is given in Clark (*II, i, 288-9*, and an earlier list in Rogers' *Oxford City Docts.* (53 sq.).

<sup>4</sup> For citizens taking or not taking the oath see Clark (*Reg. II, i, 295 sq.*). The Sheriffs also objected to such oaths (*Ib. II, i, 313-4*).

named Rowland Jencks.<sup>1</sup> Six hundred persons, we are told, sickened in a night. Three hundred died in five weeks in Oxford only, and over five hundred altogether, "of whom many bled till they expired." To increase the gloom a doleful song was published, in which Death boasted of his power to slay :

"Thinke you that I dare not come to Schooles,  
Where all the cunning Clerks be most ;  
Take not I away both Clerks and fooles ?  
And am I not in every coast ?  
Assure your selves no creature can  
Make death afraid of any man,  
Or know my coming where or when."

Convocation discussed the best way to prevent these pestilences. Heads of Houses voted money for the sufferers. The City once, in 1603, begged the University to contribute to the relief of the diseased, "before you dissolve youre colledgs and companies (a thinge moste greivous and lamentable for us to heare of)."

There was trouble of a different kind at Merton, where the Romanists, led by the Sub-Warden, tried to revive the old practice of singing hymns on Holy days round the fire in Hall, and shut their gates against the new Warden, John Man, Parker's nominee. The Sub-Warden was even reported to have given the Warden a box on the ear. But his temerity led to his dismissal and to the retirement of several of his friends. There was trouble also at University College, where Thomas Keys, already notorious as one of the worst Registrars the University had had, and destined to more enduring celebrity as the champion of Oxford's antiquarian myths, was introduced as Master, in place of a predecessor less ready to conform. There were serious troubles at Corpus. There must have been sharp battles of opinion at Magdalen, Christ Church and elsewhere. There were other premonitions of changes and reforms. At the end of 1564 the splendid Leicester became Chancellor in Sir John Mason's place. The University, like all the world, was familiar with his story and had already attended the burial of his unhappy wife.<sup>2</sup> The new Chancellor was determined to make his office a reality, and he was of course conspicuous in the memorable visit paid by the Queen to the University in 1566.

There was a note of passionate rejoicing in the welcome given to Elizabeth, something deeper than formal compliment in the

<sup>1</sup> See Wood's vivid picture of the epidemic of 1577 (*Ann.* II, 188-92). Jencks, it seems, retired to Douai. Dr. Clark has gathered together notices of epidemics from 1563 to 1606 (*Reg.* II, i, 157-61).

<sup>2</sup> In September 1560. The body of "the Ladie Amie" lay before burial at Gloucester Hall.



eulogies outpoured in prose and verse. She was still young, handsome, gracious, uncertain of the future, perilously alone. She represented the dearest hopes of the new generation, the triumph of a cause for which already many Englishmen had died. Every instinct of personal chivalry strengthened the ancient loyalty of the people, and the thought of all that her life meant to the nation was rarely in those days absent from men's minds. August though it was, the University mustered with delight to greet her, called on its ablest orators to show that the fame of Oxford and its disputations was not dead. On the 29th Leicester appeared, with Cecil and a company of nobles, to see to the preparations for his Mistress. On Saturday, the 31st, the Queen herself arrived. She came from Woodstock, where, twelve years before, she had stayed as a prisoner.<sup>1</sup> At Wolvercote, the limits of the University liberties, she was met by the Chancellor, Heads of Houses and others in their gowns. Here Marbeck, Provost of Oriel and lately Public Orator, delivered a Latin speech.<sup>2</sup> At the City boundaries the Mayor and Burgesses received her. Another speech, this time in English, was delivered, a cup full of gold pieces presented, and then the procession moved on to the North Gate. There one of the younger Fellows of New College was waiting with "an Oration in the name of all the Scholars." The scholars themselves lined the street to Carfax upon either side. "Gratias ago, thank you, thank you," said the Queen in Latin as she passed between them, and they cheered her in Latin as they knelt. The citizens, no doubt, cheered less learnedly but not less lustily behind. At Carfax the Greek Professor had a fresh oration. One account says <sup>3</sup> that the Queen's reply was interfered with by the restive-

<sup>1</sup> Nichols (*Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, 1823, I, 9-10) reproduces the sonnet, signed "Elizabeth, Prisoner," which she is said to have written on her window-shutter.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in *Elizabethan Oxford* (O.H.S., 235-8). Marbeck was an Eton and a Christ Church man.

<sup>3</sup> Bishop Robinson's (see *Eliz. Oxf.* 177). Wood (*Ann.* II, 156-7) says the Queen was in a "rich chariot" and thanked the Greek Professor in Greek. Bereblock speaks of an open litter drawn by "equi generosiores purpura ornati" (*Eliz. Oxf.* 117). Stephens suggests that the Greek speech was long but well received (*Ib.* 199). A full account of the Queen's visit is given by Twyne (XVII, 153-67), and is the basis of Wood's narrative: Dr. F. S. Boas has some valuable comments (*University Drama in the Tudor Age*, 98). Twyne also gives a short account by Miles Windsor (XXI, 792-800). Mr. Plummer has edited in *Elizabethan Oxford* four contemporary accounts, the *Commentarii* of John Bereblock, the *Topographica Delineatio* of T. Neale—a dialogue in Latin verse between Elizabeth and Leicester, with brief descriptions of the Colleges, etc., which Bereblock illustrated with drawings—the account of the *Actes done at Oxford* by Bishop Robinson, a Cambridge man, and



ness of the mules who drew the Royal litter. From there she went on, between lines of Bachelors and Masters, to Christ Church, where yet another speech had to be endured. Kingsmill, the Public Orator, traced the University's history from its "restoration" under Alfred downwards, and the company found the review a little long.<sup>1</sup> But after that and a service in the Cathedral Elizabeth was allowed to withdraw to her lodging on the East side of the quadrangle. Room was made in Christ Church for Leicester, Cecil and others of the Royal retinue. The Students and some of the Canons betook themselves elsewhere. And the loyalty of dons and scholars alike found vent in Latin verses, some of which were set up on the gates and walls. Of these Dr. Humfrey's, which posterity has preserved for us, were, it may be hoped, among the worst.<sup>2</sup>

Next day the Queen rested.<sup>3</sup> But sermons were preached, and a Latin play was performed in Christ Church Hall.<sup>4</sup> With the play the Spanish Ambassador was particularly pleased. Monday passed in visits to the Schools and to New College, but the Queen stayed in till night, when she attended the performance in Christ Church Hall of the first part of *Palamon and Arcyte*. The author and producer of the play was Richard Edwardes, an old member both of Corpus and of Christ Church, who had been Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal in 1561. He had spent nearly two months at Oxford, seeing to the preparations, and his help must have been invaluable in arranging for the scenery and dresses and for the staging and lighting of the Hall. Though the pressure of the crowd brought down a wall and caused a fatal accident, the play passed off with great success. Tuesday was a day of disputations. The Queen went on foot

the *Brief Rehearsall* of Richard Stephens, drawn out of a longer treatise by T. Neale. Nichols in his *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth* (ed. 1823, I, 206 sq.) printed or reprinted Wood's account, Neale's *Topographica Delineatio*, and Robinson's narrative; and in his earlier edition of 1788 he printed (I, 95-100) also Stephens' *Brief Rehearsall*. See also in the Corpus Library Miles Windsor's *Collections* (I, ff. 190 sq. and II, 139 sq.), and a few references in vol. IV of Twyne's *Collections* and in vol. IV of Fulman's *Collections* there.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *Elizabethan Oxford* (212-6). Bereblock (119) mentions two other speeches handed to the Queen at St. Aldate's Church, "quas dicere temporis angustia prohibuit."

<sup>2</sup> See *Elizabethan Oxford* (219-20). There are other verses, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, by writers who include John Rainolds and Miles Windsor, in *MS. CCLXXX* (ff. 171<sup>a</sup> sq.) in the Corpus Library.

<sup>3</sup> The other accounts do not bear out Wood's statement that she attended a sermon in the afternoon.

<sup>4</sup> Called *Marcus Geminus*. The details of these theatrical performances at Oxford are most fully given in Chap. V of Dr. Boas' *University Drama in the Tudor Age*. Their effectiveness was, no doubt, greatly helped by the co-operation of Court officials.





to St. Mary's, and sat cheerfully through four hours of Latin philosophical debates, Respondents, Determiners and Opponents all gallantly playing their parts. The powers that governed the world of nature, the influence of the moon upon the tides, the comparative value of elective and hereditary Princes, were among the topics discussed. Special credit fell to Edmund Campion of St. John's, who fifteen years later was to die as a Jesuit conspirator at Tyburn, and to Tobie Matthew of Christ Church, a future Archbishop, who now first won the favour of the Queen. Elizabeth apparently followed the arguments closely, and when one of the advocates of elective monarchy declared himself ready to die for his opinions, a cry of "Excellent, excellent" burst from the Royal lips. The walls of St. Mary's were hung with Greek and Latin compliments. Thomas Neale, the Professor of Hebrew, had not only presented the Queen with a translation of the Prophets, but had described for her Majesty's benefit every College in Latin verse. John Bereblock, one of the Fellows of Exeter, had produced by way of illustration the earliest drawings of the Colleges which we possess.<sup>1</sup> And Thomas Keys, now Master of University, presented through the Chancellor a little book on the antiquity of Oxford, which, while disposing of the claims of Cambridge to precedence, gathered together in defence of Oxford all that was most incredible in the legends of the past.<sup>2</sup>

On the Wednesday there were more disputations, this time in Civil Law. The fact that almost all the hours spent by the Queen outside the gates of Christ Church were occupied, not in visits to the Colleges but in disputations at St. Mary's, is significant of the part still played by these debates in academic life. To see Oxford it was essential to hear Oxford men dispute. The Queen spent that Wednesday afternoon hearing academic orators discuss the effect of war on civil rights and the effect of a depreciated coinage upon contracts, topics which have not yet ceased

<sup>1</sup> Bereblock's original drawings, it seems, are lost. But a copy of them, presented to the Bodleian in 1630 by John More, is still preserved there. They were engraved in 1713 and have since been reproduced. (See Art. on "Bearblock" by Sir S. Lee in *D.N.B.*). Neale's productions were presented, Wood says on the Monday, Robinson says on the Tuesday. Wood adds that Neale translated all the Prophets; Robinson credits him only with translating four minor ones.

<sup>2</sup> The provocation came from Cambridge, for which the Cambridge Public Orator had claimed priority on the Queen's visit in 1564. Thomas Caius (Keys, Key or Kay) at once wrote his *Assertio Antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academiae*. John Caius, the second Founder of Gonville, replied, and from that time forward the controversy raged. To trace back the foundations of Cambridge no further than King Sigebert was regarded as an insult (Mullinger, II, 190): but neither side had much regard for historical truth. See also Madan (*Oxford Books*, II, 16-19).



to engage the attention of the world. The latter point was one of keen interest to Elizabeth's advisers, and the Queen was so pleased with the arguments of Dr. White of New College that she would not allow him to be stopped. At night the second part of *Palamon and Arcyte* was performed. Master Peter Carew, the late Dean's son,<sup>1</sup> a pretty boy who played the heroine, so charmed Elizabeth that he received eight angels for his pains : and it seems that even stern John Rainolds, fierce critic of the stage in later years, did not decline as a boy of sixteen or seventeen to play Hippolyta on the same occasion. A hunting scene, which raised a cry of hounds in the quadrangle and brought the scholars crowding to the windows, delighted the Queen. And when the Goddess forbade the heroine to lead a virgin life, the whole audience broke into irrepressible applause. Elizabeth was very gracious to the author, Mr. Edwardes. But when he presented his old tutor next day, she told him, laughing, that his tutor had never whipped him enough as a boy.

On Thursday again there were more disputations. Physic and Divinity had their turn. Could the medical art prolong life ?<sup>2</sup> Might subjects take arms against an unjust Prince ? Divinity apparently covered a wide range. The Dean of Christ Church was among the disputants, and Jewel, now Bishop of Salisbury, who "determined," pointed out in courtly Latin what subjects owed their Sovereign amid general applause. But the applause increased to enthusiasm when Elizabeth after a little pressure from her courtiers rose and delivered a Latin speech. "Since first I came to Oxford I have seen and heard many things. I have been delighted with them all. For myself I have had many teachers, who tried hard to make me learned, but they worked upon a barren soil. I know that I am not worthy of your praises. But if my speech be full of barbarisms, I will end it with a prayer—that you may prosper greatly in my lifetime and be happy for generations after I am dead."<sup>3</sup>

That night there was another Latin play in Christ Church Hall,<sup>4</sup> a gloomy tragedy, which did "not take half so well" as *Palamon and Arcyte*. On Friday, the last day, there was a Convocation in the morning. Degrees were conferred. Cecil, Lord Oxford and Lord William Howard were among the recipients.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Piers preached a Latin sermon on the duties of the Royal

<sup>1</sup> This is Wood's suggestion. See also Boas (*University Drama*, App. V) for details in regard to other actors.

<sup>2</sup> A favourite topic for disputations. (See Clark, *Reg.* II, i, 189).

<sup>3</sup> For the full speech see Wood (*Ann.* II, 161-2) and *Elizabethan Oxford* (145 and 188-9).

<sup>4</sup> *Progne*, a tragedy by James Calphill, one of the Canons of Christ Church. See Boas (*Univ. Drama*, Chap. V *et passim*).

<sup>5</sup> See Boase (*Reg.* I, 264) and Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 234).

office, but the Queen was not present. She grieved, she said afterwards, to have heard no sermons in Oxford and to have seen no Colleges except Christ Church. About dinner-time the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors presented her and her retinue with gloves. After dinner she mounted her horse and set out for Rycote.<sup>1</sup> But before the procession started Matthew made a farewell speech. Masters, scholars and citizens pressed round the cavalcade all the way from Carfax down the High Street to the East Gate. Elizabeth's graciousness, her wit, her easy dignity had made her quickly loved. The walls were hung with verses bemoaning her departure. The scholars cheered, but sadness filled the faces of the people. At Magdalen Bridge she bade good-bye to the Mayor and citizens. At Shotover, where the University liberties ended, the last orations were delivered. Doctors and Masters, who had accompanied her riding in their gowns and hoods, took leave. As they fell back, the Queen turned and looked down on the beautiful city, dreaming in the sunshine of the September afternoon. "Farewell, Oxford," she cried. "Farewell, my good subjects! Farewell, my dear scholars! Pray God prosper your studies! Farewell, farewell!"

Royal visits cost money. Christ Church, it seems, spent about a hundred and forty pounds.<sup>2</sup> In December 1566 the Chancellor found it necessary to remind the University that expenses ought to be borne in common, and that Christ Church had been at greater charges than the rest.<sup>3</sup> Leicester, whatever his failings, was an active Chancellor.<sup>4</sup> He took a keen interest in University affairs, almost too keen an interest in University patronage. With Mason, Arundel and Leicester the Chancellor's office had passed into the hands of laymen, and the first lay Chancellors of Oxford were persons of distinction, though they cannot claim the romantic interest which attaches to the sixteenth-century Chancellors of Cambridge, of whom no fewer than five were beheaded as traitors.<sup>5</sup> In 1585, when absent in the Low Countries, Leicester nominated the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Bromley, to act as his deputy. On Leicester's death in 1588, Essex and Hatton were the favourite candidates.

<sup>1</sup> The home of Henry (afterwards Lord) Norris, whose father had died with Anne Boleyn.

<sup>2</sup> One MS. says £148; 2; 1½, another makes it £137; 2; 11½. (See Boas, *University Drama*, 106, n.)

<sup>3</sup> For Leicester's letter see *Register KK* (f. 36<sup>b</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> I doubt whether there are sufficient grounds for Huber's sweeping condemnation of his actions as Chancellor (*English Universities*, tr., I, 351).

<sup>5</sup> Fisher, Cromwell, Somerset, Northumberland and Essex. Essex was not of course executed till the 17th century had begun.

When Hatton died in 1591, Lord Buckhurst, recommended by some Heads of Houses, was elected in obedience to a peremptory mandate from the Queen. But even a lay Chancellor like Leicester thought it desirable that the Vice-Chancellor should be a divine. At first he left the Vice-Chancellor's election in the hands of the Masters. In 1566 Convocation resolved to allow anyone to nominate a candidate,<sup>1</sup> and Dr. Kennall was elected. In 1567 Thomas Cooper was elected, though he failed to secure a majority of the numbers voting. But difficulties seem to have arisen, divisions of opinion, indecisive votes, intrigues; and gradually Leicester took the appointment into his own hands. In 1568 he wrote to insist on Dr. Cooper retaining office for another year—preferring “the common profit of manie, before the priuate ease and commoditie, of one.”<sup>2</sup> Leicester was the first Chancellor to write to the University in English, and he seems to have determined that his English should lose nothing by comparison with the rhetorical Latin of an earlier day. In 1570 Cooper was still Vice-Chancellor, and Leicester appointed him again.<sup>3</sup> But Cooper passed on to the Bishopric of Lincoln, and the Chancellor, “a great favourer of the Calvinistical Party,” nominated Humfrey in his place—“a man generallye for his lief learning and discretion so well likid of, there among yow.”<sup>4</sup> Men of the older school in Oxford must have thought discretion the last quality to which Humfrey had a claim.

Leicester not only restored the practice of nominating the Vice-Chancellor. He intervened in the appointment of other officers. In 1573 he wrote about the appointment of the Esquire Bedel of Arts.<sup>5</sup> In 1574, on hearing of disorderly doings in the election of Proctors, he ordered that non-residents, “discontinuers from the University for many years,” who had come up “to serve their private turns,” should have no vote. In 1576 he pressed strongly for the reappointment of the existing Proctors in defiance of the rules. “You have done the lyke before of your selves. Yow are driven everie day to dispense with your statutes.” To that charge the University had no adequate reply. Nor could they tell their Chancellor that he was far too apt to treat opposition to his wishes as only “the fashion of a few.” When, however, the Masters yielded, dispensed with their regulations, and consented to take his nominees, Leicester had the grace to promise not to make requests which might “tend to ye breache of anie your statutes” again.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Non obstante statuto *de Instantibus* in contrarium edito” (Clark, *Reg.* II, i, 243). See also Wood (*Fasti*, 90), and later (p. 120, n.).

<sup>2</sup> *Reg. KK* (ff. 54<sup>b</sup>–55<sup>a</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* (f. 93<sup>a</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* (f. 106<sup>a</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* (143<sup>a</sup> and 148<sup>b</sup>).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* (209<sup>b</sup> and 212<sup>a</sup>).



In matters of patronage interference was to be expected, though Leicester complained of dispensations which were sought too readily by lesser men. The Queen interfered often. In 1581 she invited the New College Fellows to appoint as Warden of Winchester a candidate without a University degree. When they objected she bade them "try him in the Schools" and give him any degree it was "meet to allow him." Sussex, Knollys and other courtiers asked favours for their friends. Great persons, from her Majesty downwards, demanded leases of College property. In 1597 Essex asked that his chaplain might be made a Doctor of Divinity before starting for Cadiz; but the Grace, though twice asked for, was refused. Leicester wrote in 1573 to beg for a dispensation for his "very lovyngre frend m<sup>r</sup> Treyvour professour of phisike."<sup>1</sup> Next year he asked the Masters to appoint a Lecturer in Syriac,<sup>2</sup> and dwelt on the importance of lectures and disputations. In 1580 he recommended for incorporation the great Civilian Albertus Gentilis, "a stranger and learned and an exile for religion," and "as I ham informed a Do<sup>r</sup> of the Civile lawes."<sup>3</sup> In 1581 he begged for the Italian doctor Fabian Niphus "some convenient place." One day he was pressing the appointment of one of his chaplains as Rector of Lincoln. Another day he wanted a quick degree for a chaplain of Lord Warwick's, a preacher with a "very good gift." He was less fortunate in his support of Antonio Corrano, a Spanish divine, whose "hot, accusing spirit" made him enemies, and whose opinions were viewed with grave suspicion by Rainolds and Humfrey and other staunch Protestants in Oxford and abroad. Strong opposition was raised to Corrano's application for a degree. Debates were raised in Convocation on the subject. And though Corrano answered his accusers and made good his right to lecture at Oxford, it was several years before the controversy was allowed to drop.<sup>4</sup>

Generally speaking, however, the Chancellor's influence was difficult to resist. He may have had too little regard for regulations, but he was not indifferent to the University's interests. He may have had less to do than some of his critics have suggested with the episcopal Visitations of the time, or with the Privy Council's efforts to enforce the Prayer-Book and to

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. KK* (146<sup>b</sup>). Lord Sussex also interceded for this gentleman (Clark, *Reg.* II, i, 149).

<sup>2</sup> John Drusius—"on drushius a flemming" (*Ib.* 177<sup>b</sup>-178<sup>a</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> Clark (II, i, 149). Leicester called him Albertus Gentilis. Alberico or Alberigo Gentili is perhaps a better form. He gave a fresh impetus in Oxford to the study of Civil Law.

<sup>4</sup> There are many references to this dispute in Wood's *Annals* from 1575 to 1582. See also Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 153-7) and *D.N.B.* (under "Corro").



discourage "new rittes and cerimonies of common prayer."<sup>1</sup> He was absent, misgoverning the "churls and tinkers" of the Netherlands, when the Council sent officers to join the University in measuring by direct line over hedges and ditches the five miles from Oxford where its jurisdiction ran.<sup>2</sup> "We do not meane to alowe any more than fiue thousand foote to a mile because the Judges have declared that theire is none other measure of a mile established by lawe: and the measure . . . hath bin in vse ever since the Romans had government heare in Ingland." But in matters of discipline the Chancellor had the best right to be heard. When he pointed out disorders in religion, the danger from Romanist leanings among College tutors and elsewhere, he was sure of Puritan support. When he complained of the neglect of sermons, disputations, lectures, of streets and ale-houses full of idle scholars, of tippling, dicing, carding, tabling—"I will not say worse"—the University may not have found it easy to resist. Leicester had no hesitation in pointing out the "negligens and slackenesse" of teachers and scholars. He was determined to have the rules in regard to dress observed.<sup>3</sup> No man was a better judge of "excesse in apparell." No courtier knew more about cut hose, deep ruffs and silks and velvets, which he thought so unseemly for students of the University, than the magnificent exquisite at its head.

Leicester has been accused of making sweeping changes. But Convocation was alive to the fact that changes were required. Many attempts were made to bring the old Statutes into order. Committees were appointed to consider them, and many new decrees were issued as the reign went on.<sup>4</sup> The Registers of Congregation and Convocation began to show more traces of arrangement. The Registers of the Chancellor's Court were more regularly kept.<sup>5</sup> In 1566 the Great Charter of Henry VIII,

<sup>1</sup> In July 1573 the Vice-Chancellor is described as "wount to vse the Jurisdiccions of the bisshoppe in shuche matters" (*KK*, 148<sup>a</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> In 1586 (*Ib.* 351<sup>b</sup>).

<sup>3</sup> See his plain words on the subject in 1578 (*Ib.* 288<sup>b</sup>). There are other references in *KK* to these subjects (ff. 289<sup>a</sup>, 314<sup>a</sup>, etc.).

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Gibson's edition of the Statutes will be the primary authority for these, when issued. But Dr. Clark's Introductions in Pt. I of Vol. II of the *Register of the University* are full of information, and his extracts from the old MS. Registers are of great interest.

<sup>5</sup> They begin with *Reg. Aaa* in 1434, but there are gaps in the earlier volumes. *Reg. GG*, on which Dr. Clark draws freely, covers the years from 1545 to 1556, but contains some material as late as 1663. The Registers of Congregation and Convocation in the Elizabethan period are *I*, *KK*, *L* and *M*, which together run from 1535 to 1606. Dr. Clark's account of these and other Registers in vol. IV of his *Life of Wood* is fuller and later than that which he gives in vol. II of the *Register of the University* (Pt. i, x-xiii).

which for years had been lost or forgotten, was found in the Treasury by the University Scribe and brought back to Oxford "involute and unhurt."<sup>1</sup> Three or four years later an important change bore witness, not only to the growing influence of the Colleges, but to the tendency to vest power more and more in the hands of the University leaders. On the recommendation of a Committee specially appointed to consider the question,<sup>2</sup> the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, Doctors and Proctors were authorised to arrange the business of Convocation beforehand, in place of the old Black Congregation, which had fallen into disuse. "Whoe will not thinke it resonable," asked Leicester, "y<sup>t</sup> before y<sup>e</sup> convocation, y<sup>e</sup> vicechauncelor, Doctors, heades and proctors should consult of such thinges as are fittest to be moved therein?"<sup>3</sup> And no one seems to have offered an unfavourable reply.

The Elizabethan Statutes of 1564-5, and in particular the *Statuta pro Scholaribus*, otherwise known as the New Statutes, set out afresh the rules for reading, disputations and degrees.<sup>4</sup> They differed in some points from the regulations of King Edward,<sup>5</sup> but the books recommended for study were generally the same.<sup>6</sup> They insisted as of yore on exercises and on sermons. They noted the removal of "Austins" to St. Mary's. They abolished obsolete enactments in regard to Masses and processions, monks and friars, the old Statutes against Wycliffe, the old rule about *Turonensium grossorum* in matters of expense. They dilated on irregularities in dress, on the needlessness of lace and buttons, of swelling linings and waste stuff in hose.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. KK* (f. 31<sup>b</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> They were appointed in June 1569, "ad definiendum, qua forma, imposterum celebrare Convocationes deberent" (*Ib.* 72<sup>b</sup>). Action was taken next year on this report.

<sup>3</sup> See *Reg. KK* (93<sup>b</sup>), and Wood (*Ann.* II, 167-8). On June 11, 1570, a meeting of the old Black Congregation was called by the Proctors, but there seems to have been a general impression that its powers were obsolete (*KK*, 94<sup>b</sup>). It became the regular custom for Committees, consisting generally of the Vice-Chancellor, Proctors and certain Doctors and Masters, to draw up Statutes to submit to Convocation.

<sup>4</sup> For these Statutes see Mr. Gibson's book (378 sq.). The *Nova Statuta* are given in *Regs. A* and *B* and epitomised in *C*.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Bachelors of Law and Medicine have now to attend four years of lectures for the Doctorate. Nothing is said about practical work in Medicine. It may be that the Statutes were not intended to cover the whole ground.

<sup>6</sup> The *Nova Statuta* speak of "*Arithmetica* vel Boetii vel Tunstalli vel Gemmephrisii." They mention Linacre's grammar as an alternative to Priscian's and Vitellio's Perspective as an alternative to Euclid. They explain that a Book of the *Sentences* is always to be replaced by a Book of Scripture.

<sup>7</sup> The English Statute on "Apparell" of Dec. 1564 is quoted from *Reg. KK* by Mr. Gibson (391-2).

They substituted for the old right of any single Master of Arts to veto any Grace proposed, an inquiry into the circumstances which saved the right from abuse.<sup>1</sup> They recited the fines to be paid for missing lectures. They divided the Arts student's time anew, reverting apparently to the old ideas which the Edwardian Statutes had varied. The four years for the Bachelorship were now to include two terms for grammar, four for rhetoric, five for dialectic, three for arithmetic and two for music.<sup>2</sup> Three further years, devoted to geometry, astronomy, natural philosophy, moral philosophy and metaphysics, completed the course for the Master's degree.

Reform was undoubtedly needed, and in the years which followed other important Statutes appeared. There was no attempt at codification. But the new necessities were faced and the old rules were to some extent re-cast. In March 1566 voting by Faculties in Convocation was re-established, and the *Comitia* was fixed annually for the first Monday after July 7.<sup>3</sup> In 1574 the election of Proctors was taken out of the hands of the Committee which controlled it,<sup>4</sup> and vested in the whole body of resident Regents and Non-Regents.<sup>5</sup> "Conspirators," who canvassed for particular candidates before the appointed Wednesday after Easter, were disqualified and punished. Scrutineers were sworn to secrecy and fairness, and voters to vote only once. In July and October 1576 two detailed and important Statutes attacked "disorders in aparell" and in conduct, and provided for "the better observation of publique exercises." The "Statute of the Relme for Ruffs and hoes" was "put in exequution," and for the generality of students black hats and gowns and cloaks were enjoined. Fresh regulations were laid down for Determination, lectures, disputations, for enabling the Bedels to record the absent and to enforce the necessary fines. Preachers out of term were arranged for. Drunkenness was denounced for punishment like fornication and adultery.

<sup>1</sup> On this point see also the decrees of May 1567 and October 1583, printed by Mr. Gibson (397-8 and 426).

<sup>2</sup> See the Statute headed *Lectiones et Mulctae* (Gibson, 389).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* (396-7). Till then there were two Acts for giving degrees, in February and July. But men could inept at other times also. (See Salter, *Regist. Ann. Coll. Merton*, xxvi).

<sup>4</sup> A Committee of electors nominated by two persons termed *Instantes* whom Convocation chose. The electors and the *Instantes* were both swept away (Clark, *Reg.* I, i, 243-4). A later Statute of 1593 provided for Proctorial vacancies within the year (Gibson, 447-8).

<sup>5</sup> But residence had to be defined: and in 1594 it was found necessary to explain that the old rule, excluding from the vote *ii qui cum pannis abiissent*, excluded those who had failed to reside for 6 months before the election and to pay for University dues, rooms, books, utensils, etc. (See Gibson, 451, Clark, II, i, 246, and Wood, *Ann.* II. 257-8.)



Hawks and ferrets, dogs and guns were forbidden, but with the Vice-Chancellor's license a "Spannell" might be kept. Subscription was insisted on :

" Item it is decreed that everye one to be admitted to any degree shale first in the praesens of the Proctors and his Praesenter being together in the Chappell on the North side of S. Maries church subscribe to the Booke of Articles of Religion, intituled Articles wherevpon it was agreed by the ArchBishops and Bishops of both Provinces and the hole Clergye in the Convocation houlden at London in the yeere of our Lord 1562." <sup>1</sup>

In 1579 Convocation recommended for study the Catechisms of Alexander Nowell, John Calvin, Henry Bullinger, and other books which sufficiently indicated the changing temper of the times.<sup>2</sup>

Hand in hand with these Statutes went new regulations for bringing Oxford students under better control. The Matriculation Statute of 1565 established a Register of all members of the University,<sup>3</sup> divided into twenty-five heads according to Colleges and Halls, with details of name and age, locality and status. It exacted an oath of fidelity to the University from all persons over sixteen. It required all unattached scholars to be under a master or tutor in some Hall or College. It compelled all Heads of Houses to present their students to the Chancellor or his Commissary within a week of their admission. It settled the fees which members of the University were to pay, varying from thirteen shillings and fourpence for the son of a Prince, Duke or Marquis to fourpence for *Plebei filius*.<sup>4</sup> And it inevitably became the precedent for further legislation. In 1580 the Oath of Supremacy was imposed. In the same year Convocation decreed that all scholars still living in the town must be brought into a Hall or College.<sup>5</sup> In 1581 a new Statute of Matriculation insisted on subscription both to the Articles and to the Queen's Supremacy in the case of all students over sixteen, and required all tutors to purge themselves of suspicion of Popery if they wished to

<sup>1</sup> No one could present a man whom he had not seen subscribe, nor could the Vice-Chancellor admit anyone unless the Proctors testified to his subscription (Gibson, 409-10). The 39 Articles did not become law till 1571.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* (413).

<sup>3</sup> "Tam studentium quam servientium, aut ministrorum eorundem, omniumque aliarum privilegiatarum personarum iuribus siue libertatibus eiusdem vniuersitatis quocunque titulo siue praetextu vtentium" (*Ib.* 392). See also Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 162 sq.).

<sup>4</sup> *Armigeri filius* paid 20 pence, *Generosi filius* 12 pence. But the poor scholar might get off with 2d., and the scale varied a good deal (*Ib.* 165).

<sup>5</sup> And compelled all applicants for Graces and degrees to belong to one or other. (See Gibson, *Stats.* 419, and Clark, *Reg.* II, i, 166-7.)



retain their pupils.<sup>1</sup> In 1589 Convocation added that no scholar must proceed to the degree of Bachelor or Master unless he could recite from memory the Articles of the Faith.

The first Matriculation Register contains lists of several Colleges which date from 1565.<sup>2</sup> But the lists as a whole do not begin till 1572, and for the next ten years they are very imperfect. The student's surname and Christian name were given, his age, his county and his father's rank.<sup>3</sup> Like other Registers this was often ill-kept. Entries were sometimes omitted. Names were confused. Corrections were inserted. Dates and spelling were ignored. Backhouse becomes Bacchus. Vigures or Viguers becomes Wild-goose.<sup>4</sup> Welsh names suggest curious orthography. Names destined to be famous in American history, Washington, Hawthorne and Emerson, appear. Some of the errors may not have been wholly accidental. An Esquire's eldest son might not object to being entered as *pleb. fil.* for a low fee on matriculation, if on taking his degree he could claim the privilege of shorter residence which belonged to his rank.<sup>5</sup> The numbers entered as matriculating varied widely in different years. In 1581, an exceptional year, they soared suddenly to over eight hundred.<sup>6</sup> They not infrequently exceeded three hundred. They averaged fully two hundred and seventy for the last ten years of the Queen's reign. Unattached students were disappearing under pressure. There had been eighty-nine residing in the town in 1562,<sup>7</sup> suspected generally of Romanist opinions. Subscription to the Articles could be avoided if one avoided entering a College or a Hall. The list of Christ Church men for 1565 contains two

<sup>1</sup> Gibson (421-3). The Subscription Books, with the 39 Articles and the interesting autographs which follow, are in the University Archives. The signatures run from 1581 to 1892, but cease then. The University Fee-Books, however, preserve students' signatures from 1886 onwards.

<sup>2</sup> See Clark (*Reg.* II, ii, 9 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> This became the practice. The details given are fuller from 1622 onwards. The first Matriculation Register (*Univ. Oxon. Arch. P*) is a large folio volume, running from 1565 to 1615. The second, *PP*, a smaller volume and better kept, begins with a few illustrious names, and runs to 1647. Dr. Clark has a description of both (*Reg.* II, i, viii-x).

<sup>4</sup> Wildgoose became an Oxford name; e.g. the painter employed in 1715 to renovate the Picture Gallery (*Bodl. Quart. Rec.* II, 105). And before that Mr. Gibson has noted a Bodleian binder, an earlier bearer of the name, who bound the First Folio of Shakespeare (1623).

<sup>5</sup> See the decree of Jan. 1591, quoted by Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 13-14).

<sup>6</sup> If Dr. Clark's figures are correct (*Reg.* II, ii, 410 and 96-117). There must have been a rush in the year of the second Matriculation Statute, to make up for laxity in previous years.

<sup>7</sup> There are a few entries, which Dr. Clark would date 20 years later, of married scholars "having house and familie in the towne." But before the end of the century unattached students had mostly disappeared (*Reg.* II, ii, 5-9 and 44-5).

hundred and eight names including servants. Magdalen has a hundred and thirty-two, Exeter a hundred and thirteen, Balliol sixty-five, Merton only fifty.<sup>1</sup> Of the Halls the largest is St. Alban's with a total of ninety-four, the smallest, New Inn Hall with only twelve. Two privileged tutors, John Case and Nicholas Balgay, the first a valued Fellow of St. John's and the latter once Master of Magdalen College School, were allowed to take students into their houses. We know that Mr. Case's scholars numbered twenty-two as late as October 1583.<sup>2</sup> But we know also that the policy of driving students into Colleges prevailed. All lists of numbers are, no doubt, liable to error. But we shall probably not be far wrong in concluding that about the year 1570 there may have been residing in Oxford some seven hundred members of the University, Fellows and Scholars, students, servitors and servants, and that the University enlarged its borders as the reign of Queen Elizabeth went on.

Before the century ended the new system was in full operation. If the students were forced into Colleges, they could at any rate change their Colleges freely. John Rainolds with his six Colleges is no solitary case.<sup>3</sup> On admission a boy's name was entered in the Buttery-book, where the Bedel looked it up. His tutor was chosen. He appeared before the Vice-Chancellor. The Subscription Book was signed. Oaths to accept the Thirty-Nine Articles, the Prayer-Book and the Royal Supremacy were taken. The necessary entries were made in the Matriculation Register. The student's Faculty was settled and his course begun. The old educational routine might not command implicit acquiescence, but the old forms and the old obligation to attend lectures and disputations survived. The Elizabethan Registers are full of dispensations for avoiding the strict fulfilment of the old rules. A personage like the Duke of Norfolk could of course apply to be made a Master of Arts without performing any ceremonies, and the Grace was conceded without demur.<sup>4</sup> But dispensations were constantly granted to less important people. The applicant might have been obliged by poverty to leave Oxford and teach. Or he might have received an appointment. Or he was going abroad, or he hoped to get a benefice, or the plague had cut short his studies, or his father had recently died. Escape from

<sup>1</sup> See the other lists also. All may not be reliable: the Lincoln list is imperfect, and there are some secondary lists giving different figures. The numbers at Exeter, even including servants, seem high when compared with the low figure—31—given for 1552. (See Boase, *Reg.* I, xxiv.)

<sup>2</sup> Clark (*Reg.* II, ii, 46).

<sup>3</sup> Rainolds, closely connected with Corpus, speaks of having had some part of his education at Queen's, Merton, New College, University and Oriel (*Ib.* II, i, 4).

<sup>4</sup> *Simpliciter* (*Reg.* KK, f. 54<sup>b</sup>).

inconvenient formalities was needed. A candidate could not always be present when his Grace was sought in Congregation. A Bachelor wished to determine in Lent, though absent on Egg Saturday.<sup>1</sup> A Doctor could not afford to buy a new gown. A Vice-Chancellor was out when the candidate for a degree called on him.<sup>2</sup> The Bedel who ought to accompany the candidate was engaged. The sermons required of theologians could not be delivered at the proper time. The sandals and shoes<sup>3</sup> expected of Inceptors were incompatible with infirmity of feet.

Exceptions of this kind were needed to give elasticity to an ancient, rigid system.<sup>4</sup> Many of them were reasonable enough. It was natural to excuse from Congregation Regents who had College duties. It was natural that the Professors and College tutors should take over more and more the teaching which the Regents were ready enough to give up.<sup>5</sup> But the fashion of making excuses may have gone too far. And the Elizabethan Statutes are full of decrees recalling and revising the old rules on the subject. An order of 1563 compelled any man seeking a dispensation to call on the Head of his College, a Professor of his Faculty<sup>6</sup> and two other College Heads to be present. An order of 1567 laid down that no man's Grace was to be proposed in Congregation unless he had completed the "form" required by Statute.<sup>7</sup> A decree of 1576 forbade Congregation to dispense with "any parte or parcell of time by the Statutes appoynted for the attaining of the Degree."<sup>8</sup> And a Statute of 1584, reciting that "all orderly procedinge vnto our degrees by tolleracions and dispensacions is almost quite taken away," insisted on the full course of years and exercises before any Grace was proposed for Bachelors of theology, medicine or law.<sup>9</sup> Another rule took precautions against the false statements made in seeking Graces,

<sup>1</sup> The Saturday before Ash-Wednesday. (See Clark, *Reg.* II, i, 51-5.)

<sup>2</sup> There were formal calls (*Circuitus et Visitatio*) to invite the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors to summon a Congregation to confer the degree (*Ib.* 42).

<sup>3</sup> *Sandalia, ocreae, crepidae, pincernae, socculi*, etc. (*Ib.* 87-8).

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Clark gives the names of Doctors and Masters present in Congregation at the grant of Graces on three occasions early in the reign (1559-60). The numbers were 10, 15 and 25 (*Ib.* 161-2). Mr. Salter reminds us that Colleges as well as the University granted dispensations to relieve Regents of their duty to lecture (*Reg. Ann. Coll. Merton*, xxxi-ii).

<sup>5</sup> See the notices quoted by Dr. Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 95 sq.). As time passed, it became the practice for certain delegated Regents to deliver the ordinary lectures in Arts. The Proctors selected them and the other Inceptors paid them.

<sup>6</sup> *Publicum prelectorem*: except in the case of the Arts Praelector, who was presumed to be there. For further details see Mr. Gibson's work on the Statutes (377).

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* (397).

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* (406).

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.* (431).



by which Congregation and even Convocation was wearied and fooled.<sup>1</sup> Others recalled the old obligations: no Bachelor of Arts must have his Grace unless he had "answered once in parvis from one of the Clock till three, and two severall times vnder a Bachelour in Determinations in Lent:"<sup>2</sup> none must read cursorily for his Inception other books than those ordained by Statute:<sup>3</sup> and none must fail to determine in the Lent which immediately followed the granting of his Grace.<sup>4</sup> There was probably some inclination to shirk the exercises which completed the Bachelor's degree. The practice had grown up of asking for Graces in Convocation, which saved the need of proposing a Grace in four successive Congregations; and to prevent this it was provided that, even after dispensations had been granted in Convocation, application to the Congregation of Regents for Graces must be made.<sup>5</sup> It had already been settled that no Grace could be coupled with conditions to be afterwards performed.<sup>6</sup> And the practice had been checked by which candidates sought a Grace for the Doctorate when they wanted to use the Doctor's title without proceeding to the Doctor's degree.<sup>7</sup>

There were many supplications for Graces which failed. They might be refused for misconduct or for heterodoxy, or for other reasons besides failure to observe the necessary forms. We find one man rejected as *moribus inidoneus*, another for irreverence, a third for "unsound religion." A certain Robert Smith who kept bad company at Magdalen, and brought shameful charges against his contemporaries "in the commen haule of the same colledge at eleven of the clocke in the night," was disqualified at once as a notorious offender. A more innocent Smith was refused his Grace "through his being supposed to be another person of that name."<sup>8</sup> The supplicant might appeal against the decision of Congregation, and a Committee was sometimes appointed to consider whether such an appeal would lie. There were appeals also from the Vice-Chancellor's Court to Congregation: the

<sup>1</sup> In 1575 (*Ib.* 403).

<sup>2</sup> In 1576 (*Ib.* 405-6).

<sup>3</sup> In 1579 (*Ib.* 415-16). But the irregularities of the past were overlooked.

<sup>4</sup> In 1597 (*Ib.* 455).

<sup>5</sup> Dispensations in Convocation were in fact made merely a preliminary to the grant of Graces by Congregation, and the seeking of a Grace in Convocation was forbidden (Gibson, 426; in 1583).

<sup>6</sup> In 1576 (*Ib.* 406).

<sup>7</sup> In 1582 (*Ib.* 424). A pledge worth £10 had to be deposited as security that the degree would be taken within the year.

<sup>8</sup> Dr. Clark's volumes on the Register of the University are a storehouse of such details. Wood mentions the clamour made by the Regents when the Grace of an unpopular person was proposed, instead of a quiet *non-placet* in the Proctor's ear, and Vice-Chancellor James' high-handed attempt to put down such proceedings in 1591 (*Ann.* II, 246-7).



Proctors nominated Delegates who sat in St. Mary's to hear the case. From Congregation there was a further appeal to Convocation and, if the University judges differed, a final appeal to the Crown. Elizabethan decrees, referring to past Statutes, regulated the time for the decision of appeals and provided against frivolous delays.<sup>1</sup> There was no lack of energy in revising ancient customs. But the new rules were not always free from the confusion of the old, and even the newest Statutes afforded a plentiful crop of dispensations.

Under Elizabeth many Committees of Convocation were set up to deal with points of difficulty, and many decrees were issued by their authority or on their advice.<sup>2</sup> There were Committees on procedure, on sermons, on disputations, on fees. A large space in the Statutes is occupied by rules for sermons. There were necessary sermons for degrees. Every Bachelor and Doctor of Divinity had to preach a formal Latin sermon after taking his degree, and the candidate for the Doctorate had to preach an earlier examinatory sermon also.<sup>3</sup> There were University sermons at St. Mary's, at Christ Church and at St. Peter's in the East.<sup>4</sup> In 1576 the Vice-Chancellor was empowered to call on preachers to take duty on holidays and on Sundays in vacation for which no other provision had been made.<sup>5</sup> In 1580 every graduate in theology was called on to take his turn in preaching the Latin sermon at St. Mary's on the day before the opening of each term.<sup>6</sup> In 1584 "euerye student in deuinitye beinge minister" <sup>7</sup> was compelled "to preach in his course accordinge to his senioritye."

<sup>1</sup> See the Statutes of 1567 and 1593 (Gibson, 398 and 449-50).

<sup>2</sup> See for example the notices quoted by Dr. Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 53, 108-9, 110, 121, 131, 135, 163, 225, 246, 252, 261, 346).

<sup>3</sup> On the *pro forma* sermons for Bachelors and Doctors of Divinity, mentioned in 1446, see *Mun. Ac.* (395-6) and Gibson (267-8). On the *sermo examinatory*, also called *sermo generalis*, see *Mun. Ac.* (307 and 392). Examinatory sermons, an early institution, are mentioned in the Agreement between the University and the Friars in 1314 (Gibson, 116). We hear also of sermons *ex novo statuto*; but this probably refers to the Statute of 1446, mentioned above (*Mun. Ac.* 396), imposing a *pro forma* sermon on Doctors of Divinity. See also *Regist. Ann. Coll. Merton* (xxviii), where, however, Mr. Salter seems to ante-date this "new statute."

<sup>4</sup> Called *solemnnes* (Gibson, 451). English sermons were given at St. Peter's in Lent. There seem to have been no sermons in Lent at St. Mary's and none before the Reformation in the afternoon (*Reg. Ann. Coll. Merton*, xxviii).

<sup>5</sup> Gibson (409: repeated in Latin on p. 419).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* (418). See also the paragraph which follows.

<sup>7</sup> "Post triennium a susceptione eius functionis" (*Ib.* 431 and 434). The Merton Register alludes to the *Collators* of sermons, who helped the Vice-Chancellor to make the list, and had to take the duty if a preacher failed (*Reg. Ann. Coll. Merton*, xxix).

In 1587 Sunday sermons from all competent persons from the Vice-Chancellor downward were required.<sup>1</sup> In 1590 all Masters of Arts of four years' standing were reminded of their liability to preach.<sup>2</sup> There were also regulations for the licensing of preachers. They insisted on a year's trial in some Hall or College first, on a recommendation from a Head of a House,<sup>3</sup> and on subscription to the Articles and Prayer-Book. And they restricted a right, which was now becoming more than ever a subject of contention, to fully qualified Masters of Arts, who had responded in theology<sup>4</sup> and had preached four of the regular University sermons.

Committees also revised the rules for disputations. A Statute of October 1583 regulated the public exercises in theology, Civil Law and medicine. They were to be held every term in the School of Theology from the first hour to the third, theological disputations ten times in the year, those in Civil Law and medicine once only in alternate terms.<sup>5</sup> The Respondent opened with his thesis: he was allowed half an hour but not more. The Opponents criticised and answered;<sup>6</sup> they were limited to a quarter of an hour each. The Moderator presided and summed up. In 1586 the Lenten disputations were reorganised, and negligence and turbulence condemned. "Sterile and inane questions," which differed from the orthodox philosophy, were forbidden. The authority of Aristotle was vindicated afresh.<sup>7</sup> Subsequent decrees enforced or amplified these rules,<sup>8</sup> defined

<sup>1</sup> Gibson (438).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* (443).

<sup>3</sup> Or from "the reader of the Q lecture of deuinitye" (*Ib.* 420).

<sup>4</sup> "Semel saltem in theologia in Schola Theologica, vel in comitiis, publice responderit" (*Ib.* 430). Two months later (April 1584) sermons at All Saints' and St. Martin's were allowed to count as well as those preached at Christ Church, St. Mary's or St. Peter's.

<sup>5</sup> In 1595 the jurists' ordinary disputations were fixed for Michaelmas and Easter terms, the medical ones for Hilary and Trinity terms (*Ib.* 454).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* (427-9). I think the Respondent clearly came first, though a high authority, Mr. Salter, has suggested that the Opponent began (*Reg. Ann. Coll. Merton*, xxvi-vii). Mr. Gibson has drawn my attention to the passage which Twyne (XX, 120<sup>a</sup>) has transcribed from *Reg. C.*, 143<sup>b</sup>—dated about 1500—in which the old procedure is set out. See also *Cambridge Grace Book A* (xxiv) and Wordsworth (*Scholæ Academicæ*, 32 sq.). Wood (*Annals*, II, 161) mentions that in the case of one disputation before the Queen in 1566 there were 7 Opponents, of whom some were shut out for want of time. The phrase *opposuit primo*, on which Mr. Salter comments, may mean that the speaker was the first of two or three Opponents. See also the fourth Royal Edict of 1617 (Gibson, 522).

<sup>7</sup> Gibson (437).

<sup>8</sup> E.g. in 1591 fines were imposed for non-compliance (*Ib.* 444); and in 1592 a decree declared that no man should seek his Grace for the B.D. degree "nisi qui semel per duas horas in schola theologica pro forma responderit, et semel principalis opponentis munere in disputationibus pro forma perfunctus fuerit, aut ter ad minimum, venia vel a publico

the Law Moderator's duties,<sup>1</sup> and compelled Masters of Arts,<sup>2</sup> who were not proceeding to theology, to study medicine or Law. The need for reiterating academic rules was evident. One of the earliest Statutes of the seventeenth century rehearsed those for disputations *in parvisis* again.<sup>3</sup>

Other Committees dealt with many other points. One decided that two complete years, not unfinished years, must elapse before a Bachelor of theology could seek his Grace for a Doctor's degree. Another revised the rules for the depositions of Bachelors on Determination, and regulated the presentation of gloves. Another made provision for the cleaning of the streets.<sup>4</sup> There was a Committee to settle whether the Vice-Chancellor or the Proctors had the right to nominate Clerks of the Market. Each side was found nominating candidates and administering the oath of office to its own nominees.<sup>5</sup> There was a Committee on the incorporation of Cambridge men at Oxford.<sup>6</sup> Was a request for such incorporation a dispensation or a Grace? Convocation decided that it was a Grace—a liberal ruling, for the fee in that case paid to the Registrar was less. Often in these questions of procedure the issue turned upon a point of fees. The University was a small world, largely ruled by human nature. The smallness of official profits and the desirability of increasing them was rarely absent from official minds.

Questions of fees figure largely in the Elizabethan Statutes, and Committees were often appointed to discuss them. The Bedels had perhaps some reason to complain of their pay. Scholars, Bachelors, Masters and Doctors, had to be reminded of the "culets" due.<sup>7</sup> The Collectors, who arranged the determining Bachelors in classes for their disputations, and who had to collect the fees payable to University officials, were accused of charging too much. Their fees were limited in 1579.<sup>8</sup> The

praelectore vel ab opponente alio petita et impetrata, disputaverit" (Gibson, 445).

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* (452).

<sup>2</sup> "Qui, vel in aulis vel in collegiis, propriis sumptibus et expensis vicitant" (*Ib.* 454).

<sup>3</sup> In February 1607 (*Ib.* 485).

<sup>4</sup> On all these points see Gibson (453, 454-6, and 412).

<sup>5</sup> Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 251-2).

<sup>6</sup> The incorporation of members of other Universities at Oxford was allowed to confer the same academic status as they enjoyed in their own. See the decree of 1576 (Gibson, 411, and Clark, *Reg.* II, i, 345 *sq.*). Conversely Oxford men might count time spent in other Universities for their degrees (Gibson, 424).

<sup>7</sup> Or "culettes" (Gibson, 400). "Cumulationes vel collectiones quas vocant culiettes" (*Ib.* 376; see also 412). They were paid twice a year by Bursars of Colleges and Manciples of Halls, when the seventeenth century began (Clark, *Reg.* II, i, 109).

<sup>8</sup> Gibson (414).



Proctors had secured their nomination, and were perhaps suspected of encouraging their exactions. In 1586 the election of Collectors was restored to the determining Bachelors.<sup>1</sup> Wood mentions a sharp quarrel in the closing years of the reign between the Vice-Chancellor on the one hand and the Proctors and Collectors on the other.<sup>2</sup> A decree of 1581 assigned half of the "profites growinge owte of the matriculacion" to the "squire bedell of deuinitye," one-fourth to the "squire bedell of lawe," and one-fourth to the Vice-Chancellor.<sup>3</sup> In 1588 the fees payable to the University Registrar were re-cast. The price for a dispensation in Congregation was to be six pence, for one in Convocation twelve pence. The admission fee for a Bachelor of Arts was put at four pence, for a Master at six pence, for a Doctor at eighteen pence.<sup>4</sup> They had to pay for Graces also. The cost of degrees tended to go up. Fees in lieu of banquets were required from Bachelors if no banquet was forthcoming. Fees due to the Yeomen Bedels were increased.<sup>5</sup> In 1592 a Statute fixed the charges for rich young men taking the Bachelor's degree before the end of their fourth year: an esquire's eldest son was to pay sixteen pence for his Grace and twelve pence for admission, the son of a Lord of Parliament five shillings for each.<sup>6</sup> It was added that fees for Graces must be paid on the spot, before Masters left the House of Congregation. At the end of the reign the Bedels' dues were again increased,<sup>7</sup> and there was a comprehensive revision of the whole scale of fees.

The Statute of December 1601 set out in great detail the cost of degrees and the payments due to University officials. The Esquire Bedel of Arts now received for culet eight pence a year from every Bachelor and four pence from every scholar in a College. Members of Halls paid less.<sup>8</sup> The Bedels' culets in the superior Faculties were higher; six shillings and eight pence was paid by every Doctor of Divinity,<sup>9</sup> three and four pence by every Bachelor, one and eight pence by every Master of Arts. The Registrar's admission fee for a Bachelor of Arts was now six pence, and for a Master eight pence.<sup>10</sup> The ordinary fees for a Bachelor of Arts came to six and six pence on admission, and five and two pence on Determination; for a Master they were

<sup>1</sup> Gibson (435). But in 1629 the Statute *De collectoribus* gave it back to the Proctors (*Ib.* 566). See also Wood (*Ann.* II, 225-6).

<sup>2</sup> Gibson (269-70).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* (423).

<sup>4</sup> And see other details (*Ib.* 439-40).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* (441-2: see also 456).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* (446).

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* (457).

<sup>8</sup> See Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 109).

<sup>9</sup> After the first two years (Gibson, 466). In medicine the culets were on the same scale (Clark, as above).

<sup>10</sup> Gibson (458).



eight and seven pence on admission, and fourteen and seven pence on Creation.<sup>1</sup> The Bachelor of Divinity, if an M.A. already, paid under ordinary circumstances two pounds, and the Bachelor of Medicine a few shillings more.<sup>2</sup> The Doctor of Divinity paid, apart from possible extras, four pounds, nineteen and ten pence on admission, and five pounds, seventeen and ten pence at the Act. The Doctor of Medicine paid seven pounds, sixteen and six pence.<sup>3</sup> For different classes of candidates the charges varied a good deal. Those who could best afford it were expected to pay most. A candidate for a degree had to answer inquiries about his income. A man who could spend five shillings a year of his own was called a petty compounder. A man who could spend forty pounds a year was a grand compounder. Both had to pay additional fees, and the grand compounder very large ones.<sup>4</sup> There were also demands for wine and gloves, for clothes and feasts and other items. The rich man had the advantage which he has in all ages, but on the other hand he was regarded as fair prey.

One example taken from this Statute<sup>5</sup> may perhaps serve to illustrate the rest.

"The charges of a Doctor of Divinitie }<sup>x<sup>l</sup></sup> xvij<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> videlicet att  
beeinge noe compounder nor beneficed is } admission iiij<sup>l</sup> xix<sup>s</sup> x<sup>d</sup> att  
the Act v<sup>l</sup> xvij<sup>s</sup> x<sup>d</sup>

The particulars.

Imprimis to his presenter	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Item, for his lectures in the schooles and presentacion vnto the Bedle of his facultie	xx <sup>s</sup>
Item, for his Culett to the beedle of his facultatie	xxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Item, for Culett pro anno instanti to the beedle of his facultie	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup> xij <sup>d</sup>
Item, for half Commons vnto Mr procters	vij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Item, for Wyne silveir	xviij <sup>d</sup>
Item, to the Register	xxx <sup>s</sup>
Item, for entringe the bible amonge the bedells	iiij <sup>l</sup> xix <sup>s</sup> x <sup>d</sup>
This somme is to be payed att his admission videlicet	xxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Item, if he be a beneficed man he is to pay vnto the bedle of his facultie pro remuneratione	Summa vj <sup>l</sup> vj <sup>s</sup> vj <sup>d</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gibson (459-60).

<sup>2</sup> 44s. 10d. (*Ib.* 472). The Bachelor of Music paid 13s. 4d. and the Doctor of Music £3.2.6 (*Ib.* 475).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* (461 and 474). Law fees in 1601 were left undefined, but in 1611 the ordinary fees for a Bachelor of Law were fixed at 38s. 8d., and for a Doctor at £11.1.8 (*Ib.* 507-8).

<sup>4</sup> E.g. where the ordinary B.A. paid 6s. 6d. on admission, the petty compounder paid 17s. 2d. and the grand compounder over £13, if Dr. Clark's calculations are correct (*Reg.* II, i, 218). *Compositio* and *cumulatio* were both terms for compounding (*Ib.* 63-4). But *cumulare* was also used of taking two degrees together without the statutory interval between.

<sup>5</sup> Taken by Mr. Gibson's permission from pp. 461-2 of his book.

Item, if he hath not payed his Culett yearlye he is to pay to the bedle of his facultye	xiijs <sup>a</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
Item, if he be not Master of Art he is to pay vnto the bedle of his facultie ad opponendum	xxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Item, if he be of new Colledge he payeth pro munificentia Domus	ij <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Item, he must geue gloues vnto Mr. Vicechancellor his presenter the proctors his three deponentes and vnto the bedles of his facultye	
Item, he must make a dinner for Mr. Vicechancellor his presenter the proctors his deponentes the Register and for all the bedles	
All thes duties are to be payed att ther admission	

*The particulars for Vespers and Act.*

Imprimis for dressinge the Divinitie Schole	xij <sup>d</sup>
Item, for his habitt and hood to the bedle of his facultie	xxx <sup>a</sup>
Item, for ij pilions for Mr. Vicechancellor one, and an other for the father of the Act	vj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Item, to the father of the Act	xx <sup>a</sup>
Item, to the proctors for An Act	xxvj <sup>s</sup> viij <sup>d</sup>
Item, to the Register att the Act	xij <sup>d</sup>
Item, to the vniversitie Minister	xij <sup>d</sup>
Item, to the vniversitie clarke	xij <sup>d</sup>
Item, to the parish clarke	vj <sup>d</sup>
Item, for his Act amonge the Bedles	xxx <sup>a</sup>
Summa	v <sup>l</sup> xvijs <sup>a</sup> x <sup>d</sup>

Item, he must geve gloues vnto Mr. Vicechancellor the father of the Act the proctors all doctors in ther ornamentes on the Act day all the actors on Munday (except the senior of the Act) to the Register and vnto all the Bedles."

Debates in Convocation revealed many technicalities, the meaning of which—so venerable were they—was not always clear to the Masters themselves.<sup>1</sup> The presentation for the Doctorate of Civil Law was accompanied by a strange old ceremony called *Nemo Scit*. The candidate produced a purse which he swore contained not less than six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence; but nobody knew how much there was in it. His presenter and deponents helped themselves to its contents at their pleasure, and returned the rest to him. The candidate naturally disliked the practice. The Bedels, who gained nothing, petitioned against it. But for long the time-honoured practice held its own.<sup>2</sup> Humour crept into the ancient ceremonial. The *Terræ Filii*, appointed by the Proctors to take part in In-

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the phrase *cum pannis abiisse*. Note also the term *Simile primo* for a meeting called informally or hastily—it might be in Vacation—to settle a small point of business, when it was not convenient to summon a regular Convocation. On another survival, "variations," especially at Merton, see Salter (*Reg. Ann. Coll. Merton*, xxiii-iv); and on a belated attempt by the Proctors, in a quarrel with the Vice-Chancellor in 1600, to revive the Black Congregation, see Wood (*Ann.* II, 270).

<sup>2</sup> See Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 118).

ceptors' disputations at the *Vesperia* and the *Comitia*, delighted their contemporaries with solemn fooling at least as early as Shakesperian days.<sup>1</sup> Disputations afforded opportunities of discussing an infinite variety of topics—whether the sea was salt, whether women were happier than men, whether gold could be made from the baser metals, whether impudence was more tolerable than shyness. In 1589 candidates for degrees debated whether Heaven had made Englishmen stronger than Spaniards. In 1609 they discussed—Shakespeare had no monopoly—a man's rights in the taming of a shrew. Subjects as various as Free Will, Papal enormities, the justice of war and the use of poison in waging it, the prolongation of life by medical art—perhaps a doubtful possibility in mediæval Oxford—the character of actors, the superiority of ale to beer, enlivened the studies of the Schools.<sup>2</sup> Leonard Hutten in 1600 had to consider whether “in renatis” concupiscence was a sin. William Laud in 1608 had to decide—he must have revelled in the opportunity—whether a Bishop only could confer Orders. We still have on record the questions for Inception in Theology which Hovenden, Bond and Prideaux, well-known Heads of Colleges, were called on to debate.

Old traditions needed readjusting as old practices declined. Grammar degrees were dropping out.<sup>3</sup> Canon Law degrees had ceased already, and Fellowships granted for that study were passing to laymen for the study of Civil Law.<sup>4</sup> Degrees in Music were still rare.<sup>5</sup> Only thirteen are recorded in the last thirty years of Elizabeth's reign<sup>6</sup>—among them John Bull, the famous organist, Nathaniel Gyles, the Magdalen chorister who became Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, and John Dowland, whose melodies delighted his age :

“Dowland to thee is deare ; whose heavenly tuch  
Vpon the Lute, doeth rauish humane sense.”<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We have their names from 1591 to 1763, and some fifteen of their speeches. The earliest speech known is that by Thomas Tomkins in 1607. (See *Bodl. Quart. Rec.* III, 123-4, the Laudian Statutes, Tit. VII, and Hearne's *Collections*, O.H.S., I, 188-90).

<sup>2</sup> See the long and interesting list of *Quaestiones* collected by Dr. Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 169-218).

<sup>3</sup> The last recorded is in 1568 (Boase, *Reg.* I, 269). See also Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 8), where, however, Bedoe's degree is misdated : it should be 1558 (*Reg.* I, 237).

<sup>4</sup> Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 111-12). But the Statute of 1601 on fees refers to Bachelors' degrees in grammar and in Canon Law (Gibson, 475 and 481).

<sup>5</sup> The ordinary music lecture, often dispensed with, was still part of the Arts course.

<sup>6</sup> But 9 others are recorded as supplicating for them. (See Clark, *Reg.* II, i, 146-7 and ii, 411).

<sup>7</sup> Barnfield's sonnet in the *Passionate Pilgrim* : “In Praise of Musique and Poetrie” was once attributed to Shakespeare (*D.N.B.*).



The Medical School was still lamentably weak. Even Linacre had done little to make it efficient; his great bequest had little influence on medical education in Oxford for three hundred years. The Faculty had no Bedel of its own. Doctors of Medicine were exempted from attending Congregations. There was seldom a Doctor available to act at Inceptions.<sup>1</sup> Regents in medicine left lecturing to the Professor: <sup>2</sup> it was more profitable to attend to their practice. Real students sought instruction abroad. Medical degrees were few and were sometimes given carelessly. The College of Physicians had complained to Cardinal Pole of the admission of ignorant and unlettered men. They quoted the scandalous cases of Ludford, a Franciscan Friar who became an apothecary in London, and of Laughton, a coppersmith, who when asked to decline the word *corpus* had replied "*hic, haec et hoc corpus, accusativo corpore.*" Ludford, the Friar, uplifted by a "blind audacity," betook himself to Cambridge, and ultimately won honours in his profession. Laughton, the coppersmith, was less persistent. His Latin Grammar weighed him down.<sup>3</sup> These cases may have been exceptional, but there seems to have been little improvement under Elizabeth. Licenses to practise in medicine and surgery were issued: but their number was by no means large. In the thirty years from 1571 to 1600 less than fifty medical degrees of all kinds are recorded, thirty-five licenses in medicine and only one in surgery. The records may be faulty, but the numbers are significantly small.<sup>4</sup> Licenses to preach were commoner than licenses in surgery.<sup>5</sup> Licenses to beg were still issued to poor scholars under the Vice-Chancellor's seal.<sup>6</sup> The traditions of the past were still powerful in Oxford. And there was little room for science to develop while theological contentions filled the minds of men.

In the realm of legislation Tudor administrators kept a watchful eye on University affairs. In 1571 an Act of Parliament

<sup>1</sup> Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 129).

<sup>2</sup> Wood mentions occasional lectures in medicine by distinguished men in the sixteenth century. Wolsey and his contemporaries realised their importance. But Linacre's bequest ended in College Fellowships, ultimately sinecures, at Merton.

<sup>3</sup> See Boase (*Reg.* I, xi).

<sup>4</sup> See Clark (*Reg.* II, ii, 411). The figures may not be exact, but they are probably more accurate than Fitzherbert's (*Elizabethan Oxford*, 19).

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Clark gives 7 for 1584—the only entry for many years—and as many as 25 for 1605. The records may be incomplete. (See *Reg.* II, ii, 407 and 411, and i, 130-2).

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Clark quotes from *Reg.* GG 15 of these between 1551 and 1572. (*Reg.* II, ii, 2-5). But the custom of granting such licenses was surely older than he suggests. (See Boase, *Reg.* I, xii, and *ante*, vol. I, p. 141). The Statute of 1597 (39 Eliz. cap. iv) must have checked the practice, if it still went on.



incorporated both Universities.<sup>1</sup> The right of perpetual succession was secured to the Chancellor, Masters and Scholars of Oxford. The charters and liberties granted to them were confirmed by law. Other Acts limited College leases to terms of three lives or twenty-one years. A blow was struck at the prodigal system of fines, under which the Fellows granted long leases at low rents, and by levying large fines, to anticipate revenue, benefited their own generation and impoverished their successors.<sup>2</sup> A more popular Act, for the better maintenance of Colleges, required that in all new College leases the lessee should pay one-third at least of the old rent in corn or malt at a fixed price,<sup>3</sup> and thus went far to secure the Colleges against the failure of harvests, which had been no imaginary danger in days past. But, as prices rose, this Act in effect provided a substantial new endowment for the Fellows, a "happie helpe" which led enthusiasts to describe it as the "most blessed and gracious statute" of the time. Equally important, if less popular with the Colleges, was the action taken by Parliament to put down the buying and selling of Fellowships and Scholarships, and to suppress bribery in elections at Oxford and Cambridge. The first Bill which passed the two Houses on the subject was indeed stopped by the Queen. But University reformers like Whitgift persisted, and in 1589 the proposal passed into law.<sup>4</sup> Whitgift's activity at Cambridge, and the commanding influence he won there, had its effects in education as well as in the Church. In 1583, on his appointment to the See of Canterbury, he became the Visitor of Merton and All Souls, and he was soon raising his vigorous voice against Oxford abuses, against the neglect of discipline and study, the "intolerable carelessness" of Heads of Colleges, the degrees given to the unlearned and the unfit.

The Cambridge Statutes of 1570 were designed by administrators like Cecil and Whitgift to check the "increasing audacity and excessive licence of men." Those Statutes applied to Cambridge alone. But the same tendency was visible at Oxford, to vest authority more and more in the seniors and the Heads of

<sup>1</sup> 13 Eliz. cap. xxix.

<sup>2</sup> 13 Eliz. cap. x, and 18 Eliz. cap. xi. The second of these Acts was intended to prevent evasions of the first.

<sup>3</sup> 18 Eliz. cap. vi. The payment was to be in good wheat after 6s. 8d. the quarter or under, and good malt after 5s. the quarter or under. The wheat, though worth far more in open market, would never be credited to the tenant at more. The Act has been attributed to Sir T. Smith, and the suggestion may well have come from Cambridge, as Mr. Mullinger (II, 377) says. See also Reeves (*Hist. of Eng. Law*, ed. Finlason, III, 621), Burrows (*Register of Visitors*, xiii), and Wood (*Ann.* II, 178).

<sup>4</sup> 31 Eliz. cap. vi. See also Mullinger (II, 268-70), and on Whitgift's criticism of other abuses at Oxford Strype's *Life of Whitgift* (1822, I, 609-12).

Houses. At both Universities the independent spirit, the "untamed affections," of the younger Regents made democracy alarming to the older generation. At Oxford the Puritans never obtained quite the position which they won at Cambridge. They had no such conspicuous leader as Cartwright, though there were some who sympathised with Cartwright's views.<sup>1</sup> No such "contention and disquietude"—no such vainglory, arrogance, popularity, anabaptistry, to use the stinging words of Whitgift—gave Conservative thinkers cause for complaint. But with a Chancellor like Leicester, a recognised patron of the advanced Reformers, and with Heads of Houses like Humfrey and Rainolds, Protestant feeling fully held its own. As the reign proceeded, the danger from the Romanists increased. The Ridolfi Plot revealed the peril threatening England. The "barbarous treacherie" of St. Bartholomew roused a passion of anger and dismay. The activities of English Catholics deepened the distrust of Rome. Nicholas Sanders, so lately a Fellow of New College,<sup>2</sup> did not scruple to declare that the safety of Christendom depended on "the stout assailing of England." Roman Catholics gathered at Louvain and at Douai, as Protestants in the days of Mary had taken refuge at Zurich and Strasburg, at Frankfort and Basle. A new University, with Richard Smith as its Chancellor, had been founded at Douai, to fight the Reformation, and in 1568 William Allen of Oriel opened a College for English Catholics there. Morgan Phillips gave his powerful assistance. Old Oxford students were among its earliest members, with New College men conspicuous among them.<sup>3</sup> Campion and others followed soon after. St. John's, Exeter, Trinity contributed recruits.<sup>4</sup> The Pope was prevailed on to endow the College. Its numbers rapidly increased.<sup>5</sup> But it was alleged

<sup>1</sup> Wood mentions Edward Gellibrand of Magdalen as the chief of a party in Oxford "encouraged to go forward in their Presbytery" by certain Scotch Ministers who visited Oxford in 1584 (*Ann.* II, 224-5).

<sup>2</sup> He is not in Wood's list of New College men deprived in 1560 (*Ann.* II, 144-5), perhaps because he had already gone abroad. His great work, *De Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiæ*, appeared in 1571. (See Wood's *Athenæ*, I, 469 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Richard White, who became head of a College of Law Students, Owen Lewis, who became a Professor of Law, and Thomas Dorman, a great friend of Thomas Harding, and under Mary a Fellow of All Souls.

<sup>4</sup> And not they only. Later on, for example, William Holt, once of B.N.C. and Oriel, became an active plotter in the Jesuit camp.

<sup>5</sup> The numbers of the English College seem to have reached 120 and the number of students in the University of Douai some 200 in 1576. In the vicissitudes of the history of the Netherlands the students of Douai were driven to Rheims (1578). For these and other details see Dr. Knox's Introduction to *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay*, in his *Records of the English Catholics*; also his volume of memorials of Cardinal Allen.

that the Seminary priests of Douai brought their Papistry from Oxford ready-made.<sup>1</sup> The venerable English College at Rome entered at the same time on a new lease of life.<sup>2</sup> The Jesuits, with their great gift of organisation, their genius for training and manipulating the minds of men, were tireless in founding Colleges and in attempts to conquer the Universities abroad. Robert Parsons brought to the Society of Jesus his courage, his energy, his unscrupulous devotion, his eloquent and formidable pen. And the new Catholic Colleges, centres of zeal, of learning and of propaganda, became also dangerous centres of the conspiracy directed against English freedom.

Robert Parsons, the faithful friend of Cardinal Allen, and for many years a formidable organiser of the Jesuit forces, entered Balliol from St. Mary Hall in the year when Elizabeth first visited Oxford. He became Fellow and Dean and Bursar of his College. He twice took the Oath of Supremacy. But he made enemies as well as friends, and in 1574 from one cause or another he gave up his Fellowship and went abroad. At that time he could still protest that he was not and never meant to be a Papist. A year later he had changed his opinions, and his dramatic career as a Jesuit had begun. In 1580 he was back in England, at the head of the Jesuit Mission, travelling with Campion in disguise from house to house, printing and distributing Romanist literature, rousing the alarm of Parliament and the admiration of his friends. Parsons won a great reputation as an organiser, as the untiring agent of a failing cause. But his colleague, Edmund Campion, was probably more widely loved. From early boyhood every one seems to have acknowledged Campion's charm. He "bore away the game," we are told, "in all contentions of learning." His wit, his grace, his eloquence were universally admitted. The Founder of St. John's—he was one of the earliest scholars of the College—treated him with marked affection. Leicester and Cecil showed themselves his friends.<sup>3</sup> He was chosen to speak the funeral oration over "Amy Robsart." His powers in disputation won the approval of the Queen. He took his Master's degree at Oxford and accepted the Queen's supremacy. He acted as Proctor in 1568-9. But after that he left the University and yielded to the opinions which were driving him to Rome. Convert or pervert, he still kept his charm. When he returned with the Jesuit Mission to England, his preaching at the secret gatherings of Catholics had a profound effect. When Parsons escaped,

<sup>1</sup> See the letter quoted from *Domestic MSS.* April 1585 by Mr. Froude (*Hist.* 1893, xi, 52).

<sup>2</sup> See Cardinal Gasquet's *Hist. of the Venerable English College, Rome* (Ch. III).

<sup>3</sup> Leicester still showed him kindness, in 1581, after his arrest.



Campion was captured, not far from his old haunts at Oxford, imprisoned, racked and cruelly treated. But his fine bearing confounded his opponents. A conscience pure, a courage invincible, a work so worthy—in these things he found “infinite sweetness,” a recompense for all earthly pain.<sup>1</sup> He suffered in December 1581 with two other Oxford men at Tyburn—Ralph Sherwin, once a graduate of Exeter, and Alexander Briant, a young priest of singular beauty, who had passed on to Douai from Hart Hall. They dignified the cause for which they suffered. Campion prayed for Elizabeth even at the end. But his contemporaries can hardly be blamed for fearing that his triumph would have meant the ruin of all for which Elizabethan England stood.<sup>2</sup>

It was long before Campion was forgotten at Oxford. But Protestant opinions steadily made way. Romanist prints denouncing the Queen roused deep indignation, and in 1584 Convocation intervened to prevent their circulation. The “Calvinistical Party” had a fair opportunity of capturing the younger men. Tutors suspected of Popery were required to give up their pupils or to purge themselves. Humfrey, says Wood, not only stocked his College “with such a generation of Nonconformists as could not be rooted out in many years after his decease,” but sowed the seeds of Calvinism in the Divinity School. Hatton, on succeeding to the Chancellorship, emphasised the need of conformity in religion. Buckhurst, who took Hatton’s place in 1591,<sup>3</sup> called on the University again to suppress “all Jesuits, Seminaries and Recusants.” Sir Francis Walsingham founded a new Divinity Lecture, and secured John Rainolds’ appointment to the post. Wood indeed suggests that the advanced Reformers so used their opportunity to rule the University that in Leicester’s day there was “little to be seen in it of the Church of England.”<sup>4</sup> But Wood and Leicester, no doubt, differed widely in their conception of what the Church of England meant.

Nor on the other side were the stricter churchmen silent. Dean James of Christ Church, who was Vice-Chancellor in 1591,

<sup>1</sup> See Campion’s letter quoted by Froude (*History*, Ch. 63). Richard Simpson’s biography is the chief authority for Campion’s life.

<sup>2</sup> Another priest from Douai, whom Wood claims as an Oxford man, John Hart, was condemned with Campion, but saved his life by a promise to recant. He faced a long conference with John Rainolds at Oxford, recovered his courage, and was ultimately banished. Allen claimed in 1583 that English students from the Universities were still flocking to Rheims. (*Douay Diaries*, lxxi).

<sup>3</sup> Apparently on instructions from the Crown, though Essex was the popular favourite. (See Murdin, *Burghley State Papers*, 649).

<sup>4</sup> Wood probably overstates the case. Under the year 1573 he accuses the authorities of leaning heavily on “such that had the least glimpse towards Rome” (*Ann.* II, 174). But the political danger from the Romanists was then very real,



took action to regulate University preaching. He was "a bitter enemy to those called Calvinists," and a high-handed ruler in more ways than one. As the peril from the Romanists diminished, the two-edged weapon of conformity came into play against the extreme men on the other side. Tests and subscriptions were becoming ominously popular. Schismatics were as bad as Jesuits in their disregard of law. The Protestant preachers had an uncomfortable habit of using the University sermons as a vehicle for attacking anything which they thought an abuse. They had no mercy, for instance, for non-residents. They were said to be determined "to preach non-residents out of their Benefices or Headships." They were no respecters of persons. Their invective—"Shameless Faces, Adders Ears, seared consciences"—lacked nothing in virility, and gained interest from the fact that their congregations knew exactly whom they meant. "Every youth can say, after the Sermon, here such a Governor was touched, here such a Doctor was disgraced."<sup>1</sup> In 1602 Vice-Chancellor Howson determined to reform these "grand enormities in preaching." John Sprint of Christ Church, who had attacked the regulations of the Church and criticised the rulers of the University, was sent to prison. Robert Troutbeck of Queen's, and even the Provost, Dr. Airay, came to the support of Sprint, and defended his attacks on the Vice-Chancellor at least as vigorously as his doctrinal views. The Vice-Chancellor complained to the Chancellor and Council. Royal Commissioners insisted on the submission of the offenders. Sprint and Troutbeck had to apologise in full Convocation, though Dr. Airay escaped the humiliation inflicted on his friends. The authorities triumphed. They even planned a Commission to put further irregularities down. They were resolved to quell insubordination, whether directed against the Establishment or against themselves. The conscientious Puritan found himself more and more in danger of exclusion from the Church which he had hoped to dominate and laboured to reform.

Yet even among Elizabethan churchmen Calvinistic influences were strong. The greatest of the Reformers, the men who had stirred the hearts of Europe, were above all else evangelists. Their aim was spiritual salvation. They cared for knowledge. They hated superstition. But they cared most to be delivered from sin. The Reformation broke down the old limits of authority. But some new authority was needed to give the new opinions consistency and shape. The fervour of the Protestants was thus diverted into dogma, and the demand for free inquiry yielded to the demand for rules of faith. Rome, it was felt, with her formidable influence and traditions could only be fought by

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* (II, 276).

strongly organised Churches, built on definite principles, with a discipline which had to be obeyed. Luther's theology stiffened into dogmatism. Calvin's had always been intensely dogmatic. But churchmen in England turned aside from the harsher aspects of Calvin's and Augustine's doctrine,<sup>1</sup> to concentrate upon more practical questions, the Sacraments, the validity of Orders, above all the right system of governing the Church. And here, while the Presbyterians maintained that the pattern of Church government could be found in Holy Writ alone, the supporters of the Elizabethan settlement took a wider view. To Cartwright Bishops and Archbishops were unscriptural. The Anglican hierarchy could not be reconciled with the spirit of the primitive Church. To Whitgift, on the other hand, though bred in Calvin's teaching, Episcopacy was the most reasonable and convenient system. Scripture prescribed no one and perfect plan. The only essentials were the right administration of the Sacraments and the preaching of God's Word.<sup>2</sup>

The distinction between the two great Schools was sharp. Neither Cartwright nor Whitgift were men to conciliate opponents. But a humbler and a more persuasive pleader was at hand, to lift the controversy into a larger air. Hooker, trained at Corpus in the friendship of Jewel and Rainolds, recognised to the last the influence of Calvin. But he became the most eloquent and logical defender of the position taken by the Established Church. He gave it a philosophy on which it could repose. Hooker's unconquerable shyness, which made him happy in a country parsonage and happier still perhaps as a bachelor in College rooms, could not impair his intellectual courage. The low voice and little stature which rendered him unimpressive in the pulpit, the "blessed bashfulness" which made him unable to look his pupils in the face, did not prevent him from appealing boldly to the first principles of government, to find a rational basis for the settlement which he preferred. The divine laws whose guidance both Churchman and Puritan acknowledged, were to be sought for not in Scripture only but in "all the sources of light and truth with which man finds himself encompassed," in the order of the universe, in nature and in life. God's reason

<sup>1</sup> The harsher aspects of the great doctrine of Predestination, which in the 39 Articles are to some extent avoided or disguised, appear only in the Lambeth Articles of 1595, where the Bishops seem to have been driven into an extreme position by attacks made on the doctrine at Oxford and Cambridge. (See Dr. Tulloch's *Rational Theology in England in the 17th Century*, to which I am obviously indebted here.)

<sup>2</sup> The two views are perhaps best illustrated by Cartwright's *Replie to an answer made of M. Doctor Whitegifte againste the Admonition to the Parliament* and Whitgift's *Defense of the Aunswere to the Admonition* in replying to Cartwright in 1574.

was embodied in Natural Law. Men recognised that law as binding, and to it all human institutions must conform. The Scriptures supplemented this Natural Law. The Church was built not on exclusive dogma but on catholicity of spirit: it might take many shapes. Its system was a rational and seemly form of government, which fulfilled the requirements of Scripture and fitted the temper and history of the nation. *The Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie* depended on the growth of Christian reason, and in Hooker's calm and luminous argument, sustained with rare beauty and stateliness of style, the spirit of Christian rationalism took its loftiest flight. The Anglo-Catholic theologians who followed claimed Hooker as their standard-bearer. But they allowed some of the wider aspects of his philosophy to disappear. The appeal to the authority of the early Fathers was nothing new in English theology,<sup>1</sup> but among the opponents of the Puritans it acquired a special force. Tradition and sacerdotalism grew stronger. The divine right of Holy Writ to settle every controversy was met by a new theory, the divine right of Bishops, successors of the Apostles, to interpret the teaching of the Church.<sup>2</sup> To the golden age of pure Catholic theology all doctrines and usages must be referred. And if the Puritan school grew narrow and aggressive in its dogma, forgot its early love of liberty and refused to tolerate independent thought, it must be confessed that the Anglo-Catholic school proved in its day of power as dangerous to freedom, as slow to seek the paths of conciliation and of peace.

In spite of religious divisions, however, the University prospered and grew. It is true that even in the latter years of the century we find dispensations granted because the number of Inceptors was so small.<sup>3</sup> This was felt to be discreditable, especially if Cambridge men were present at the *Comitia*, and besides that a small number of Inceptors provided only a small crop of fees. In law, divinity and medicine few of the higher degrees were taken, and there was generally an insufficient number of Doctors to depone.<sup>4</sup> But on the other hand Wood

<sup>1</sup> Cranmer and Jewel resorted to it freely. See also what Strype says in his *Life of Parker* (1821, II, 54) in regard to the Articles and the authority of the Church.

<sup>2</sup> Bancroft went far to make this claim. (See, *inter alia*, Hunt's *Religious Thought in England*, I, 86, and Mr. Mullinger's article in *D.N.B.*)

<sup>3</sup> E.g. in 1583, 1585, 1586, 1588 and 1602 (Clark, *Register*, II, i, 70). In 1585 the number of Inceptors in Arts is vaguely said to be barely half that of former years. But Clark's Tables (*Ib.* II, ii, 410) show that 67 M.As. incepted in that year, and these lists may not always be complete.

<sup>4</sup> The largest number of D.Ds. recorded in any one year under Elizabeth was 15 in 1596. But that number was exceptional: the average was barely 4. D.C.Ls. and M.Ds. were still fewer. But the B.Ds. were more numerous and rose in one exceptional year—1600—to 44. (*Ib.* II, ii, 411).



tells us that the number of Determining Bachelors was "in those times very great," and the tables compiled from the Registers on the whole bear out the statement.<sup>1</sup> If we may rely on the figures there collected, the number of Masters of Arts incepting in the last thirty years of Elizabeth's reign was rarely below sixty and was sometimes over eighty, though it fluctuated in a manner rather difficult to understand. It rose to a hundred and four in 1577. It dropped to forty-nine in 1597. The Determining Bachelors varied as widely. They numbered a hundred and fifty-six in 1574. They fell to sixty in 1581. They reached a hundred and fifty in 1587, and a hundred and seventy-seven in 1595. In most years they exceeded a hundred, and they numbered two hundred before the seventeenth century was far advanced.

The ages of the boys who went to Oxford were still often lower than they are to-day. We have cases of little fellows coming up, probably under the charge of tutors, at ten or twelve, and even at seven or eight—taken from school, suggests one sympathetic critic, "as birds out of the nest ere they be flidge." Matriculations at fourteen were not uncommon. But sixteen, seventeen or eighteen was a more usual age. A fair proportion of men matriculated at nineteen or twenty: entrances after that age were comparatively rare.<sup>2</sup> From time to time in the sixteenth century we have complaints that the character of the Universities is changing, that gay young men, who enjoy life more than study, are replacing the poor and serious students of an earlier day, that rich men's sons, who love dress and taverns and disorder, are ruffling and roystering where humble clerks and scholars dwelt of yore. "And for excuse, when they are charged with breach of all good order, thinke it sufficient to saie, that they be gentlemen, which griueth manie not a little."<sup>3</sup> Harrison even says that in his day it was hard for a poor man's child to come by a Fellowship. But the matriculation entries show that the description "Pleb. fil.," sometimes, no doubt, a little misleading, still overshadowed every other. Young men of famous names there were, but the

<sup>1</sup> Wood refers to 1582 (*Ann.* II, 210). Dr. Clark gives 121 Determining Bachelors for that year. (See his Tables, *Reg.* II, ii, 410-11).

<sup>2</sup> The figures given for 1581 in Dr. Clark's Table (*Reg.* II, ii, 421) are fairly typical, though the entries are unusually numerous that year:—one boy of 9, five of 10, eighteen of 11, forty-seven of 14, seventy-four of 15, ninety-five of 16, one hundred and eleven of 17, one hundred and twenty-nine of 18, one hundred and five of 19, eighty-five of 20, thirty-two of 21, etc. The total is exceptionally high: but the proportions were more or less normal.

<sup>3</sup> Harrison's *Description of England* (New Shakespeare Soc. 1877, I, 78). Harrison could speak both for Cambridge and for Oxford soon after the middle of the century.



sons of noblemen were comparatively few, and even in the palmy days of Queen Elizabeth the sons of knights and esquires were only a small proportion of the whole. The sons of gentlemen and lads indifferent to description ruled in the undergraduate world, and were quite content to rank as humble persons provided that they paid a corresponding fee.<sup>1</sup>

At Oxford, as all over the country, the comfort of life was increasing. The Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge had no rivals in Europe. One of them, cried a foreign observer, was worth ten Colleges abroad.<sup>2</sup> Their way of life was "most pleasant and liberal." They were fitter for lords and lawyers than for ragged clerks and butchers' sons. Ralph Agas, bringing out his map of Oxford about 1578, sang of

"A city seated rich in everything."

Panelled rooms had come into fashion. Fires and fireplaces were no longer rare. Good living was commoner: it had probably never been unknown. Men after forty, Harrison lamented, could "live like drone bees on the fat of colleges." Bachelors of Arts had flock beds and bolsters and down pillows.<sup>3</sup> Pictures and hangings and books were found. The older, stricter generation mourned over the increase of luxury. But the Colleges generally were crowded and the luxury of space at any rate was rare. Wood suggests that Leicester may have been to blame if the University in his day "became debauched and very loose."<sup>4</sup> But Leicester does not seem to have been backward in efforts at reform. A more secular atmosphere may have been replacing the old ecclesiastical traditions of the past.

Still many traditions of the mediæval clerks remained. In 1586 certain scholars of Magdalen went stealing deer in Shotover Forest, and one of them was imprisoned by the orders of Lord Norris. In return, when Lord Norris visited the city for Quarter Sessions, he was mobbed at the Bear Inn near All Saints': and, as he left Oxford, the Magdalen men fell upon his retinue and

<sup>1</sup> The "Pleb. fil." paid only 4*d.* on matriculation; no other rank paid less than 1*s.* But entries in the Matriculation Register were often inexact. The proportions of each rank as given vary a good deal, but the proportion of Knights' and Squires' sons tends to rise. In 1571 "Fil. Plebei" number 54, "Fil. generosi" 23, "Fil. equitis" and "armigeri," together, 10. In 1581 the corresponding numbers are 507, 173 and 92. In 1591 they are 99, 72 and 46. In 1601 they are 152, 111 and 75 (Clark, II, ii, 414). Conspicuous young men of fashion, a Howard, Herbert, Sidney, Stafford, Vere, were sometimes made M.As. by special decree of Convocation, e.g. in 1566, 1586, 1592 (Boase, *Reg.* I, 264, and Clark, II, i, 234-5).

<sup>2</sup> See the opinions quoted by Mullinger (II, 95-6 and 373-4).

<sup>3</sup> See the inventory of the goods of "Edwarde Beaumonte," 1552; quoted by Mr. Boase (*Reg.* I, xx).

<sup>4</sup> *Annals* (II, 231).

stoned them from their tower. Next year the ancient quarrels between North and South revived, and "were not pacified without blood and wounds." The Welsh were accused of fomenting the disorder and of giving special trouble at Oriel and All Souls. The roughness of life was by no means over. Freshmen at Colleges still had to face ordeals. The "salting" of Francis Bacon at Trinity, Cambridge, had its counterpart in the "tucking" of Ashley Cooper at Exeter later on. A traveller like Giordano Bruno, who visited in turn the chief Universities of Europe, found the graduates of Oxford ignorant and pedantic, the undergraduates too fond of beer, and Oxford men generally so arrogant in their demeanour that they would have tried the patience of a Job.<sup>1</sup>

One foible, vanity in dress, seems to have been characteristic of students all over Europe. It played a disproportionate part in the Statutes. The authorities protested against it again and again. Taverning and brawling, bull-baiting and cock-fighting were temptations not always resisted. Elaborate mummeries, licensed by old custom, still marked the Christmas season.<sup>2</sup> A fragment of a Proctor's diary in 1582 speaks of torch-light processions, starting with "a clubbing out of al housis," in which drums and bagpipes, poets crowned with garlands, and orations at College gates from Sir Parson and Sir Poticary are curiously mingled.<sup>3</sup> Stage plays and players fascinated boys at least as readily in those days as in ours. But it was one thing to approve of the University stage with its Latin dramas, written by scholars and acted by students. It was quite another thing to support the "light and decayed persons," who for filthy lucre set up in open places unlawful, hurtful and pernicious shows. Professional players, it was thought, distracted scholars from their studies, encouraged lewdness, even helped to spread the plague.<sup>4</sup> Convocation, pressed by the Council and the Chancellor, passed decrees to put them down. Puritan feeling reinforced the efforts

<sup>1</sup> But even Oxford was better than Wittenberg, "the foul sewer of the Devil" in the view of a Jena Professor, or Marburg, where the morals were such "as Bacchus would prescribe to his Mænads and Venus to her Cupids." See the quotations given by Mr. Mullinger (II, 100, 284 and 422). But I do not agree with Mr. Mullinger that Oxford between 1582 and 1584 was "at its lowest ebb."

<sup>2</sup> For the ancient festivities beginning on Dec. 6, St. Nicholas' day—he was the patron saint of children—and ending on Dec. 28, the festival of the Holy Innocent, see two interesting articles on the Boy Bishop by C. H. Evelyn White in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association* for 1905. If old customs altered, the old traditions of festivity remained.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Boas quotes the Diary of Richard Madox, a Fellow of All Souls, now in the British Museum (*Univ. Drama*, 160-1).

<sup>4</sup> See the Statutes of 1584 (*Reg. L*, 242<sup>b</sup>, and Wood, *Ann.* II, 221).

of the authorities. If *Hamlet* was acted in Elizabethan Oxford, it was not with the University's assent. But Shakespeare's colleagues were not easily suppressed. The Queen's players, the Lord Admiral's, even Lord Leicester's the Chancellor's own, continued in spite of Statutes to pay visits to the town.<sup>1</sup> The University often with doubtful diplomacy paid them small sums to go away.<sup>2</sup> Finally, in 1593, encouraged by the Privy Council, Town and Gown combined to prohibit "common Players" altogether "within the compasse of fyve myles."

Puritan critics of the stage were less successful in their efforts to stop acting within College walls. University drama, encouraged by authority, developed vigorously in Elizabethan days. Edwardes and Calhill had their successors at Oxford.<sup>3</sup> It was part of the duty of the Christ Church Censors to superintend arrangements for the College plays. William Gager, who went up to Christ Church as a Westminster scholar in 1574, was an admirable writer both in English and in Latin. He stepped into the front rank of University playwrights when he produced *Meleager* in 1582. And his remarkable tragedy *Ulysses Redux* gave rise to one of the most interesting controversies of the day. John Rainolds, who had acted as a boy before the Queen but had grown graver with advancing years, was invited to see Gager's play on a Sunday at Shrovetide,<sup>4</sup> and wrote explaining why he would not come. He objected now to men in "wemens raiment," a thing which Scripture and Calvin alike disapproved. He objected to Sunday performances. He objected to many points which "godlie fathers" and even heathen commonwealths condemned. And when Gager published his play and rashly sent him a copy, with an Epilogue intended to answer arguments of this kind, Rainolds returned to the attack with stronger language, and denounced acting as no better than dancing round the Maypole, drinking in taverns, robbing orchards or stealing deer.

<sup>1</sup> See Boas (*Shakespeare and the Universities*, Ch. II), on the question of the acting of *Hamlet* and on the whole subject: also Madan (*Oxford Books*, II, 49.)

<sup>2</sup> For these payments and for some of the Privy Council Orders see Boas (as above and *Univ. Drama*, Ch. X). The sweeping order of 1593 is given by Wood (*Ann.* II, 254-6). It is signed by Burghley, Essex and Buckhurst, among others. But we hear of interludes being acted and causing trouble in 1598 (*Ib.* II, 268), and the Queen's players and others were in Oxford, and were bribed to leave by the University, several times between 1584 and 1604.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. "Dr. Edes of Oxford" among "our best for Tragedie," a Christ Church man, Proctor in 1583 and Prebendary in 1586. Dr. John Case also in his book on Ethics in 1585 defended academic plays. (Boas, *Univ. Drama*, 163-4 and 228).

<sup>4</sup> The invitation was sent in Feb. 1592, by Thomas Thornton of Christ Church, to whom Rainolds' first letter of criticism was addressed.



Gager replied with a temperate plea for the academic drama. Scholars who joined in this were no infamous professionals. They brought no "lewd, vast, dissolute, wicked, impudent, prodigall, monstrous humor" on to the stage. They produced "some learned Poëme or other," to recreate themselves, to train their style and memories and diction, "to trye what mettell is in evrye one." Their Choir Masters were no fiddling Neros. Their dancing was comely and honest: he saw no cause "in reason, charytye or christian libertye" to condemn it. Their manners were seemly and decent. There was no "kissinge of bewtifull boyes." As for dressing men in women's garments, that charge should not be pressed too far. Clothes could not defile the body, though the manner of wearing them might. He had known an actor forget his dress altogether, and instead of making "a conge like a woman," make "a legg like a man."

But Rainolds was not to be appeased. He swept aside angrily the plea of moral benefit. He pointed, with too much violence but effectively enough, to the possibilities of mischief. What good purpose could it serve to inflame tender youths with love, to entice them to dalliance, to inure them to dissolute railings and brain-sick conceits? In vain the Professor of Civil Law, no less a person than Gentilis, came forward to defend College plays. Rainolds replied to him with needless truculence. Even a quotation from Augustine, which Rainolds found it difficult to verify, failed to assuage the storm. And when his indictment was published some years later, in a book entitled *Th' overthrow of Stage-Playes*, the Puritans found in it unanswerable evidence of the theatrical evils they deplored.<sup>1</sup>

The year 1584, which saw a decree directed against professional players in University precincts, was marked by a series of fresh complaints from the Chancellor against University disorders. We hear again of looseness in Apparel, of incivilities at meetings of the Masters, of the abuse of dispensations and the neglect of lecturers. We are "crediblie informed" that Ministers and Deacons went into the field to play at football, which was closely connected with disorder in the Chancellor's mind.<sup>2</sup> The worst offenders, it seems, were beneficed clergy, who preferred games and quarrels at Oxford to parish work at home. Masters of Art in Convocations and Congregations were reminded that they ought to speak in Latin, and, what was more difficult, to listen with patience to what was said by others of themselves. Scholars

<sup>1</sup> Gager's protest was written in July 1592. Rainolds retorted in May 1593. The controversy between Rainolds and Gentilis continued till March 1594. *Th' overthrow of Stage-Playes* was published in 1599. See Boas (*University Drama*, Ch. X).

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. Gibson's *Statutes* (431-4).

were not to sit on Penniless Bench at Carfax or to "gadd vpp and downe the streates." The old rules were to be remembered and the Statutes more carefully observed. But if Chancellors were stern in reproving excesses, if an Archbishop like Whitgift, who had proved himself at Cambridge a high-minded and high-handed reformer, dwelt forcibly on the unsatisfactory features of Oxford life,<sup>1</sup> there were not wanting voices on the other side. To Nicholas Fitzherbert, an Exeter man strongly attached to the old religion, who became a student at Douai and a member of Cardinal Allen's household, there was little wrong with Elizabethan Oxford except its abandonment of the faith he loved. He dwells on its fine air, its fertile soil, its Colleges magnificent in form and "eternal in solidity," its admirable exercises, its large output of degrees. He has nothing but praise for its discipline and order—a little freer perhaps in the Halls than in the Colleges—for the "modesty, taciturnity, obedience" of the younger men.<sup>2</sup> And Nicholas Bond, the President of Magdalen, who as Vice-Chancellor had the best right to an opinion, found a good deal to be said in answer to the strictures which Hatton, soon after his election to the Chancellorship, expressed. Bond refused to allow the Chancellor's complaints to be read in Convocation. He denied that disorders continued. The suggestion that the Professors neglected their lectures was "utterlie untrue." Some disputations might have been omitted: Congregation had been too ready to grant dispensations on that point. But subscription to the Articles was regularly insisted on. Latin talk was duly kept up: Magdalen scholars at any rate "dare not presume" to speak anything else. If in certain Houses they were less particular, it must be remembered that the Vice-Chancellor's authority did not extend to all the Colleges' private concerns. As regarded dress, "the reformation of Apparell" was not perhaps as perfect as it might be: but the irregularities complained of neither increased nor continued, as alleged.<sup>3</sup> We do not know how Hatton took the rebuke. But it seems that Bond's successor induced Convocation to make some fresh regulations in answer to the Chancellor's appeal.

The world was changing rapidly. The empire of the Schoolmen had departed. Science was awaking. Mathematics were

<sup>1</sup> Most of the "proceeders in arts," said Whitgift, among other strictures, spent only a third of the time required in lectures and in duties at Oxford, "but rather in some gentleman's house or curate's place." (See Strype's *Life of Whitgift*, I, 610, and Mullinger, II, 283-4).

<sup>2</sup> See *Nicolai Fierberti Oxoniensis Academiae Descriptio*, reprinted in Plummer's *Elizabethan Oxford*. It is to be feared that Fitzherbert's praises are less exact than Whitgift's complaints.

<sup>3</sup> Wood gives Hatton's complaints and Bond's specific replies (*Ann.* II, 241-5).

making way. The old terminology was beginning to contain new meanings. The Natural Philosophy of the seventeenth century was to be a very different thing from the Natural Philosophy of earlier days. But educational traditions are slow to alter, and in spite of new ideas and information the ancient rules and manuals survived. The Arts course probably suffered as dispensations increased. Greek and Hebrew Professors were appointed, but those languages made less way than scholars might have hoped. We hear little of the passionate interest in Greek which had inspired the age of Erasmus. Hebrew was valued chiefly for theology, but polemics were dearer than theology to most divines. Moreover, even Professors could not always count on a sufficient audience in days when College teaching was encroaching more and more upon the Schools. History was still largely based upon credulity. We find Polydore Vergil held up to censure for rejecting the story of "Brute and his successors."<sup>1</sup> The study of Civil Law was unpopular with the clergy on one side and with the Common lawyers on the other, though it received fresh life from the appointment of Gentilis as Professor in 1587.<sup>2</sup> Mathematics were more studied in London than at either University.<sup>3</sup> "Matters mechanical" were regarded as the business of merchants, seamen and almanac-makers, into which academical people thought it "a kind of dishonour unto learning to descend"<sup>4</sup>: and an opinion so venerable has its exponents still. In astronomy Ptolemy still filled a larger place than Copernicus. Strabo and Pliny were still authorities on geography, though Columbus and Vasco da Gama had re-drawn the world. Text-books on rhetoric still dated from the orators of Rome. Logic and rhetoric, "the arts of arts, the one for judgement, the other for ornament," were taught, as one of the greatest of Elizabethans pleaded, too superficially and too early. Aristotle still claimed his old supremacy. At Paris indeed an audacious reformer, Peter Ramus, had arisen, who was destined to perish with other dangerous Reformers on St. Bartholomew's eve, but who had challenged the authority of Aristotle and startled the logicians of Europe first. Ramus produced a new and brilliant text-book upon logic, which many great authorities condemned. But it won wide popularity in the Protestant Universities of the Continent. The younger generation welcomed it at Cambridge. Milton re-edited it a hundred years after its author's death. Even at Oxford there were

<sup>1</sup> In the Continuation of Stowe's *Annals* (Mullinger, II, 421).

<sup>2</sup> But after some three years he left Oxford to practise in London.

<sup>3</sup> Yet the earliest Gresham Professors of Astronomy were Oxford men (Mullinger, II, 402, n, and Wood, *Ann.* II, 263).

<sup>4</sup> See Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* (ed. Wright, 88).



scholars ready to give it a hearing, for Ramus, though impatient of the Schoolmen's processes, still believed in disputation as the best method of developing the reasoning powers of men.<sup>1</sup>

But at Oxford the hold of Aristotle proved in the end too strong to resist. Bachelors and undergraduates were ordered to lay aside contentious authors and to follow only Aristotle and those that defended him. Questions, "disagreeing from the antient and true Philosophy," were to be excluded in future from the Schools.<sup>2</sup> Authority was still on the watch to discourage revolutionary forms of knowledge. Theology was still in leading-strings, though it occupied some of the best brains of the age. Protestants might struggle to put Calvin in the place of Aquinas, but even Calvinistic philosophers could not shake off the influence of the Schoolmen of the past. A playwright who knew both Universities suggested<sup>3</sup>:

"That lordly are the buildings of the town,  
Spacious the rooms, and full of pleasant walks;  
But for the doctors, how that they be learned,  
It may be meanly."

Francis Bacon, surveying his own generation, traced to the Universities the theological contentions which violated "truth, sobriety, or peace."<sup>4</sup> His luminous observation marked the weak spots in the University system, the want of the right sort of early preparation in the students, the failure of the accustomed exercises to stimulate originality or experiment, the insufficient pay assigned to teachers, the professional character of an education which made its chief appeal to young men bent upon success in their careers.<sup>5</sup>

Yet in spite of dead formulas and lively contentions the cause of learning made way. Leicester's Press began to produce books which roused the envy of London printers, and brought Oxford and Cambridge together in an effort to put down piratical publications. Booksellers licensed to sell wine and ale, to eke out their

<sup>1</sup> On the revolt of Ramus, which began in 1563, see Mullinger (*Cambridge*, II, 406 sq.) and Waddington, *Ramus: sa Vie, ses Ecrits et ses Opinions*. Mr. Mullinger describes the *Dialectica* of Ramus as "an attempt at a 'Logic made easy.'"

<sup>2</sup> Wood (*Ann.* II, 226). And see the Statute of March 1586, already quoted (*Gibson*, 437).

<sup>3</sup> Robert Greene in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. (See Ward's *Old English Drama*, 1878, p. 80).

<sup>4</sup> See Spedding (*Letters and Life*, I, 82).

<sup>5</sup> See Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* (Wright's ed. 78 sq.). It was originally published in 1605. And see also the valuable pages on University education about this time in Mullinger (II, Ch. 5).

literary ventures,<sup>1</sup> gave way to better things. Joseph Barnes, admitted as bookseller in 1573, secured in 1585 a loan of a hundred pounds from the University to set up a Press, and a Star Chamber ordinance sanctioned one Press and one apprentice besides a chief printer at Oxford. Barnes' first publication was a broad-side welcoming the Chancellor under whose auspices this revival had begun. In the same period a great merchant like Gresham founded a College in London, which some feared as a rival to the Universities, but which drew for its teachers on Oxford and Cambridge men. A great public servant like Bodley won wider immortality by restoring the Library which Duke Humphrey had endowed.<sup>2</sup> Visitors of distinction made their pilgrimage to Oxford, some like Giordano Bruno little noticed, others with all the apparatus of a Court. In 1579 Leicester accompanied thither John Casimir, a son of the Elector Palatine, and "both were entertained with all the varieties that the Muses could afford." In 1583 he brought over in state from Rycote a Polish potentate, variously described,<sup>3</sup> who had come to England "to see the Fashions and admire the wisdom of the Queen." Alasco had a great reception. The Vice-Chancellor and Doctors saluted him in scarlet. The students were marshalled "in their formalities" in the streets. Sermons, disputations, plays were given. William Gager was ready with two new Latin pieces—*Riuales*, a rather boisterous comedy,<sup>4</sup> and *Dido*, a statelier drama, which included more elaborate scenes. In January 1585 Leicester came again to Oxford, and saw two more plays, *Meleager* among them, into which a reference to Philip Sidney, who was present, had been introduced. "Mr. Lilie" lent clothes for the occasion, thus linking the performance with another well-known Elizabethan name.<sup>5</sup> Before the Chancellor left that time, he heard

<sup>1</sup> See Madan's *Early Oxford Press* (274-5) and the same author's *Brief Account of the University Press* (Ch. II). 1585 seems to be the right date for the loan to Barnes, whose shop was first in High Street opposite St. Mary's and afterwards round the corner at the West end of the church.

<sup>2</sup> Bodley's first offer to the Vice-Chancellor arrived in Feb. 1598 (Wood, *Ann.* II, 265-8). But the story of the Bodleian belongs to the 17th century.

<sup>3</sup> Wood (*Ann.* II, 215) calls him Albertus Alaskie or Laskie or de Alasco. Nichols calls him (*Progresses*, 1823, II, 405 sq.) the Baron Alaskie. Leicester called him "Ye Palatin Lasky" and "Ye Prince Laskey." Dr. Boas styles him more decorously Albertus Alasco, Prince Palatine of Siradia in Poland, and supplements other accounts of the visit with valuable details (*Univ. Drama*, 179 sq.).

<sup>4</sup> Rainolds protested against the drunken scenes in *Riuales*. This play was never printed, but *Dido* is preserved in MS. at Christ Church, and parts of it have been printed. (*Ib.* 183, n.).

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Boas (*Univ. Drama*, 193-5) gives details of expenses from the Christ Church accounts, and makes the interesting suggestion that the

a disputation at St. Mary's between the two distinguished brothers John and Edward Rainolds, John, already famous as a zealous Protestant, and Edward, a moderate Romanist less known to fame. They both argued so well that nobody could decide between them. Neither was converted, and neither cause succumbed.

In 1592 the Queen paid her second visit to Oxford. Much had happened in the quarter of a century since she had ridden away. Her power and her success were now undoubted. Her reputation filled the world. The days of peril and uncertainty were over. But the days of youth, romance and passionate enthusiasm were over too. Leicester was dead. Burghley had outlived his friends and most of his own children. The England which he and his Mistress had exalted was turning already towards new ideals. The contemporary account of the visit written by a Cambridge observer is rather joyless and censorious in tone.<sup>1</sup> Yet Elizabeth still held the hearts of her subjects, and the welcome of scholars and citizens in Oxford must have been as staunchly and wordily loyal as of old. In August a Committee was appointed to make arrangements for the Queen's reception, on the same lines as before, but with more attention, it seems, to order and detail. The Colleges were to be rated to contribute, but again Christ Church had to bear the heaviest charge.<sup>2</sup> Instructions were issued for Heads of Houses to deliver to their "companies." All members of the University were to appear in academic dress—graduates in their habits and hoods according to their degree, scholars in their gowns and caps. Verses, prudently corrected by College Deans and others, were to be set up in public places. Orations were to be provided if need be. Lectures were to be assiduously kept. And students who could not gain admittance to the plays were forbidden, under pain

"apparell" lent came from John Lyly, who had recently at any rate been at the head of Lord Oxford's company of players. Lyly had been at Magdalen ten years before.

<sup>1</sup> *The Grand Reception and Entertainment of Queen Elizabeth at Oxford in 1592* was written, it seems, some 10 or 11 years later by Philip Stringer of St. John's College, Cambridge, one of two Cambridge representatives sent to attend their Chancellor, Burghley. Wood's account (*Ann.* II, 248-53) is brief. The regulations for the occasion are given in substance by Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 228 sq.) and more fully by Twyne (XVII, 174-6). See also Nichols (*Progresses*, 1823, III, 144 sq.) and Boas (Ch. XI).

<sup>2</sup> Gutch (*Collect. Curiosa*, I, 190-1) gives a list of the incomes on which he thinks the Colleges were taxed. Mr. Plummer (*Elizabethan Oxford*, xxviii) finds the Magdalen contribution to be £18 10s., on an income of £1,200, and suggests a tax of 1½ per cent. all round. I am doubtful. The Christ Church *liber computi* quoted by Dr. Boas (*Univ. Drama*, 253) puts the Christ Church charges at £177.10.9—towards which £50 was "allowed by the univ'sitie."



of imprisonment and other punishment, to make "outcries or undecent noyse" outside.

On Friday afternoon, the 22nd September, the Queen drove in from Woodstock, with a brilliant retinue of councillors and nobles, old and young. Bond, the Vice-Chancellor, President of Magdalen, Dean James of Christ Church, Cole of Corpus, Savile of Merton, Hovenden of All Souls, were conspicuous among the Heads of Houses who received her at Godstow. The weather was bad, but her Majesty consented to hear a speech, if it were not too long. Further on the Mayor and his brethren presented a cupful of angels. At Carfax there was a Greek speech from the Greek Professor, at Christ Church another welcome from the Public Orator, and all the way from the North Gate the plaudits of the scholars and the crowd. The Queen stayed once again at Christ Church, and as before, disputations, plays and sermons were among the delights provided for the week.

On the Saturday the Queen appeared at St. Mary's, where the stage was again erected in the church, and heard a disputation in Moral Philosophy. Savile acted as Moderator.<sup>1</sup> Winwood, afterwards a Secretary of State, was one of the Proctors. Two Fellows of St. John's, Gwinne and Buckeridge,<sup>2</sup> made the most successful speeches. The Queen found the Public Orator too long, and said so, whereupon the Proctors cut the others short. But Buckeridge was graciously encouraged to go on. Sunday was reserved for sermons and a play. On Monday and the succeeding days there were the ordinary lectures in Arts in the early morning, divinity lectures by Thomas Holland<sup>3</sup> and John Rainolds, *Quodlibets* in the Schools by Masters and Bachelors of Arts, and lectures in law and physic, Greek and Hebrew, if the full programme was carried out. On Wednesday there was a Music lecture with illustrations. One day the Lords of the Council were nobly entertained at Merton. Burghley was there, and Savile sang his praises. There were panegyrics too on Lord Howard, the veteran of the Armada fight, and on Essex, not yet the hero of Cadiz. And in a disputation afterwards the Greek Professor, Henry Cuffe, who was to die at Tyburn for his share in Essex's conspiracy, discussed in a prophetic vein the question whether the dissensions of citizens were of service to the State. There was a banquet also given to the Queen's Lords and

<sup>1</sup> For Savile's speech see *Elizabethan Oxford* (263-71). The theses included "judicial astrology" and the possibility of reconciling arms and philosophy in a State.

<sup>2</sup> Gwinne or Gwynne was a dramatist and became a notable physician. Buckeridge was afterwards Head of his College and Tutor to Laud.

<sup>3</sup> Holland became Rector of Exeter in 1592.

Councillors at Magdalen, which cost the College some twenty-six pounds. Burghley attended it and Howard and the French Ambassador, and many another bearer of a noble name. Buckhurst, the Chancellor, was among them, and Essex and young Southampton—"quo non formosior alter"—already famous for his grace and charm. John Sanford, Chaplain of the College, described the ceremony in verses which might almost have deserved a compliment from Southampton's most illustrious friend.<sup>1</sup>

The chief ceremonies at which the Queen was present were the disputations and the plays.<sup>2</sup> On Tuesday, the 26th September, she listened to arguments in Natural Philosophy and Medicine. Giles Thompson of All Souls, afterwards a Bishop, won Burghley's praise by cutting short his compliments and proving himself brief, learned and discreet. A certain merry Doctor, Principal Ratcliff of St. Alban Hall,<sup>3</sup> being called on to consider whether air or meat and drink most affected the human body, challenged any man to prove that air alone could produce so fat a belly and so large a waist as his. But there is no reason to think that this academic humour offended the taste of the Virgin Queen. Dr. John Case, a man of real distinction, began a speech, but was stopped by the Proctors, determined that day at any rate to put prolixity down. Next afternoon, however, the speakers had their revenge. Disputants in Law discussed the question whether a judge ought to give judgments against his conscience. Disputants in Divinity, including the Vice-Chancellor, the Dean of Christ Church, and ten Doctors waiting in their scarlet gowns who never got a chance, had to decide whether it was lawful to dissemble in the cause of religion. Dr. Westphaling, the Bishop of Hereford, took so long in summing up the question, that the Queen, who wished to speak herself, sent twice to cut him short. But the Bishop had his speech by heart and dared not alter or reduce it, and the Queen was so weary or so much annoyed that she went back to Christ Church without speaking at all.

Next day Elizabeth received the Heads of Houses and others in her lodging, and spoke her mind to them, says Wood, "in the

<sup>1</sup> Neither Wood nor Stringer mentions this banquet. But a Magdalen *computus* gives details of the cost. The verses written by John Sanford are printed by Mr. Plummer. (See *Eliz. Oxf.* xxviii-ix and 275 sq.). Southampton was still under 20, but already a Cambridge M.A.

<sup>2</sup> Wood (*Ann.* II, 249-50) speaks of Orations provided by the Colleges "to be spoken to the Queen at her entrance into them," some of which were performed. But there is no evidence that the Queen visited any College except Christ Church either in 1592 or in 1566.

<sup>3</sup> Probably not Edward Ratcliff of Cambridge, as Nichols suggests (*Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, 1823, III, 157).

Latin Tongue.”<sup>1</sup> But her mind was very gracious. She dwelt chiefly on the burden of government and her care for the State. She had appreciated all their exercises and their learning. But she valued their love above everything else. She was not too familiar with Latin, but a thousand tongues would not suffice to speak her thanks. If the University was to endure for ever, it must care first for the worship of God, not according to every man’s opinions, but as God’s law and the Queen’s required. She would bid them do nothing against the consciences of Christians.<sup>2</sup> She would die rather than ordain anything forbidden by Holy Scripture.<sup>3</sup> But—did she address herself particularly to Rainolds?—they must not go faster than the laws.<sup>4</sup> Every man should study to obey his superiors, not making a law for himself, but following the laws prescribed for all alike. Above all, let them be united. Unity, like obedience, was essential to their strength.<sup>5</sup>

The plays provided on the Sunday and the Tuesday were described as mean performances by a Cambridge critic difficult to please. He praised the Queen’s patience in listening to them. But Stringer’s grudging verdict seems to be ill-founded. Money was not spared to make the plays effective.<sup>6</sup> The Master of the Revels was called in to help. Two popular Latin comedies were selected. One of them, *Bellum Grammaticale*, acted on the Sunday, was probably written by Leonard Hutten, who was said to be equally good at writing and at acting plays. It was a dramatic version of a well-known work, in which one of the Italian humanists of the Renaissance had tried to explain the irregularities of Latin grammar by depicting a civil war between the parts of speech.<sup>7</sup> Hutten brought on to the stage in mimic warfare two rival Kings, the Verb and Noun, rallying the nations of words to their standards, falling on each other with battalions of Adverbs and Prepositions, Gerunds and Supines. The

<sup>1</sup> The Queen’s speech on Sept. 28, 1592, is given by Plummer (*Eliz. Oxf.* 271–3). See also the Fulman MSS. in Corpus Library (IV, 155<sup>b</sup>–157<sup>a</sup>), where, however, the date is surely wrong.

<sup>2</sup> “Contra conscientiam vere Christianam.”

<sup>3</sup> A Greek and a Latin Bible had been presented to the Queen.

<sup>4</sup> Wood says (*Ann.* II, 251) that the Queen “schooled Dr. John Rainolds for his obstinate preciseness,” before beginning her speech.

<sup>5</sup> Stringer’s statement that he was at the time in attendance on Burghley elsewhere disposes, if accurate, of the tradition, which Wood mentions, that the Queen stopped her speech to offer the old Lord Treasurer a seat (*Eliz. Oxf.* 261).

<sup>6</sup> Indeed it seems that the Oxford productions were on the whole more lavish and elaborate than those at Cambridge. Christ Church spent £31.2.2 on the plays in 1592 (Boas, *Univ. Drama*, 253).

<sup>7</sup> The *Bellum Grammaticale* of Andrea Guarna, published at Cremona in 1511 (See J. Bolte, *Andrea Guarnas Bellum Grammaticale*, etc., Berlin, 1908).



elaborate pedantry had its vein of wit and humour, perhaps more acceptable in those days than in ours. Gager's *Rinales* was acted on the Tuesday, and with the undergraduates, we may be sure, it lost nothing in interest from the fact that John Rainolds' attack and Gager's answer were already known well in the Oxford world. Gager must have felt that he had won his battle when the Vice-Chancellor, the Proctors and the Dean of Christ Church joined the Committee responsible for producing the plays,<sup>1</sup> and when the Heads of the University undertook to find substitutes for any actors unable to perform.

On Thursday, the 28th September, the Queen took leave and drove away. There may be grounds for Stringer's unkindly reference to the "long tedious ovation" which the Junior Proctor made. There may have been tedium and prolixity too in the loyal Latin verses hung out on the walls, at St. Mary's and All Souls, at University and Magdalen, as the cavalcade wound along the street. The

"Nympha senescentis rarissima gloria mundi" <sup>2</sup>

was growing old like the world about her, though no courtly flatterers suggested what the Nymph was unwilling to allow. But there was genuine affection in the tears of the people who crowded from all quarters to bid her good-bye. There was affection too in the response which she made them, in the brief prayer with which she parted from the Masters on Shotover Hill. "Farewell, dear Oxford, God bless thee! God bless thee and increase thy sons!" Elizabeth, as she claimed in her speech at Christ Church, had done all that a ruler could do to deliver the nation from perils abroad and divisions at home. For the scholars of Oxford she had preserved their old inheritance. It was for them to guard it and enlarge it in the years to come.

<sup>1</sup> Gager, Hutten and Gwinne were members, among others, of this Committee (Clark, *Reg.* II, i. 230).

<sup>2</sup> See Carleton's verses printed by Nichols (*Progresses*, 1823, III, 180).

CHAPTER XIV  
THE LATER TUDOR COLLEGES :  
TRINITY, ST. JOHN'S AND JESUS

TRINITY COLLEGE and St. John's were founded within a few weeks of each other in the spring of 1555. Both rose upon the ruins of monastic Houses. Both owed their endowment to the generosity of new men, who had grown rich under the changes of the Tudors, but who had retained their sympathy with the old ideas. Sir Thomas White found fortune as a clothier or tailor, held London for Queen Mary as Lord Mayor, and gave much of his wealth to help the cause of education, at St. John's, at Gloucester Hall and at the Merchant Taylors' School. Sir Thomas Pope amassed a greater fortune from the opportunities open to Tudor politicians, and returned to the scholars of Trinity College some part of the spoils which he had gathered from the Church.

Thomas Pope was a striking example of a successful official in Tudor days. In 1532 he was a subordinate in the Court of Chancery. He owed something to the patronage of Audley. He was the friend of a greater Chancellor, Sir Thomas More. He was the dear friend also of Sir Nicholas Bacon. He found it possible and lucrative to work with Cromwell. He became Treasurer of Henry's Court of Augmentation. He had his share in the Dissolution of the Monasteries. One unverified tradition has said that his sister was a Godstow nun. At any rate he secured some thirty manors which had once been in the possession of the monks, and became a great Oxfordshire landlord. "He could have rode in his owne lands," says Aubrey, "from Cogges (by Witney) to Banbury, about 18 miles."<sup>1</sup> Tittenhanger, a seat of the great Abbots of St. Albans, became his principal home. He received post after post, was knighted and admitted to the Privy Council. Under Queen Mary he enjoyed great influence. He worked with Bonner. He must have been

<sup>1</sup> *Brief Lives* (ed. Clark, II, 158). Pope secured properties also in Bermondsey, Deptford and Clerkenwell. He took over lands and granted long leases in return for large fines, which paid for the fee simple. War-ton's *Life* of him is full of material, but should be checked by Dr. Blakiston's more reliable accounts in his history of *Trinity College* (Ch. II) and in *D.N.B.*

known to Cardinal Pole. He acted for a time as guardian of Elizabeth. He brought her one of her earliest offers of marriage. He had the tact to win her confidence while retaining her sister's. But he died within three months of her accession, and he would have felt little sympathy with the changes of her reign. His body, first buried in St. Stephen's, Walbrook, was removed later to Trinity Chapel. His portrait, and that of the widow who survived him as Foundress,<sup>1</sup> hang in the College Hall. His "picture carved in stone" stands over the Hall door. His wealth, generously used, endowed more than one family which long maintained a connection with the College.<sup>2</sup> Most of his fine plate perished in the Civil War. Some of his plans have perished also. But his scholars still pray for the Knight, their Founder, and for the Lady Elizabeth his wife, deceased, "by whose Liberality we are here brought up in Godliness and Learning."

In February 1555 Sir Thomas Pope bought the site of the College and the buildings on it. Dr. George Owen, the fortunate physician whose property stretched from Godstow into Oxford, and William Martyn of Oxford joined in the sale. On the 8th March Pope procured Letters Patent from Philip and Mary, to found a College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity for a President, twelve graduate Fellows and eight Scholars.<sup>3</sup> On the 28th a Charter of Erection conveyed it to its new owners.<sup>4</sup> A year later the revenues were handed over and the members began to reside. On the 1st May 1556 the Statutes were signed by Pope and his wife. On the 30th Robert Morwent of Corpus admitted the President, Thomas Slythurst, with twelve Fellows and seven Scholars.<sup>5</sup> Next day Mass was said and a great banquet given. The early Fellows were largely drawn from Bachelors of Arts at Exeter and Queen's.<sup>6</sup> Some were Northerners, some were from the West. But none of them, it seems, were strictly qualified under the Statutes, which gave a pre-

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Blount was probably Pope's second wife. She was associated with him in founding the College. After his death she married Sir Hugh Poulet or Paulet, whose descendants appear in the College history. (See *Trin. Coll. Ch. II*).

<sup>2</sup> On this point see Dr. Blakiston's notes (*Ib.* 44-9).

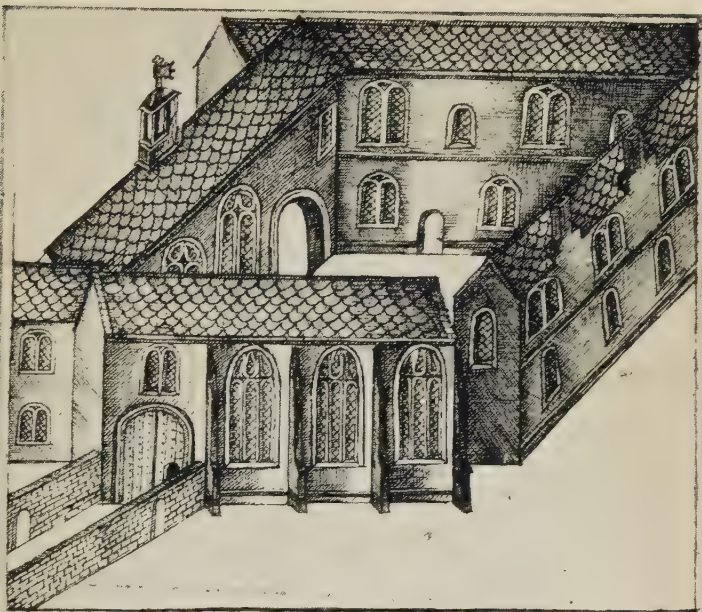
<sup>3</sup> There was also to be a free school at Hook Norton, but in 1557 four additional Scholars were substituted for this.

<sup>4</sup> The President, 8 Fellows and 4 undergraduate Scholars are mentioned in this grant.

<sup>5</sup> An eighth Scholar was added in October, and 4 more in 1557.

<sup>6</sup> Wood (*Colls.* 518) names 3 Fellows of Exeter, 3 Scholars of Queen's, one B.A. of Magdalen and one Scholar of Corpus. Warton gives in the Appendix to his *Life of Pope* (ed. 1780, pp. 380-430) a detailed account of the first President, Fellows and Scholars, and he describes there many of the College documents, which I should have been glad to be allowed to see.





Urbis at egressæ iam mœnia, proxima sedes  
 Occurrit Thomæ sumptibus aucta Popi.  
 Quam sacrosancta triadis cognomen habere  
 Inssit mauratus miles, equestre Venus.  
 Huius adhuc teneros fœtus, pia mater adauget  
 Coniunx, tam digno coniuge digna suo.



ference to Oxfordshire and to places where the Founder had property or ties. Later, however, the limitations in the Statutes brought in names from the Midlands and the South. Hampdens and Dugdales, Lenthalls and Dormers, Lucys, Fetteplaces, Newdigates and others began to figure in the College lists.

Of the Founder's many estates, Wroxton, Balscote and other Oxford properties were settled on the College. They were let for the most part on very long leases and they brought valuable reversions when these leases came to an end. Garsington Rectory was added before Pope's death. It served to increase the income of the President, and it served also in time of pestilence as a refuge for members of the College. Other property accumulated slowly. Gifts of money and books and plate came in. The Founder himself contributed some vestments and some splendid silver.<sup>1</sup> At the end of the sixteenth century the external revenues of the College amounted to some two hundred and forty pounds.<sup>2</sup> But on the other hand the yearly charges came to two hundred and sixty-three. The seventeenth century brought in more endowments. In the days of James I a useful legacy of five hundred pounds was secured under singular if picturesque conditions.<sup>3</sup> As the old leases fell in the College income advanced quickly. Before the Civil War began its revenues had reached six hundred pounds.

The Statutes drawn up by Sir Thomas Pope, with the co-operation probably of Slythurst, followed the old lines. They were elaborate in guarding against heresy, minute in their regulations for the life of the College. The President was to be a priest, selected by the Founder, his wife or the Visitor, from two Fellows nominated by election. Natives of Oxfordshire were to be preferred. The Bishop of Winchester was made Visitor of yet another College at Oxford. The President was responsible for College discipline and College property. He had a strong voice in the election of Fellows<sup>4</sup> and a veto on their admission. With the help of the seven seniors he chose the other officers of the College, the Vice-President, the Dean, the four Chaplains, the two Bursars, the two Readers. One Reader was responsible for philosophy and logic, the other for Latin and in a less degree for Greek.

<sup>1</sup> Especially the gilt chalice and paten of 1527, said to have belonged to St. Albans Abbey, which survived the confiscations of the Civil War. Mr. W. J. Cripps gives illustrations of them (*College and Corporation Plate*, 51-2) and the President describes them in his College history (71-2).

<sup>2</sup> £241. 11. 8. apparently, according to the *Computus* of 1597-8, besides internal receipts of £40. 14. 6. (*Trin. Coll.* 88).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* (108-10).

<sup>4</sup> "Praesidentis suffragio in hac et caeteris omnibus electionibus et nominatisnibus semper pro duobus numerato" (*Statutes*, cap. 5).



The Fellows, elected on the day after Trinity Sunday, were drawn in the first place from the Scholars and subjected to a year's probation. The Scholars were selected by the President and officers. Both were to be chosen from counties or dioceses where the College had property or the Founder manors.<sup>1</sup> To Oxfordshire no less than five Fellows were allowed. The Fellows must take degrees in Arts and in Divinity, and be ordained within four years of their Arts degree. But marriage, heresy, misconduct, absenteeism, or a benefice or an inheritance worth a hundred shillings a year, put an end to their claims. It is interesting to find the old prohibition against entering religion repeated in a College which owed its existence to monastic spoils. The Scholars must know something of Latin and of plain song, must need pecuniary help, must be between sixteen and twenty years of age. Twenty Commoners and battelers might be admitted.<sup>2</sup> They were to be tutored by the Fellows, to pay rent, and to share the studies of the Scholars. A large room near the Hall was reserved for Peers' sons and privileged persons. No strangers, except the Founder's descendants or Kings and Queens, might stay in College overnight. There was the necessary staff of College servants with high-sounding Latin names.<sup>3</sup> Servitors were not contemplated by the Founder; but they appeared at an early date in the College history, and lasted till the eighteenth century swept them away.

Pope was faithful to the old religion. He enjoined High Mass on Sundays and daily Mass on week-days before six.<sup>4</sup> There were to be prayers for the Founder and his family. There was an obit for Queen Mary. There were special festivals and special Masses, doles for poor prisoners in the jails of Oxford, twelve pence for the watchers at the Sepulchre in the College Chapel on Good Friday and on Easter Eve.<sup>5</sup> The rules for discipline followed the familiar lines. All public conversation, for Scholars especially, must be in a learned language. The Bible was to be read in Hall, ruminated and expounded. One of the Scholars was to declaim afterwards, while those in attend-

<sup>1</sup> Failing that, the schools of Eton and Banbury might supply them. or at least Brackley and Reading (*Ib.* cap. 7).

<sup>2</sup> In 1565 there were 17. But the caution-books show that the limit of 20 was exceeded and that from 10 to 25 were before long admitted every year. These books were the only records of admission till the Admission Registers began in 1648 (*Trin. Coll.* 83-4). The word here for Commoners is "Convictiores."

<sup>3</sup> "Archimagirus" and "Hypomagirus" for the cook and under-cook (Cap. 11).

<sup>4</sup> But he spoke of festivals "Ecclesiae Anglicanae receptis et approbatis" (Cap. 12).

<sup>5</sup> For these additional provisions see the *Statutes* (pp. 94-7).

ance had their meal.<sup>1</sup> There were warnings against noise and tales and music, against improper games and lonely wanderings abroad. A "deambulation" in the Grove was the decorous way of taking exercise. Handball games were permissible. Shooting and stone-throwing and the bearing of arms was banned. But the Founder permitted good, stout sticks to be kept, for the protection of the College, or for the maintenance of the public cause.<sup>2</sup> Dress was regulated, velvet, damask and satin forbidden. The College books were protected from abuse. The College gates were guarded and truancy at night repressed. Cards were allowed only on special occasions, as on the festivals for which the College tenants sent up boars and capons and the President's Rectory provided the drink.

For commons the Fellows had twenty pence a week, the Scholars twelve pence, the President two shillings and eightpence.<sup>3</sup> At gaudies extra commons were permitted. There were also allowances or stipends, fifty-three shillings and fourpence for each Fellow, thirty-three shillings and fourpence for each Scholar. The President drew ten pounds a year. The Manciple drew the same as a Fellow,<sup>4</sup> the Master Cook the same as a Scholar. The College officers, moreover, had salaries as such, the Vice-President twenty-six shillings and eightpence, the Dean and Bursars thirteen and fourpence each, the Organist twenty shillings, the Philosophy Reader forty shillings, the Humanity Reader twenty-six and eightpence only. There were salaries too for Chaplains and servants. A poor Scholar, who acted as butler and porter and waited "allwayes" on the President, received twenty-six and eightpence besides his commons. The barber had no commons, only a salary of thirteen and fourpence like the Dean. Ten pounds a year was allowed for fuel in Hall and kitchen, five pounds for lights, wax and wine in the Chapel. Chambers were allotted by the President: there were two or three beds, one of them a "troclebedde," in each. Living on the whole was comfortable, but the margin for contingencies was small.<sup>5</sup> The provision for education, for lectures, and disputations, was unusually complete. Mathematics, dialectic and philosophy were taught from the familiar authors. Latin included poets, historians and orators. Greek lectures

<sup>1</sup> This speech was called the "Narrare." (See Cap. 10, and *Trinity College*, 62).

<sup>2</sup> This was added in December 1557 (*Stats.* pp. 88-9).

<sup>3</sup> 2s. 4d. at first (*Ib.* pp. 27-8 and 82).

<sup>4</sup> But his allowance for commons was only 12d.

<sup>5</sup> The *Statutes* give (pp. 90-6) an interesting statement of the Founder's endowments—valued in all at £226.11.8, a goode bore, and 6 goode capons—and of the yearly expenses of the College then, amounting to £209.11.2, a bore, and 12 capons.

might occasionally be given. The two College Readers were well provided with work. Even in Vacations there were to be lectures on the motions of the planets and verse-writing for the Scholars, while the Bachelors of Arts might experiment with lectures which the Masters were invited to attend. Leave was limited: twenty days for a Scholar and forty for a Fellow was the rule.<sup>1</sup> A Scrutiny at Easter reviewed and regulated conduct. There was no lack of mediæval discipline, though the Middle Ages had already passed away.<sup>2</sup>

It seems that some of the Fellows themselves thought their Founder's views old-fashioned. At any rate they criticised the Statutes. Pope was amazed at receiving their complaints. He intimated stiffly that, if they did not like his regulations, they could go elsewhere. "I will for no mans pleasur living breke my statutes," he wrote. Two junior Fellows, "S<sup>r</sup> Simson and S<sup>r</sup> Rudde," caused scandal by climbing over the boundary wall at night. They had to confess their fault in Hall. They had further to provide, as a fine, two curtains of red silk "to ange at the endes of thalter." A letter from Pope at Hatfield explains that only the intercession of the Lady Elizabeth and of Lady Pope had saved the offenders from being "expulsed out of my Colledge."<sup>3</sup> But worse troubles for the little society lay ahead. One of the earliest Fellows had thrown up his place to plunge into Protestant polemics, and within a few months of the Founder's death the new reign changed the face of religion. Thomas Slythurst, the first President, whom Queen Mary had made a Canon of Windsor, was unable to take the oath of Supremacy, and is said to have died a prisoner in the Tower. Arthur Yeldard became President in his place. Originally a Cambridge man, he had been chosen by Pope as one of his Fellows, and had helped in the composition of the Statutes. Libels accused

<sup>1</sup> There were exceptions: a Fellow might in certain cases get 90 days' leave and a Scholar 40 (*Stats.* cap. 28).

<sup>2</sup> For further details see the *Statutes* printed in 1855, but not published, of which the President lent me a copy. I could wish that Dr. Blakiston had permitted me to consult the College documents, Registers and accounts, for facts which otherwise I can only refer to as stated in his volume. But my debt to his book, which is in a real sense the authority on the subject, is obviously heavy. For all details drawn solely from College sources, including many important details in regard to figures, buildings and persons, I am necessarily dependent on it: and Dr. Blakiston has drawn freely also on Warton and other printed materials, including some which are little known. I have to thank him for reading through this sketch before revision and for answering troublesome questions. I wish my obligations to his work, both general and specific, to be acknowledged in the fullest way. But I regret that access to the College records was refused.

<sup>3</sup> *Trinity College* (67-8).



him of "deadly vice," but those who knew him best spoke well of him. And if his views so changed with the changing times that even Leicester named him as Vice-Chancellor, his tact may perhaps have rendered easier the submission of his colleagues.

It is not probable that many of these colleagues were removed on Elizabeth's accession.<sup>1</sup> But Bishop Horne's Visitations in 1561 and 1566 must have severely tried those who clung to the old faith. "Crosses, Sensars, and suche lyke fylthie Stuffe"—the Bishop did not mince his language<sup>2</sup>—were removed from the Chapel: and there were several resignations or ejections in the years that followed.<sup>3</sup> Some went to Douai or to Rome. Some withdrew to Gloucester Hall. Thomas Forde shared Campion's fate. Richard Blount, a nephew of the Foundress, found his way with other Oxford men to Rheims.<sup>4</sup> But the troubles passed and the College settled down into prosperity during President Yeldard's long reign of forty years. Its resources at first may have been rather narrow, its space, as numbers increased, rather cramped. But the Fellows and Commoners at any rate had their comforts. The College could afford to spend a little on its garden, its paved alleys, its rosery, its plum-trees.<sup>5</sup> It had to spend on its hospitalities, whether it could afford it or not. It had to spend on medicines also, when the pestilence attacked it, to fly for refuge to Garsington or Woodstock. It had time for plays and time for gossip. But it had also its discipline and punishments, fines, loss of commons and the rod. In the seventeenth century President Hannibal Potter, ejected by Parliament and restored by the King, is alleged to have whipped a Scholar with a sword at his side, who was leaving to join one of the Inns of Court.<sup>6</sup> The boys of an earlier generation, Scholars of sixteen or eighteen, Commoners, little fellows,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Blakiston thinks (*Trin. Coll.* 76) that 5 Fellows and some Scholars quitted their places in 1560-1, but not all necessarily on conscientious grounds. The College records do not seem to give much assistance here. Dr. Gee (*Elizabethan Clergy*, 136) gives no Fellow of Trinity in his list of Fellows deprived in 1559, and Tierney in his imperfect catalogue (Tierney's *Dodd*, II, App. xlv) mentions only two, Leonard Fitzsymons and Thomas Scott. Wood (*Ann.* II, 146) adds Thomas Forde. Of these three it seems that Scott was Proctor in 1560, that Fitzsymons incepted in 1563, and Forde in 1567 (Boase, *Reg.* I, 224, 240 and 251). Fitzsymons, adds Dr. Blakiston (77), did not resign till 1577.

<sup>2</sup> The Bishop's letter of 19 July, 1570, is given in Warton's *Pope* (1780, 352 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> Six, says Dr. Blakiston, in 1571 (*Trin. Coll.* 78).

<sup>4</sup> Some in 1582 apparently and some in 1583. "Ric Blunte's" arrival is noted in July 1583 (*Douay Diaries*, 197), and a letter of October in that year, quoted by Dr. Knox from the original at the Record Office, refers to "Sir Blunte" and other Trinity students (*Ib.* 362-3).

<sup>5</sup> *Trin. Coll.* (70).

<sup>6</sup> Aubrey (*Brief Lives*, II, 171).

who might be only eight or nine or ten, took their whippings probably in less incongruous attire.

The reign of Ralph Kettell, who succeeded Yeldard in 1599, and who lived to see the first mischiefs of the Civil War, was even longer than Yeldard's. He had been nominated as a Scholar by Lady Pope. He left his mark in many ways upon the College, and its archives are still full of his notes and memoranda.<sup>1</sup> A very tall man, with sharp, grey eyes and "a terrible gigantesque aspect," he had habits which made him feared, respected, laughed at, loved. Aubrey, who could just remember him, has drawn his portrait.<sup>2</sup> "He dragg'd with one foot a little by which he gave warning (like the rattlesnake) of his coming." He sang a shrill high treble. He preached strange sermons. He would ride off to preach at Garsington, with a boy before him and a leg of mutton and some College bread. "He was a right Church of England man," but he had no great stock of learning. His brain, said a contemporary, was like a "hasty pudding, where there was memorie, judgement, and phancy all stirred together." His eccentricities were sometimes embarrassing. He had a great gift of scolding in Latin. But he also had queer terms of abuse—*Tarrarags* and *Scobberlotchers*—for "the idle young boies" of the College. He would go up and down the College and peep in at the keyholes, to see whether the boys were reading or not. He could not stand long hair. He would bring into Hall a pair of scissors inside his muff, and "woe be to them that sate on the outside of the table."

"I remember he cutt Mr. Radford's haire with the knife that chipps the bread on the buttery-hatch, and then he sang (this is in the old play—Henry VIII—of *Grammar Gurton's Needle*).

And was not Grim the collier finely trimm'd?

Toned, Toned.

'Mr. Lydall,' sayd he, 'how do you; decline *tondeo*? Tondeo, tondes, tonedi?'"

He would bring his hour-glass to lectures, and if the boys did badly threaten to bring another glass two hours long. He insisted on having excellent beer in College, so that no man

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Blakiston is my authority for this statement (*Trin. Coll.* 100). I have not had access to them. Warton (*Life of Pope*, 1780, p. 396, n.) speaks of an "original draught" of Kettell's Register, in Kettell's own handwriting, among the Wood MSS. in the Ashmolean (8490). But this MS., now *Wood F.28* in the Bodleian (ff. 172-186), contains little more than a list of some 150 early "Alumni" of the College, with notes on benefactions, principally books. Following these (ff. 188 sq.) are some notes, headed "Ra. Bathurst," on the history, members and benefactors of the College.

<sup>2</sup> *Brief Lives* (II, 17 sq.).

might be tempted to go to ale-houses for worse. "He was a person of great charity." He would sometimes slip money surreptitiously in at the windows of very poor scholars. He was generous to servitors and to industrious tenants. For all his oddities he was a strong ruler and a strong man.

Some eight hundred Commoners seem to have been admitted to Trinity during Kettell's long administration. He restored and enlarged the College buildings. He improved the revenues. Rents went up, and leases began to fall in. He invented a plate fund to which Commoners had to contribute.<sup>1</sup> He started a fund for voluntary subscriptions from all Fellows or Scholars who came into property or livings. His *Decretum de Gratiis Collegio rependendis* was adopted in 1602. He obtained from Oriel a long lease of Perilous Hall in Candich, and built there a fine house which still bears his name. He had no love for courtiers, but he made liberal preparations to receive members of both Houses at Trinity, when the plague drove Parliament to Oxford in August 1625. He had no love either for Archbishop Laud. He had no love for the tests imposed by the Long Parliament: he was an old man then and had taken many oaths. The Civil War revolutionised the world about him, interfered with his autocracy, disturbed his peace. He became severe and peevish. The Court lords earned his sarcasms. The Court ladies of light character had to face still heavier rebukes. But his rules of order and of conduct fell perhaps upon unheeding ears. Trinity scholars were already working at the trenches when in July 1643 in an unquiet world the President died.

The Civil War brought disaster to the Colleges, and at Trinity, as elsewhere, their history almost ceased. The Registers were interrupted. The accounts disappeared. The fine plate went for his Majesty's service,<sup>2</sup> though Pope's famous gilt chalice and paten were saved, and the College still holds the King's receipt for an earlier gift of two hundred pounds. Only three Commoners, it seems, were admitted in 1643, none at all in the two years that followed.<sup>3</sup> But those who stayed kept up the old traditions. All through the siege the scholars sang the gospel daily in the Hall, with a word of supplication for God's mercy on the College, and in 1646 young Anthony Wood went daily to his brother, to receive instruction in his chamber, "which

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Blakiston quotes a list of the College plate, dated 23rd December 1631 (*Trin. Coll.* 107-8).

<sup>2</sup> But in the Visitors' Register there is a reference, under May 12, 1648, to the discovery of a supposed box of plate belonging to the College (Burrows, *Register*, 80). On such rumours perhaps Wood founded an amusing story (*Ann.* II, 624-5), which should be taken with reserve.

<sup>3</sup> *Trin. Coll.* (130).



was a cockle loft over the common gate.”<sup>1</sup> Trinity men served on the King’s side—Sir Thomas Glemham, who had to surrender Oxford to Fairfax, among them. But there were Trinity men also among the “rebels.” Hannibal Potter, the Royalist President of 1643, accused of timorousness by some critics, besought Convocation to “take all things patiently” and perhaps relied on passive resistance. He was displaced in 1648 in favour of Robert Harris, a Puritan divine. Harris, a mature scholar of sixty-seven, was well known already for his successful sermons. “Oh how hee would boy up a dull and sinking spirit! how hee would warm a cold and frozen heart!” He had been originally at Magdalen Hall, had been driven from an Oxfordshire living by the Royalists, and had become a leading preacher in London. As one of the Parliamentary Visitors of the University he was marked out for promotion at Oxford. His biographer assures us that he was abundantly satisfied with “the smalness of the Colledge” whose Headship he received, though he “stuck at” the parsonage attached; and he settled down there quietly, though his wife, poor lady, was for a time “delivered up to *Satans buffetings*.” Harris must have had some capacity for making friends. He “took a great deal of contentment in the *Fellows*,” and he appears to have governed the College with tact and moderation in difficult days.<sup>2</sup>

In May 1648 thirty-eight resident members of Trinity<sup>3</sup> were summoned before the Parliamentary Commission, and we possess the answers of several who appeared. Thirteen submitted immediately, and two or three others, including Ralph Bathurst, before long. Others fenced with the Visitors’ questions. In the end, it seems, some ten or twelve Fellows and Scholars, ten Commoners, and one or two servants were condemned as contumacious.<sup>4</sup> But it does not follow that they

<sup>1</sup> See Wood’s *Life* (I, 129). Edward Wood was admitted Scholar of Trinity in 1643 (*Trin. Coll.* 134). He submitted to the Parliamentary Visitation in 1648 (Burrows, *Visitors’ Register*, 40).

<sup>2</sup> See *The Life and Death of Robert Harris, D.D.*, by W. D. his dear Friend and Kinsman (William Durham). Wood’s view is less appreciative (*Athenæ*, I, lxvi and III, 458–60), and probably less just. Many of Harris’ sermons were published. See also Madan (*Oxf. Books*, II, 468–9).

<sup>3</sup> They included 3 Fellows, 9 Scholars and 26 Commoners; and the answers of those who appeared are given by Prof. Burrows (*Reg.* 39–40, 109, 120–1).

<sup>4</sup> I understand this to be Dr. Blakiston’s view (*Trin. Coll.* 140–2). But it is difficult to be sure about the figures. The entries and orders in the Visiting Register are not free from confusion, and the sentence of expulsion was not always carried out. Prof. Burrows estimates that 12 were expelled and that more than double that number submitted (*Register*, 571). But his general view is that parties at Trinity were more evenly

were all expelled. In some cases the sufferers even received grants of money from the College. For all the bitterness of faction, the sense of comradeship in Oxford and in English politics prevailed. Some new Fellows and Scholars were appointed.<sup>1</sup> Discipline within the College walls improved. Sermons and prayer-meetings, no doubt, came with it. But disorder and drinking declined. In December 1658 President Harris, as a critical biographer puts it, "spit up those lungs which he had wasted in the Pulpit." President Goodwin of Magdalen wrote off in hot haste to Richard Cromwell, himself barely seated on a tottering throne, "to prevent the College from a choyce," and to put in a nominee of his own. The Protector, however, there being no Bishop of Winchester, selected one of the old Fellows, William Hawes. Hawes lived less than a year. Seth Ward, a Cambridge man incorporated at Wadham, succeeded—"so prudent, learned, and good a man," cries Aubrey, "that he honours his preferment as much as the preferment does him." But Ward, though a Royalist, had to make way, on the Restoration, for Dr. Potter to return. In 1664 Hannibal Potter died, and was buried in the Chapel. And Ralph Bathurst, for long the most conspicuous of the Fellows, began his memorable reign of forty years.

President Bathurst was one of thirteen or fourteen brothers, six of whom are said to have died in the service of the King. His mother, "an angelique creature," had been a step-daughter of old Dr. Kettell. His father, "an indifferent scholar, red fac'd, not at all handsome," had won his wife, gossip said, by his thrift. Dr. Kettell, peeping, as his way was, through the keyhole, had seen him mending his old breeches, and had selected him as a son-in-law on that account. Be that as it may, Ralph Bathurst soon made his mark. Scholar of Trinity in 1637, Fellow in 1640, he turned to medicine when the Royal cause went down. He seems then to have practised for a time among the sick and wounded of the Navy. But in 1654, if not earlier, he was back in Oxford, where he soon became a leading figure in his old College. Submitting to the new order, he helped President Harris to steer the Society through the troubles of the Commonwealth. He practised medicine at Oxford with Thomas Willis and William Petty. He joined in the Episcopalian services held in Merton Street in Willis' house. He joined the group of scientific men who met at Wadham to anticipate the Royal Society of the Restoration. He wrote Latin verse. He

divided than at most Colleges, and that most of the Non-Submitters among the Fellows were allowed to stay on (*Ib.* cxxi).

<sup>1</sup> Langbaine (*Foundation of Universitie*) puts the College numbers at 133 all told about 1651.

turned back to divinity, became a Dean and refused a Bishopric. He moved in the world and claimed that by so doing he was able to be of real service to his College. He numbered men like Evelyn, Allestree, Boyle and Wren among his friends. South spoke of an intimacy with him lasting nearly fifty years, without ever a shadow of strangeness or unkindness.<sup>1</sup> Even Dryden paid him an elaborate compliment, in verse of a quality below his best.

Bathurst ruled well. He drew distinguished men to Trinity. He could not always resist Court influence. He did not always keep to the letter of the Statutes. In 1688 the College wisely broke through the practice of electing Scholars to Fellowships on grounds of seniority alone. But if Visitors interfered unduly, the President could speak up strongly for his Fellows' rights. He was a great builder. He gave money freely, and begged it persuasively from others. As Vice-Chancellor he repaired St. Mary's, and tried to improve the sermons. He allowed the King's players to perform in Oxford once again. He did something to check drunkenness. In 1687 a Scholar, who was also a Bachelor of Arts and a minor poet, was actually expelled for this offence. Trinity could hardly escape its share of the dissipation and failings of the time. There were laments over the increase of luxury. How old Dr. Kettell would have "raunted and beat up his kettle drum" if he had lived to see it! Periwiges became a source of expenditure and even scandal. Laced bands and fringed gloves occupied the thoughts of Gentlemen Commoners, who, however, were not above bringing back hampers to Oxford with them. Yet Bathurst was undoubtedly justified in claiming that the College flourished during his reign. It stood high in Oxford and in the opinion of the world. John Harris, a Scholar of the last years of Charles II, speaks of it as "very famous and full of students," conspicuous for its exercises and its lectures.<sup>2</sup> And if Bathurst sometimes valued discipline too highly, and walked whip in hand in the Grove of a morning, his sense of humour, his kindness and understanding, won the affection of the community he ruled.

In the records of the College many famous names appear. Thomas Allen was an Elizabethan Scholar who retired to Gloucester Hall, and won there the reputation for mathematics and astrology which so perplexed his age. His servitor would declare that he sometimes met "the spirits comeing up his staires like bees."<sup>3</sup> Richard Busbye, a batteler of 1582, may or may not

<sup>1</sup> See Warton's *Life of Ralph Bathurst* (185, ed. 1761).

<sup>2</sup> See the extracts which Dr. Blakiston gives from a fragment of the autobiography of Dr. John Harris (*Trin. Coll.* 172 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> See Aubrey's sketch (*Brief Lives*, I, 27).



have been the father of the great Headmaster.<sup>1</sup> Henry Cuffe, another well-known Elizabethan, resigned his Fellowship at Trinity in 1584, and passed on to Merton where Savile proved a friend. His dismissal from Trinity was attributed to the Foundress, who may have heard gossip about him,<sup>2</sup> or may have disliked his opinions. Cuffe found the College *γυναικοκρατούμενον*.<sup>3</sup> But he won a brilliant reputation as scholar, wit and Professor of Greek. He welcomed Elizabeth with a Greek speech at Carfax in 1592. He delighted Burghley in a disputation held in Merton Hall.<sup>4</sup> But he entered the service of Essex and shared his miserable fate. Essex denounced him, unhandsomely enough, for his evil counsels, and Cuffe was probably an unwise adviser. Perhaps he found Elizabethan England *γυναικοκρατούμενον* too. The Hobys in the same age had brains as well as fortune and connections. Sir Edward Hoby was nephew by marriage to Burghley and first cousin to Sir Francis Bacon. He won favour alike with Elizabeth and with James. He loved learning and controversial theology. His "Counter-snarle for Ishmael Rabshacheh, a Cecropidan Lycaonite" has a forcefulness of title not often equalled in the world of tracts. Thomas Lodge, though a Lord Mayor's son, was at Trinity, it seems, as a servitor with the Hobys. Poet and romancer, he worked hard for immortality under the shadow of greater men. Shakespeare drew from him the plot of *As You Like It*. Even critics recognised the "sugared sweetness" of his song.

There is many another name in the list and many another trait of character which a modern President has happily recalled. George Calvert, who went to Trinity in 1594 as a boy of fourteen, became a Secretary of State, a Roman Catholic and an Irish Peer.<sup>5</sup> As Lord Baltimore he plunged into schemes of colonisation—the "ancient, primitive and heroic work of planting the world"—and his son and successor at Trinity afterwards founded a

<sup>1</sup> See the *Second Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission* (142), and Dr. Ingram's note there quoted.

<sup>2</sup> Cuffe was accused of making merry at the Founder's expense. See the tale in *Wood's Life* (I, 424).

<sup>3</sup> The phrase (quoted by Dr. Blakiston, *Trin. Coll.* 93) occurs in a letter from Cuffe to John Hotman, dated 8 August 1582, complaining of the miserable condition of some members of Trinity, and begging for Hotman's help—Hotman was a friend of Savile and of other well-known Oxford men—in securing his transference if possible to Merton. (See the second part of the *Francisci et Joannis Hotomanorum Epistolæ*, 1600, pp. 285-7. Here, from p. 270 onwards, several of Cuffe's letters, written in 1582-3, are given.)

<sup>4</sup> But not before Queen Elizabeth, as Dr. Blakiston (92) suggests.

<sup>5</sup> Fuller (*Worthies*, 1840, III, 417-18) and Wood (*Athenæ*, II, 522-3) have short sketches of Calvert. But see Sir C. H. Firth's article in *D.N.B.*, and references there.

noble colony, which King Charles called Maryland after his own wife. Sir Henry Blount, whom Aubrey has commemorated, and who served both King and Commonwealth, thought that the Universities taught men to be "debaucht." The learning they picked up there had to be unlearned again, "as a man that is buttond or laced too hard, must unbutton before he can be at his ease."<sup>1</sup> Sir Francis Verney joined the College in 1600 as a handsome boy with noble prospects. He had high courage, a fine figure and a still finer taste in dress. But an unfair step-mother and a shrewish wife, and faults which perhaps could not be attributed to either, helped to deprive him of his inheritance, and to drive him into adventures which brought little honour to his name. He turned buccaneer and served with the Turks. If tradition may be trusted, he became pirate, galley-slave, apostate, before he ended his unhappy life. His kinsman, Edmund Verney, who went up to Trinity eighty-five years later, shared at least Sir Francis' attention to costume. But like other fine young men in all ages he could not help thinking that he was "very frugall"; he would have been delighted if it had been really possible for a gentleman at the University to live on less.<sup>2</sup>

Trinity of course had her scholars and her Bishops, her soldiers and her Cavaliers. Robert Wright, a Fellow in the days of Elizabeth, and Bishop later of Bristol and of Lichfield, became a follower of Laud's. In 1610 he was for a few months the first Warden of Wadham. He died defending his Palace against the Parliamentary forces in the Civil War. Robert Skinner, the founder of a family represented in the College for two hundred years, was Bishop of Oxford all through the Great Rebellion. Gilbert Sheldon was a great Archbishop, associated afterwards more closely with All Souls. In the seventeenth century Cavalier names are conspicuous, Craven and Wentworth, Musgrave and Napier, Bagot, Whitmore, Glemham, many more.<sup>3</sup> Sir John Denham—"the dreamingst young fellow" at Trinity for all his piercing eye—was gambler, Cavalier and poet. He had

<sup>1</sup> *Brief Lives* (I, 109-10). But Blount found also that church-going led his servants into debauchery.

<sup>2</sup> For Sir Francis Verney see *Memoirs of the Verney Family* (1904, I, 47-53), and for Edmund Verney's correspondence with his father see the chapter on "An Oxford Undergraduate in the reign of James II" in the second volume of the same work. Dr. Blakiston has quoted (169-72) some of the letters now given there.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Blakiston gives (117 sq.) a long list of distinguished names and many interesting details about them. The memoirs and annals of the seventeenth century could add much more to the story, to say nothing of the materials accumulated in *D.N.B.*

afterwards a romantic and scandalous story.<sup>1</sup> Henry Ireton, admitted to the College in 1627, and Edmund Ludlow, who joined a few years later, were two distinguished soldiers in the other camp. Chillingworth, Laud's godson, was one of the younger Fellows, "the readiest and nimblest disputant," when Ireton came up. He was troubled already by the stirrings of conscience which made him in turn a Jesuit, a "doubting papist," and an eloquent and lofty advocate of independent thought. One hopes that the story<sup>2</sup> is untrue that Chillingworth reported to his autocratic godfather the idle talk of a fellow Collegian, Alexander Gill, who, drinking in the Buttery, toasted Buckingham's assassin, and did not hesitate to express the opinion that the Duke had gone to Hell.<sup>3</sup>

Gill was a friend of Milton, not the only friend of Milton in the College.<sup>4</sup> William Craven, whose romantic life almost covered the seventeenth century,<sup>5</sup> went from Trinity as a boy to join the Prince of Orange, to serve under the great Gustavus, and to become the devoted servant of the Winter Queen. His younger brother, John, who followed him to the College, founded the famous Oxford Scholarships which bear his name. James Harrington, "a brisque, lively cavaliero" with a "quick-hott-fiery hazell eie," served with Lord Craven. He was a friend of Charles I in the days of his misfortunes. But his dreams of democracy could not be forgiven. *Oceana*, for all its careful checks and balances, advocated a Republican ideal. Harrington was imprisoned on the Restoration, and his great book was burned at Oxford after his death. John Aubrey, the delightful gossip whose vivid portraits of his contemporaries few biographers can match, was one of the last students whom Kettell admitted. He went up in the year the Civil War began. In days of peace he "lookt through Logique and some Ethiques." War summoned him home, but he persuaded his father to let him go back to "beloved Oxon againe." From a sad life in the country or in London he would return again to Oxford, to

<sup>1</sup> Pepys has several references to Denham, and Sir S. Lee has an important article on him in *D.N.B.* For Aubrey's sketch see *Brief Lives* (I, 216-21).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Tulloch (*Rational Theology in the Seventeenth Century*, I, 264-9) dismisses it. But spying and reporting by Oxford men upon each other were not in that age quite unknown.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Aubrey (*Brief Lives*, I, 171), Masson (*Life of Milton*, 1881, I, 207 sq.), and *D.N.B.* Gill, already a master at St. Paul's, was on a visit to his old College. The Star Chamber sentenced him to lose his ears, one in London and one at Oxford. But both were ultimately saved.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Diodati was another. (See Masson's *Milton*, I, 98, 161 sq., 210, etc.).

<sup>5</sup> From 1606 to 1697. If he entered the service of the Prince of Orange at 17, he could hardly have gone far in his studies at Trinity.



be "much made of by the fellows"—and no wonder—to enjoy books and music and learned conversation. At Oxford even during the war he found the greatest felicity of his life—"Ingeniose youths, as rose budds, imbibe the morning dew."<sup>1</sup>

The interest of the seventeenth century is not easily exhausted, especially when Aubrey is there to add details. Francis Potter, the President's brother and Aubrey's life-long friend, with his mechanical genius and his "delicate inventive witt," deserves a passing word of notice, if only because he learned Greek "by Montanus's Inter-lineary Testament." But he was also an original Fellow of the Royal Society, and an authority on the Number of the Beast.<sup>2</sup> George Bathurst's zeal for science—he had a hen to hatch eggs in his chambers and would study the process of generation with Dr. Harvey there<sup>3</sup>—and George Evelyn's love of finery have found chroniclers to record them.<sup>4</sup> Samuel Parker, the Bishop of Oxford whom James II wrongly tried to make President of Magdalen, was a Puritan undergraduate in the great Protector's day. Wood speaks of him<sup>5</sup> as feeding on thin broth, fasting and praying with other students weekly, and attending godly meetings at the house of an old and crooked laundry-maid. But from being one of the "preciouslest young men in the University" he became chaplain to a nobleman, and then apparently his fall began. A much more distinguished undergraduate, John Somers, who went up in 1667, became not only Lord Chancellor but the greatest Whig leader of his day. The second Earl of Shaftesbury, the "shapeless lump" of Dryden's polemical verse, recalled the wayward founder of that party. Henry Herbert shared the opinions of Somers and served the same great King. James Stanhope, Francis North and Spencer Compton were Trinity men when William III was fighting for his throne. Elkanah Settle, Dryden's unequal rival, Poet Laureate to the Whig party when neglected by the Court, went up to Oxford some years earlier, and his Oxford friends may perhaps have thought more kindly than Dryden of his plays:

"Free from all meaning, whether good or bad,  
And in one word, heroically mad."

Arthur Charlett became in 1692 Master of University College and a familiar figure of the Oxford of his day. Trinity disdained

<sup>1</sup> See *Brief Lives* (I, 35 sq.). See also Britton's *Memoir of John Aubrey*, Prof. Masson on *Aubrey, the Antiquary and Gossip* in vol. xxiv of the *British Quarterly Review*, and, among many references in Wood, *Athenæ* (I, lx and cxlix).

<sup>2</sup> See Madan (*Oxf. Books*, II, 169) and Aubrey (*Brief Lives*, II, 161-70).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* (I, 300).

<sup>4</sup> On Evelyn and many others see the President's interesting notes.

<sup>5</sup> *Athenæ* (IV, 226).

no form of talent or distinction, and has reason to be proud of many of her sons.

Sir Thomas Pope took over the old buildings of Durham College.<sup>1</sup> His Fellows found the fifteenth-century quadrangle ready-made. The Gateway near the corner of Balliol, with its arch and postern, was still older.<sup>2</sup> It fronted on Candich, the broad way stretching beside the moat and City wall. To the East of the Gate were three or four old dwellings, Banner Hall, Bodyn Hall, Brackley Hall and Perilous Hall: the row of poor cottages in front of them encroached on the wide street.<sup>3</sup> The path which ran from the Gate to the door of the quadrangle had strips of garden ground, as it approached the College, upon either side. The quadrangle itself had still the monks' old Chapel, or rather their new Chapel erected in 1406, with its three altars, its "litill payre of orgaynes, and a Vestre on the Northe side of the Quere." It lay to the East of the entrance. It was rather shorter than the present Chapel, and it had three fine Perpendicular windows looking to the South. Aubrey thought the paintings in them better than those of New College, but he was of course a Trinity man. "In the time of presbytery government" this fine glass was taken down. Dr. Kettell is said to have saved the painted altars by telling Lord Saye that the College regarded them "no more than a dirty dish-clout." But even this singular apology did not prevent Dr. Harris' advisers from colouring them green.<sup>4</sup> Sir Thomas Pope's widow buried her husband in the Chapel and built a beautiful monument over his remains.

<sup>1</sup> The authority for these buildings is the Survey already referred to (*ante*, Vol. I, p. 136), formerly at the Chapter House in Westminster and now at the Record Office (*Rentals and Surveys*, 548). It has been fully used by Dr. Blakiston in his account of the old monastic College (*Trin. Coll.* Ch. I). But Ingram (*Memorials*, II, Trinity, p. 6, n.) rightly distinguishes it from the surrender of the property to the Crown by the Dean and Chapter of Durham in 1545, not 1544, which was formerly in the Augmentation Office (*Deeds of Surrender*, No. 190, at the Record Office now). Ingram has one or two points on the buildings which followed: Wood and Aubrey have others. Sir R. Blomfield (*Hist. of Renaissance Architecture*, I, 153) refers to Wren's work: and other references might be given. But Dr. Blakiston's account is the most careful and complete. See also illustrations by Bereblock, Loggan and Skelton.

<sup>2</sup> Gutch's notes to Wood (*Colls.* 528) speak of it as an old Gothic gateway, of three arches, with niches and shields. The drawing of it, now in the Library, has been reproduced by Skelton. It dated from 1397. But the West side of the quadrangle, including the Refectory, was built earlier still.

<sup>3</sup> The old Halls began some 40 ft. from the Gateway. The cottages in front were still standing in 1636 (*Trin. Coll.* 20).

<sup>4</sup> See Aubrey (*Brief Lives*, II, 23). See also Wood's notes on old glass in the College (*City* II, 271 sq.).

On the other side of the entrance, to the West, were two of the oldest chambers in the building. One, entered from the quadrangle, where the poor Scholars of the new Foundation lived at first, became a Common Room in the seventeenth century. The other, above it, is the Common Room to-day.<sup>1</sup> On the upper floor a fragment of old glass recalls William Ebchester, a fifteenth-century Prior of Durham. These large rooms were for living in and sleeping in, but they had space for studies too. The monks' Refectory on the West side of the quadrangle became the Hall of the New College. It had a *louvre* over it in Bereblock's plan. The rooms on the North side, including the old Warden's chamber, were apportioned presumably to Pope's Fellows and Scholars. The President was lodged on the East side, which remains substantially unaltered; the best rooms at the North end became his dining-room and study. The Library, built in 1417 and fitted up a few years later,<sup>2</sup> was in the same wing, at the South end, on the upper floor. The earliest College Bursary and the Vestry, where the monks perhaps kept the treasures of their Chapel, were underneath. The Dissolution had stripped the Library of most of its possessions. But the fifteenth-century figures of Bishops and Saints remained. Later revolutions were to play havoc with the fine glass in the windows, but there are still fragments left of the old shields and pictures. Round the old buildings ran the ample grove and gardens of the College, where Elizabethan orchards and roseries were planted,<sup>3</sup> and where the Cavaliers' ladies of a later generation held their court.

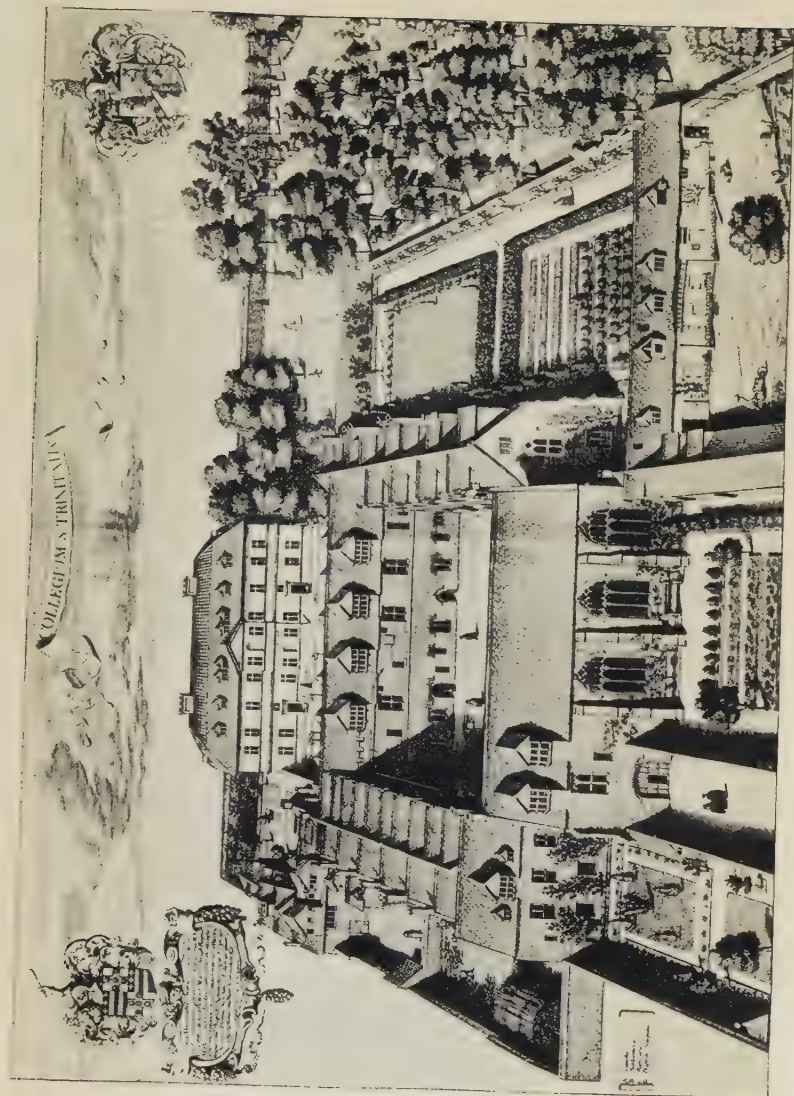
The old buildings, no doubt, needed repairs and alterations when they passed into the possession of the new College. Sir Thomas Pope left money for the boundary wall. Before he died he was buying stone for it from the demolished Houses of the Friars. More space inside was needed. In 1573 and the years that follow we hear of attics added on the West side and the North. Stone was not the only thing the ruined Convents yielded. Plate and vestments, altar-cloths and missals were gathered to enrich the Chapel. But it was not till the days of President Kettell that any systematic rebuilding began. Kettell plunged into the task with enthusiasm. He begged succeeding ages to accept his reports on the subject "as a true apologie for those great expenses whereof yo<sup>e</sup> accompts make mention." The

<sup>1</sup> There was also a room over the entrance which became the *gazophylacium* of the College. The Common Room of Charles II's day became afterwards the Bursary (*Trin. Coll.* 22-3).

<sup>2</sup> £6.16.8 were spent on fittings in 1431. The Library cost £42 (*Ib.* 26).

<sup>3</sup> We hear of an "ambulatorium ubi plantavimus privett" in 1561 (*Ib.* 70).





TRINITY COLLEGE  
(Logan)



old quadrangle needed both enlargement and repairs. The number of studies was increased. Attics were added in the East range, with dormers on both sides which still remain. New buildings were erected near the old kitchen, and new rooms made in 1605 out of the Bursary and Vestry under the Library. In that year the last penny in the Treasury was spent. In 1616 the President repaired his Lodgings. Two years later he began digging a cellar under the old Refectory, which collapsed. A new Hall had to be built with sets of chambers over it. The Hall was finished in 1620 and cost about seven hundred pounds. Kettell Hall outside the College was built about the same time.<sup>1</sup> Dials were set up in the quadrangle. The Library received gifts of books, from Lord Craven among others, and a Librarian was appointed in 1629. The years of war were necessarily years of destruction rather than improvement. But under the Commonwealth a good deal of planting was done in the grounds. Loggan's plan shows several neat little gardens, one, dedicated to the President, in front of the Chapel, another, the Bursary garden, West of the entrance-way, a third in the far North-Western corner, a fourth, for the President also it seems, East of the quadrangle. Beyond this the trees apparently stretched away to Wadham, over turf which could not yet have boasted the order and beauty which distinguish it to-day.<sup>2</sup>

After the Restoration President Bathurst determined to reconstruct the College, "not to any pompous greatness," but to a standard better fitted for the time. He framed a subscription list, headed by Trinity Bishops, used gentle compulsion to make rich Commoners subscribe to it, and gathered funds by writing "letters elegant in a winning and persuasive way." Wren supplied plans. He would have built a great block in the Grove. But the subscribers wanted a quadrangle. Wren submitted with reluctance. He perceived that the world was "governed by Wordes." If they wanted a quadrangle they must have it, though it was "a lame one, somewhat like a three legged table."<sup>3</sup> So a new quadrangle was laid out beyond the old one. A new range of chambers rose on its North side, an early example of Wren's Renaissance work. It appeared in Loggan's view a few years later. But it was afterwards altered and its character destroyed. About the same time a Fellows' Common Room was made out of the ground-floor chamber near

<sup>1</sup> Apparently as a private investment by Dr. Kettell. But it was used by the College for Commoners after the Restoration.

<sup>2</sup> It was not till early in the eighteenth century that the limes were planted and a new formal garden laid out.

<sup>3</sup> Wren's letter, printed in Gutch's edition of Wood's *Colleges* (526-7), is reproduced by Skelton (*Oxon. Antiq. Rest.* 46-7).



the entrance.<sup>1</sup> It was beautifully panelled in 1681. On ground leased from Balliol in 1675, a new kitchen with rooms over it was built. In 1682 the West side of the new quadrangle was begun.<sup>2</sup> Five years later the President built a new block of rooms, called after him, on the site of the old stables, South-East of the original quadrangle.<sup>3</sup> The rooms over the Hall and Lodgings were improved. To crown all, the old Chapel, gate-house and treasury were demolished, and the foundation-stone of a new and grander Chapel was laid in 1691. The President contributed very generously. Lord Somers and Sir George Evelyn were among those that helped. Wren, it appears, was not consulted till the plan had been formed.<sup>4</sup> Grinling Gibbons carved the wood-work. Pierre Berchet painted the ceiling. Miss Celia Fiennes towards the end of the seventeenth century thought it "a Beautifull Magnificent Structure."<sup>5</sup> The four great windows facing South were surmounted by a balustrade. The tower beside them was set with statues, representing Theology, Medicine, Geometry and Astronomy.<sup>6</sup> Rooms for a Fellow were made over the porch. The old home of the Durham monks at last was disappearing. The front of Trinity began to wear the aspect known to many generations of its lovers since.<sup>7</sup>

Trinity was not the only College in Oxford which entered into the inheritance of the monks. Sir Thomas White shared, it seems, some of Pope's opinions. He made money, like Pope.<sup>8</sup> He must have known something of Pope's plans. At any rate he determined almost at the same moment to use his wealth in the same way. Born at Reading, a clothier's son, he had been brought up "almost from infancy" in London,<sup>9</sup> and he had become

<sup>1</sup> A Bachelors' Common Room over the Buttery was fitted up in 1685 (*Trin. Coll.* 165-6).

<sup>2</sup> Its South side was of course formed by the Northern block of the old quadrangle, rebuilt about 1728.

<sup>3</sup> They have made way since for the President's new house.

<sup>4</sup> It has been attributed to Dean Aldrich, who designed All Saints' Church and Peckwater Quad. But Wren's suggestions later were, no doubt, of value. Sir R. Blomfield even includes an illustration of the Chapel in his chapter on Wren's work. Wren had a plan for completing the garden quadrangle, and for replacing the President's Lodgings with an arcaded wing (*Trin. Coll.* 163-4).

<sup>5</sup> See her Diary, published as *Through England On a Side Saddle in the Time of William and Mary* (27). Dr. Blakiston quotes it (164-5). Miss Fiennes refers to other Oxford Colleges, including "New Colledge which belongs to the ffiennes's."

<sup>6</sup> Most of these details are from Dr. Blakiston's book (163-5).

<sup>7</sup> But the ground in front of the Chapel was not thrown open till after the old gateway was removed in 1733.

<sup>8</sup> They were certainly known to each other—and may have been friends.

<sup>9</sup> But it seems probable that he went to school in Reading first.

a prosperous City tailor by the time that Wolsey died.<sup>1</sup> He refused as long as he could to be made an Alderman. He even went to Newgate rather than comply. But there was no evading public burdens in King Henry's day. By the end of the reign White was one of the leading citizens of London, and pouring over England "a torrent of munificence." Under Edward VI he was one of the founders of Russian trade. He wisely held aloof from Queen Jane. He afterwards sat on the Commission for her trial. He became a Knight and Lord Mayor when Queen Mary's title was established. He gave his fellow-citizens a splendid Show, though he tried to restrict their expenditure in living. In Wyatt's rebellion he saved the City for the Queen.<sup>2</sup> He received King Philip in state. He joined in the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic faith. But his wealth was probably never equal to Sir Thomas Pope's, and as years passed and the cloth-trade declined, some of his plans had to be restricted. Had he not had the shrewdness to name as one of his executors the Master of the Rolls,<sup>3</sup> who is said to have used the law's delays with a lawyer's adroitness to promote White's wishes, his schemes of benevolence might have been further curtailed. But he was a great merchant, a great citizen, a man of character and large ideas. And in May 1555 he entered on the noblest of his projects, when he obtained the Royal license to erect the College of St. John the Baptist on the site in Oxford which he had secured.<sup>4</sup>

Tradition says that White saw in a dream the tree which should mark the spot for his foundation, a great elm out of whose root three others grew. He found it in the grounds of the old home of the Bernardines outside the City walls.<sup>5</sup> Christ Church was ready to part with a property of little value. The Hall for students recently established may have been at a low ebb. At

<sup>1</sup> He was probably Master of the Merchant Taylors Company in 1535. See for White's life Clode's *Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors* (II, Chaps. X, XI, and XII). See also Dean Hutton's history of *S. John Baptist College* (Ch. II) and the authorities quoted in the Dean's article in *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> Lord Tennyson admitted that in his play, *Queen Mary*, he had done White's energy and character injustice (*Memoir*, by his Son, II, 176).

<sup>3</sup> His other executor was William Roper, son-in-law to Sir Thomas More.

<sup>4</sup> The Royal license, dated May 1, 1555, is numbered I. 1 among the documents in the muniment-room or treasury in the College tower. The grant of Bernard College by the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church is dated May 25. Wood (*Colls.* 535) adds that Christ Church insisted that the first Head (and others also failing John's men) should be chosen from Christ Church, and wanted the Dean and Chapter to be the Visitor of the College.

<sup>5</sup> Towards the end of the 17th century this tree was shown in the President's garden!

any rate Sir Thomas bought on easy terms the buildings with the land belonging to them, part of the Grove of Durham College, and possibly an additional acre and a half "in Walton field."<sup>1</sup> He endowed his College with a yearly rent due to him from Coventry, and with lands at Long Wittenham, Fyfield, Cumnor and elsewhere. He obtained in July 1558 from Doctor George Owen three acres of arable land outside the North gate, part of the manor of Walton, and in February 1560 he secured a lease from New College of one more acre of land "in the furlong called Bemond."<sup>2</sup> He left money which enabled the College in the years following his death to make several more purchases of land, including a part of Bagley Wood. The most important was the purchase in February 1573 from Richard Owen, George Owen's heir, of the "manor of Walton with all its appurtenances lately belonging to Godstow,"<sup>3</sup> a property rich in venerable traditions and destined in a distant future to bear fruit richer still.

Apart from these purchases the College received handsome bequests, as time went on, from citizens of the great community to which its Founder had belonged. The Merchant Taylors made it benefactions.<sup>4</sup> George Palin, Citizen and Girdler of London, left three hundred pounds for poor scholars in 1609. Thomas Paradyne, Citizen and Haberdasher, rivalled Palin's generosity. George Benson in Charles I's day gave a thousand pounds to improve the income of the Fellows. Sir Robert Ducie and Sir William Craven were among other London citizens to add to its endowments. Members of the College did their best to help. Bishop Buckeridge, sometime President, gave money to buy lands. Early Fellows like John Case assisted. Sir William Paddy, James I's physician, contributed largely to

<sup>1</sup> "In cultura quae vocatur 'le Buts' contra Putmede." See the deed quoted by Dean Hutton in his history of St. John's (7-8), and in the *4th Report, Hist. MSS. Com.* (468). I cannot identify this acre and a half. But Putmede Mr. Stevenson places near Summertown and not far from the Cherwell.

<sup>2</sup> See the documents numbered I. 6 and I. 8 in the College archives. "Bemond" is of course Beaumont. The New College acre and the three acres bought from Owen are now, I understand, included in the College garden. The date of I. 8 is 1560, not 1559.

<sup>3</sup> Hutton (*St. John's*, 30). There were two manors of Walton outside, the walls on the land West and East of St. Giles'. One before the Dissolution belonged to Oseney, the other to Godstow; but the boundaries between the two even Mr. Salter, to whom I owe these suggestions, cannot define. The latter apparently, to which the name of Bradmore may sometimes have been applied, reached on the East to the Cherwell and on the South to Holywell manor.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Walter Fish's gift for 5 poor scholars in divinity, and others (See Hutton's history, 66-7).



the Library, the organ and the choir. Archbishop Laud, an unfailing friend in his lifetime, left bequests which never reached the College, but Archbishop Juxon bequeathed to it seven thousand pounds. St. John's grew from comparatively small beginnings, and the fortunes of its Founder failed. But as the years passed and its needs were recognised, it had no reason to complain of the liberality of its friends.

The Royal license contemplated a College of a President and thirty Scholars more or less, for the study of theology, philosophy and good arts. On May 29, 1555, Sir Thomas White's foundation-deed nominated the first President, Alexander Belsire, and the first four Scholars.<sup>1</sup> On June 18 the new Fellows took possession of their home.<sup>2</sup> But on March 5, 1558, a further deed enlarged the Founder's plans.<sup>3</sup> Civil Law, Canon Law and Medicine were added to the subjects to be studied.<sup>4</sup> The Fellows and Scholars were increased to fifty. Chaplains, clerks and choristers were named. The Statutes were revised and added to before the Founder died, for White remained to the end in close touch with his College. And on January 18, 1566,<sup>5</sup> St. John's was formally incorporated as a member of the University,<sup>6</sup> and admitted to all the liberties and franchises which other Colleges possessed.

The Statutes of Sir Thomas White followed for the most part the customary lines, and they did not disdain the customary verbosity.<sup>7</sup> A President and fifty Fellows were to rule this

<sup>1</sup> Numbered I. 3 in the College archives. Four Scholars are appointed, though the deed also speaks of three.

<sup>2</sup> The President of Corpus was appointed on June 5 by the Founder—as Mr. W. H. Stevenson kindly pointed out to me—to receive the property from Christ Church and to hand it over to the new owners.

<sup>3</sup> I. 5 in the College archives.

<sup>4</sup> One-fourth of the Fellows and Scholars were to study Civil and Canon Law, and there were elaborate rules for their selection. One only was to study medicine, the rest the liberal arts “*ac demum theologiam*” (*Statutes* cap. 16).

<sup>5</sup> Dean Hutton (*St. John's*, 16) gives 1567. But I think it is clear from the deed in the College archives (I. 9) that the date was January 1566, and the entry in the University Register (*KK*, f. 18<sup>a</sup>) appears, though not explicitly, to confirm this.

<sup>6</sup> “*Membrum istius Vniuersitatis*,” says the entry in *Register KK*. It ends “*Concessum est simpliciter*.”

<sup>7</sup> They were printed in 1853 from a MS. apparently in the Public Library of the University of Cambridge (*Stats. of Oxford Colls.* III). But the original Statutes are in the College muniment-room, signed by the Founder and others on 14 May 1562. They were added to later: the Founder revised his regulations more than once. Mr. W. H. Stevenson has collated the original with the printed text: the differences are not very important, though the wording and the numbering of clauses varies: in one or two cases of figures the original supplements the printed text.

vineyard of the Lord. Three Chaplains, four clerks and six choristers stood next them. The President had the usual duties : in grave matters he must have the Fellows' assent. He was to be elected by the majority of them <sup>1</sup> from present or past Fellows of the College, or, failing that, from present or past Canons or Students of Christ Church. He was to be instituted by the Dean and Chapter.<sup>2</sup> He must observe the Founder's Statutes and accept nothing repugnant to them : but he would obey the rulings of the Bishop of Winchester in case of doubt. His absence from College was limited to two months in each year. A Vice-President, in constant residence, with disciplinary powers, three Deans or Censors, one in Theology and two in Arts,<sup>3</sup> two Bursars—*dispensatores*—all chosen by the President and the ten Senior Fellows, were to assist in governing the College. The ten seniors, the *Decemviri*, had no mean authority within its walls.<sup>4</sup> Founder's kin might be elected Fellows without probation. Most other Scholars, poor clerks between fourteen and nineteen, must go through a three years' probation first, and must swear that they intended to stay and study for at least five years in the College.<sup>5</sup> Probationers were to be called Scholars not Fellows. The Chaplains and Chapel officers were not to meddle in College business.<sup>6</sup> But Fellows who were Masters of Arts were to

My references are to the text of 1853, unless otherwise stated. There is also in the College archives an English draft of cap. 59, obviously older than the Latin Statutes but not dated (I. 10).

<sup>1</sup> The question whether undergraduate Fellows could vote in the election of a President was raised at Laud's election in 1611. The Visitor ruled that it was "more than evident" that all the Fellows must be present at the election, and that the words of the Statutes required "the voice of euerie fellowe present, be hee non graduate or graduate, to be given." (See *Bodl. MS. Tanner* 338, f. 350, Hutton's *St. John's*, 118 sq., and *Stats. of Colls. St. John's*, pp. 14-17). Others might read the Statutes differently, and the Visitor's ruling does not account for the word *graduati* (*Stats.* p. 15).

<sup>2</sup> Or, failing the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, by the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor (*Ib.* cap. 6).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* (cap. 10). But in cap. 17 a Dean of Jurists is mentioned.

<sup>4</sup> They were to be graduates (cap. 9). The Fellows were divided into three classes, first, the ten senior graduates in arts, theology and law, secondly, the twenty graduates next in seniority, and thirdly, the last twenty, whether graduates or not (cap. 40).

<sup>5</sup> The Jurists, however, became full Fellows without regard to the rule about probation (*Stats.* cap. 16). Probationers must not have incomes over £5 a year. The MS. Statutes make this clear, though the figure 5 is omitted on p. 29 of the printed Statutes.

<sup>6</sup> The Statutes mention (cap. 4) 3 *sacerdotes*, 4 *clerici*, 6 *choristae*; later on (cap. 19) they are described rather differently. They included a Precentor and a Sacristan, an Organist and a Sub-Sacristan. Later again (cap. 20) 4 servants of the choir are spoken of, to be added when funds allowed. Masses and prayers were ordained.

take Orders within three years of completing their necessary Regency.<sup>1</sup> St. John's men must not forget their obligations to the Church.

Elaborate rules were included in the Statutes to encourage study and the taking of degrees. There were to be daily lectures from three Readers or Professors, in Greek, rhetoric and logic.<sup>2</sup> The Lecturers were if possible to be Fellows, and to receive beyond the regular allowances five pounds a year. If outsiders of incomparable excellence were appointed, their salary might be increased. Besides these a Lecturer in Natural Philosophy or metaphysics might be appointed, and paid two shillings a week, half by the College and half by his audience. Provision was made for other lectures in theology and philosophy, for disputations, for Latin conversation. Vacation studies were arranged for Bachelors, in mathematics and the operations of the planets. The old rules against solitary walks, sumptuous clothes, inordinate hair reappeared. Hunting and hawking, dice and cards and football, singing birds and stone-throwing were banned. There were provisions in regard to forfeiture and leave. There were provisions about servants: these included a woodman and a clerk of accounts: the President had his own. For commons there was a three-fold scale, explained in the wordiest language. The Masters and senior Fellows did best, with threepence for dinner and threepence for supper: we have travelled far from the meagre fare of John Balliol's Scholars in the earliest days. The Bachelors of Arts, Probationers and undergraduates came in the next rank, with twopence-halfpenny for each meal. Clerks and choristers, with only twopence, belonged to the third. The President received as much as any two Fellows, but all had an equal portion of bread and drink.<sup>3</sup> Sons of nobles and other students of character and standing might be admitted as Commoners.<sup>4</sup> Strangers might be invited to meals, but not as a rule to stay in College. Rooms were allotted by the President, with separate beds for lads over sixteen. But elders and juniors shared rooms together, so that the younger might have the benefits of example and reproof.

Besides commons the President drew twenty pounds a year for salary, forty shillings for his clothes, and sixteen shillings for

<sup>1</sup> The Medical Student and Fellows acting as Public Readers were exempted from this provision (cap. 28).

<sup>2</sup> Homer and Euripides, Cicero, Demosthenes and Virgil were among the authors to be studied (cap. 24).

<sup>3</sup> Cap. 34. At St. John's *convictiores* is the term generally used for *commensales*.

<sup>4</sup> *Statutes* (St. John's, p. 75). Here a maximum of 16 Commoners is suggested; but the MS. Statutes in the College limit the number strictly to 12.



the clothes of both his servants when he had two.<sup>1</sup> The ten senior Fellows drew four marks for pay and twenty shillings for clothes, the next twenty fellows twenty-six shillings and eightpence as pay and twenty shillings for clothes, the rest sixteen shillings for pay and ten shillings for clothes.<sup>2</sup> Beyond this, the Vice-President and Bursars had salaries of forty shillings a year; the Deans had twenty-six shillings and eightpence; the Sacristan, Precentor and Organist had the same. The clerk of accounts was paid forty shillings, the head cook forty-six shillings and eightpence as wages and eight shillings for clothes. A choir-master was provided, and tutors alike for choristers and Scholars. There were regulations, on familiar lines and as elaborate as ever, for the visiting of College property, for business and accounts, for the guarding of books—the less valuable might be taken out of the Library by Fellows—for the keeping of the gates, for the punishment of offences, for pestilence or trouble, misconduct or mischance. White directed that the Statutes should be set in the Library, and that every Fellow should have a key to the door, “that he may come to know my said Statutes and note in them owght he thinketh in them might be reformed.”<sup>3</sup> The President, officers and seniors—Decemvirs—might frame new Statutes, provided they were not opposed to the old.<sup>4</sup> The Bishop of Winchester, as Visitor, was to interpret the rules.<sup>5</sup> Finally, just before his death in 1567, the Founder, mindful of his early days, made provision for forty-three poor Scholars, Londoners chosen by the Company of Merchant Taylors, with two from Coventry, two from Bristol,

<sup>1</sup> *Statutes* (St. John's, p. 81). But there were elaborate arrangements for increasing and varying the clothing allowance out of the proceeds of the College wool (*Ib.* 84-5). The figures quoted here from cap. 40 of the printed Statutes differ considerably from those given by Dean Hutton (*St. John's*, 41-2) which appear to be taken from President Derham's abstract of the early draft contained in I. 10.

<sup>2</sup> There was an additional allowance “pro presbyterio” of 26s. 8d.—the 20 is omitted in one place in the printed Statutes (p. 82)—if they were priests. Scholars “intra triennium probationis” had only 10s. for pay. There was an elaborate scale of allowances for all services and ranks (cap. 40).

<sup>3</sup> *Fourth Report Hist. MSS. Comm.* (465).

<sup>4</sup> An additional clause (*Stats.*, St. John's, p. 120) reserved power of altering the Statutes, after the Founder's death, to the President and certain selected persons, among whom Abbot Feckenham of Westminster (misprinted as “Fernam”) and Dean Henry Cole of St. Paul's are named. The second paragraph on p. 119 of the printed Statutes, intended as a final clause, is completed in the MS. copy at the College.

<sup>5</sup> The Founder's executors, Sir William Cordell and William Roper (misprinted as Roger in the *Statutes*, p. 106) had the power of Visitors during their lives.

two from Reading and one from Tonbridge to complete the list.<sup>1</sup>

St. John's was founded in times of revolution, and its early Presidents encountered difficult days. Belsire, the first of them, lost his place in 1559, not, it seems, on account of his religion, as the College Register piously suggests, but owing to a serious difference with the Founder in connection with the College funds.<sup>2</sup> William Elye, Cranmer's bitter critic, who succeeded, was probably deprived soon after, and took refuge with the Romanists abroad. William Stocks or Stocke, who shared his views, stayed only for a short time as President, and then returned to Gloucester Hall, from which he had been drawn.<sup>3</sup> John Robinson, who came from Cambridge, enjoyed the patronage of Whitgift and of Cecil, which helped, no doubt, to bring him the ten livings and the other preferments he received. He ruled the College from 1564 to 1572. He saw the Founder pass away, to the last tenderly solicitous for his foundation, and buried him under the altar in the Chapel. He saw "variaunce or strife" arise, as White had foretold. In Robinson's day and the years that followed several of the Romanist Fellows faced exile or imprisonment or death.<sup>4</sup> One of them, a Bursar, inadmissible for martyrdom, for he had embezzled the funds of the College, took service with an Austrian Archduke. Tobie Matthew, a fortunate young churchman who had already won the heart of Oxford and the favour of the Queen, succeeded Robinson and reigned as President from 1572 to 1577, before he passed on to the Deanery of Christ Church and to still higher preferment. St. John's men, no doubt, heard some of the sermons "so passionately desired by persons of the greatest quality," which were not the least of Matthew's titles to fame. Hard days followed, two less conspicuous Presidents,<sup>5</sup> and a struggle with poverty, more difficult than heresy to overcome. The choir had to be given up. The suspension of Scholarship elections was suggested. For lack of ready money the poor Scholars of the house were pinched. In 1584, the

<sup>1</sup> There were also to be six choristers from London. Six Scholarships were reserved for Founder's kin, and the children of his servants and prentices were to have a special claim (*Ib.* pp. 115-9).

<sup>2</sup> See Hutton (*St. John's*, 18-19) and Hist. MSS. Commission (*Fourth Report*, 466).

<sup>3</sup> Stocks, like Elye, was a Fellow of Brasenose in earlier days. Mr. Stevenson tells me that a bond in the College muniments speaks of Stocks as President in Feb. 1561.

<sup>4</sup> It is not too easy to be sure of the numbers. Wood (*Ann.* II, 145) names 7, and Dodd's list quoted by Dr. Gee (*Elizabethan Clergy*, 232-3) confirms this; but Dr. Gee does not think it complete. Campion of course was the most famous later on. See Hutton (*St. John's*, 45-6 and 68), and the Introduction to the *Douay Diaries* (xxxix sq.).

<sup>5</sup> Francis Willis and Ralph Hutchinson. The latter, an able man, has a monument in the Baylie Chapel.

President pleaded, they had not enough even for " necessities for the back and the belly." In 1591 the College expenses exceeded its revenue by a hundred and sixty-seven pounds. In 1594 the position was still worse. The College accounts made no mysteries: they were set out in plentiful detail. The entries are full of homely little touches—meat for the " pigeons," hay for the " shepe," inevitable repairs for locks and doors and buildings, fourpence for ferrying Mr. President " over Bagbrookhiue," sixteen pence for " ashes for the chitchen plome."<sup>1</sup>

With John Buckeridge, however, elected President in January 1605, a more prosperous and important age began. Buckeridge, a distinguished theologian, was chaplain to Whitgift and tutor to Laud. New views were coming into fashion. The Calvinists were not the only reformers in the Church. Royal visits to St. John's began. James I with his Queen and his son Henry were welcomed at the College Gate, on entering Oxford, by " three young youths " attired like nymphs to represent England, Scotland and Ireland, " and talking dialogue-wise each to other of their state." But the three nymphs, it seems, introduced themselves to the King as the Sibyls who had foretold to Banquo the rule of his descendants. One would like to think that their flight and the favour which it met with suggested a theme to the writer of *Macbeth*.<sup>2</sup> At the performance of Gwinne's play, by St. John's men two days later,<sup>3</sup> James was so overcome with disputations or with feasting—no courtier would allocate the share of each—that he fell asleep and woke up in a bad temper. Buckeridge retained the King's approval and was made a Bishop in 1611. Laud, who had recently resigned his Fellowship and was engaged in parish work away from Oxford, was nominated as President in Buckeridge's place. But a fierce storm arose over his election. There was strong opposition from Archbishop Abbot and the Chancellor Lord Ellesmere. One of the Fellows, Richard Baylie, tore up the voting papers. The votes of the undergraduate Fellows were challenged. The quarrel was reported to the Visitor and the King. But James, when appealed to, confirmed Laud's election,<sup>4</sup> and before long the new President's tact and ability won their way.

<sup>1</sup> See the interesting items quoted from the accounts by Dean Hutton (*St. John's*, 54-63).

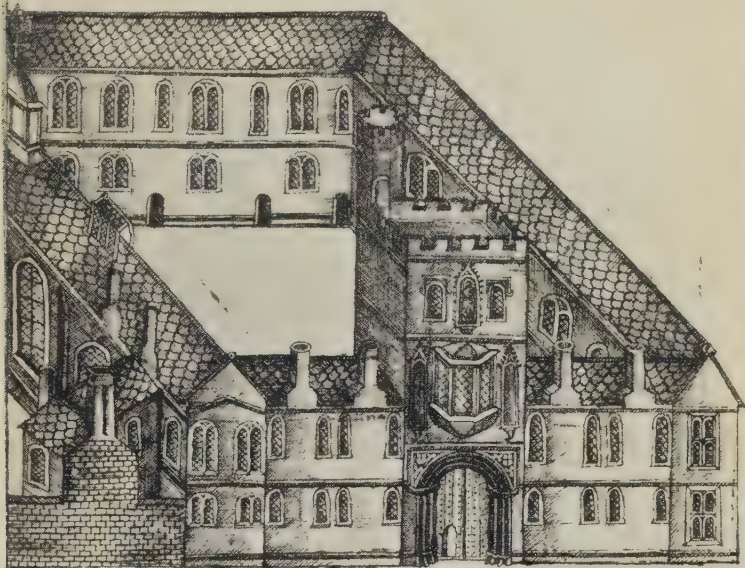
<sup>2</sup> The reference came, no doubt, from Holinshed's chronicles of Scottish history. But Shakespeare began *Macbeth* in 1605, and he probably knew that the story was agreeable to the King. (See *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.* VI, 318, and Lee's *Life of Shakespeare*, 4th ed. 239).

<sup>3</sup> The play was acted in Christ Church hall, and not at St. John's. See the account of the Royal visit, later, in Chap. XV.

<sup>4</sup> See *ante* (p. 178, n.). Laud (*Works*, III, 135 and VI, 88) and Heylyn (*Cyprianus Anglicus*) refer to the struggle, but give no details.



COLLEGIUM IOANNIS BAPTISTÆ.



Has Thomas Whitus, Londini gloria, varas  
 Mercator merces donat, emitq; suis.  
 Qui Londinensi his Prætor in urbe, superstes  
 Vivit adhuc, equitum non mediore deus.  
 Faxit ut ille diu vivat, valeatq; superstes  
 Musis, ac demum cælia regna petat.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE  
(Bereblock)



William Laud had come up from Reading in 1589 and had matriculated at St. John's as a boy of sixteen. Next year he had been elected a Scholar.<sup>1</sup> "Low of stature, little in bulk, chearful in countenance," he had soon become an influential Fellow. As Junior Proctor in 1603-4 he was reputed not harsh but "civil and moderate"—even to the drunken fellow sleeping on Penniless Bench by Carfax, who had the drowsy genius to bespeak him—"Thou little morsell of justice, prithee let me alone and be at rest." But in matters ecclesiastical Laud rarely erred on the side of moderation, and his Catholic opinions soon made both enemies and friends. When his chamber fellow in College, John Jones, became a Romanist, some Oxford critics probably thought him a more consistent man than Laud. Yet, it seems, Laud had a right to claim that his behaviour as President was reasonable and patient, for the bitter opposition shown at his election died away. "I governed that College in peace," he said later on his impeachment, "without so much as the show of a faction, all my time, which was near upon eleven years."<sup>2</sup> He converted Baylie from an angry opponent into a friend and disciple. He improved the College discipline. He encouraged its studies. He enlarged its buildings. He more than maintained its numbers. When, in 1621, he handed on his post to Juxon, his influence in the College, if not in the University outside it, was assured.

Laud's influence was destined to grow stronger daily in the State. His successor in the Presidency carried on the new tradition. Elected as a Scholar of St. John's from Merchant Taylors' School in the days of Queen Elizabeth,<sup>3</sup> William Juxon could remember the Armada, and he lived to see the second Charles restored. As an Oxford undergraduate he studied Civil Law. He seems afterwards to have joined Gray's Inn.<sup>4</sup> But in 1609, having taken Orders, he became Vicar of St. Giles', a College living, and was for a time a well-known preacher in Oxford. He passed to the Rectory of Somerton but returned to the College as President in 1621. He was Vice-Chancellor later, and when Laud succeeded to the Chancellorship, he became his chief correspondent and representative in the University. He was his helper and ally in University reform. But Juxon

<sup>1</sup> "In Scholares triennio probandos." (See the College Register quoted in the *Fourth Report of the Hist. MSS. Comm.* 465). Laud's signature as President and Juxon's neat handwriting figure in the early Registers of the College.

<sup>2</sup> See his *Works* (VI, 89).

<sup>3</sup> In 1598.

<sup>4</sup> The Register, oddly enough, does not record his admission till May 2, 1636, when he is described as Bishop of London and Lord Treasurer of England. (See Foster, *Gray's Inn Admission Reg.* 211).



had a gentleness unknown to his great colleague, and though even in his day St. John's did not escape quarrels and disorder, he avoided the hatreds which Laud's high-handed ways provoked. In 1633 Laud became Archbishop and passed on to his friend the great Bishopric of London.<sup>1</sup> But Juxon never forgot his old College. When the dark days of rebellion were over—days in which, tradition says, he solaced himself by keeping hounds and by reading the Church services at Chasleton—he was appointed Primate. Less than three years later he was buried in St. John's Chapel with great solemnity beside the Founder, and Laud's remains were brought to keep him company. Juxon left his College a great legacy. Few of its sons bequeathed to it a nobler name.

Richard Baylie, Laud's old opponent, was elected President in 1633. He was destined to see many changes in Oxford before his long and broken administration closed. He was now a devoted friend of the Archbishop, who named him as Vice-Chancellor in 1636. That year the King and Queen visited Oxford, with Prince Rupert among others, a boy of sixteen, whose spirited "unrestfulness" had already won his uncle's heart.<sup>2</sup> Laud, as Chancellor, gave them a great banquet in the new Library which he had added to the College,

"As numerous as was great Nevils feast,"

at which Baylie, no doubt, played his part. The dinner was followed by a play in the Hall—*Love's Hospital*, by George Wilde, a Fellow of the College—for which John's men provided all the actors. "It was merry," said the Archbishop, "and without offence." In the middle of the play there was another short banquet. Next day, after the King's departure, Laud entertained the Heads and Doctors of the University at St. John's. He spared no cost and charged nothing to the College.<sup>3</sup> He continued to take the closest interest in its buildings and its property—even in the details of the kitchen book. His benefactions and his powerful protection helped to make Baylie's Presidency for some time a period of great success. The College did not escape the payment of Ship Money: an item of thirty-

<sup>1</sup> Juxon was nominated to Hereford first, and resigned the Presidency in January, some months before his appointment to London.

<sup>2</sup> Rupert's name was entered on the College books. So was the name of the Elector Palatine, his elder brother, who was a member of the Royal party (Laud, *Works*, V, 150).

<sup>3</sup> It is stated that the Archbishop spent the very large sum of £2,666 on his entertainments at Oxford (*Cal. of State Papers, Domestic*, 1636-7, p. 477).

four shillings under this head appears in the College accounts.<sup>1</sup> But its finances prospered. Its revenues rose, it is alleged, to fifteen hundred a year.<sup>2</sup> Its numbers were considerable.<sup>3</sup> The College stood high in Royal favour and was closely linked with the dominant party in the State.

But when that party fell, the fortunes of St. John's fell with it. In March 1641 Laud was in the Tower.<sup>4</sup> In January 1643 the College plate was put at the King's disposal. Some eight hundred pounds had already been sent him six months before. But Charles' need was pressing, and the Fellows were reminded that their Sovereign's sufferings were theirs. A few months later the King was asking for contributions to pay his foot-soldiers, with the reckless assurance "in the word of a King" that the charge should be imposed only for a month.<sup>5</sup> Boys from Merchant Taylors' School, who during the War could not get to St. John's, were allowed to study at Cambridge. But John's men played their part with others in the Royal service, laboured in the trenches and suffered in the field. The most conspicuous of them all was sent to the scaffold in January 1645, to the last tenderly remembering his old College, and asking to be buried quietly in its Chapel. "God's everlasting blessing be upon that place and that society for ever!"

Three years later the Parliamentary Commission was at work. An order of the Committee of the House of Commons removed Dr. Baylie from the Presidency.<sup>6</sup> In vain the President confronted the Visitors, argued, resisted, and clung to his house. Force was resorted to and the Doctor ejected, his wife and "six pretty children" with him. The Fellows met the Visitors' demands with the usual argumentative evasions. Out of thirty-six members of the College, whose answers are recorded, only

<sup>1</sup> *St. John's* (140).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* (149). Gutch (*Collect. Cur.* I, 195) has a similar statement, undated.

<sup>3</sup> Gutch's figures for 1612 (*Ib.* 199)—50 Fellows, 43 Commoners, 20 Poor Scholars and 14 servants—are higher than the figures quoted by Dean Hutton (148-9) for 1641 or about that time. They are based on Twyne's (MS. XXI, 514).

<sup>4</sup> Letters from him that year—one is signed "Y<sup>r</sup> very loving but most unfortunat friend W. Cant."—are in Vol. III of the *College Register* (308-9 and 316).

<sup>5</sup> King Charles' letters of Jan. and June 1643 are in the *Third College Register*, and are quoted by Dean Hutton (*St. John's*, 149-53) and in the *Fourth Report, Hist. MSS. Comm.* (466). There are other entries on the subject in the *Register* (323 sq.). Ingram quotes (*Memorials*, II, New Inn Hall, p. 11, n.) a curious story that the King ordered the rebus of President Baylie to be put on money coined from the St. John's plate.

<sup>6</sup> The order, signed "francis Rous" and dated Jan. 20, 1648, is in the *College Register* (III, 389).

four gave an unconditional submission.<sup>1</sup> There were a large number of condemnations and removals. It seems that the majority of members were expelled. George Gisbey, an active partisan of the Archbishop, and Dr. Edwards, the Bursar, were arrested. The Vicar of St. Giles', who had kept up his services under the enemy's fire, was turned out. New Bursars and new Fellows were chosen—than whom for the most part, said one indiscriminating critic, "there could be nothing more ignorant or more abject." Francis Cheynell, an old Merton man, became President for two years. His enemies thought him not only a fanatic but a madman. He was an old Chaplain of Lord Essex, a fighting Presbyterian and a strong partisan. Cheynell was one of the most unpopular of the Parliamentary Visitors, and pursued Chillingworth with anathemas even at the grave. Thankful Owen, a young Fellow of Lincoln, succeeded in 1650. He too was a conspicuous member of the victorious party, one of Cromwell's Visitors, and a man of strong opinions. But he had learning, Latinity, and a fine taste in composition. He had also an excellent temper, and apart from strictures passed on his way of granting leases, he seems to have governed the College well.<sup>2</sup> Owen could not expect to survive the Restoration. He was turned out in 1660, and Baylie returned. The old habits were resumed. Choir and surplices reappeared in the Chapel. Clarendon, as Chancellor, dined in the College. Juxon was buried there in state, and his great benefaction followed him. Tobias Rustat, Yeoman of the Robes and Under-Housekeeper to the Honour of Hampton Court, gave money to keep the anniversaries of Edgehill, of Charles I's "unparalleled parricide," and of Charles II's return.<sup>3</sup> And late one summer's night Laud's coffin, brought from London, was laid with almost ostentatious privacy under the stones of the College which he had beautified and loved.<sup>4</sup>

In 1663 the King and Queen visited Oxford and were received with rapture at St. John's. In the Library a Gentleman Commoner, inspired by the celestial globe at his side, expressed with

<sup>1</sup> 46 were summoned before the Visitors, including 9 Commoners and 6 servants (Burrows, *Register*, 46-7: for their answers see 49-53). Prof. Burrows estimates in his Tables (546-50) that out of 61 members of the College 34 were certainly expelled and 11 other cases are doubtful. There are various entries in this *Register* in regard to expulsions (e.g. pp. 114, 138, 145, 198), absent members (164), and new men introduced (175). But the College *Register* gives no information on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> Langbaine about 1651 puts the numbers all told at 110 (*Found. of Universitie*).

<sup>3</sup> The bequest of £1,000 included purposes less controversial in their nature.

<sup>4</sup> On the 24th July, 1663.



a strange mixture of clumsiness and freedom the hopes of the nation for an heir to the throne—

“ Whilst Angells propagate, and you display  
 A little Charles his Waine, and Milky-way . . .  
 Perfection, Maddam, from y<sup>r</sup> Selfe must grow :  
 Kings are i<sup>n</sup>mortal, but Queenes make y<sup>m</sup> so.”<sup>1</sup>

Charles, it is said, asked the College to give him the curious portrait of his father, over which in a minute hand the penitential psalms are written. The Fellows complied unwillingly, and when the King, on leaving, inquired what he could do for the College, they adroitly begged the portrait back again. A few years later Baylie, who had declined a Bishopric, was buried in the little mausoleum which he had built to the North of the Chapel altar. His son-in-law, Peter Mews, “an old honest cavalier,” was elected President in 1667 on the demand of the King. He had served in the Guards through the Civil War. He had received near thirty wounds and been taken prisoner at Naseby. After that he had been an adventurous Royalist agent until he found rest and preferment in the Church. At Oxford he entertained the Prince of Orange and befriended Anthony Wood. When he passed to a Bishopric he retained his Cavalier opinions, and lent his horses to draw the Royal cannon to Sedgemoor. But he retained also his attachment to the Church of England, and stood by the Fellows of Magdalen in their struggle with the King.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Levinz, in due course a medical Doctor, a Professor of Greek and a Canon of Wells, succeeded Mews in 1673, and governed the College almost till the century closed. His reign saw a visit from James while Duke of York. It saw also a company formed at St. John’s to fight for King James in Monmouth’s rebellion. The College was doing well. It kept up its connection with Reading and London. In 1681 it was rated at four hundred pounds a year for taxes, not among the richest Colleges, but just after them. Its establishment was modest. Its Fellows, if bent on comfort, still needed private means to pay their way.<sup>3</sup> The requirements of the Statutes still held good, though breaches occurred and complaints about them. Young men of fashion are found in the lists. The expenses of one of these, Sir John Williams, are recorded. He went up in 1660, and his uncle doled out his funds. But even under careful tutelage he seems to have spent over two thousand pounds during his four years

<sup>1</sup> See *Bodley MSS. Tanner 306* and *314*.

<sup>2</sup> Mews, when made Bishop of Winchester, became Visitor of Magdalen as well as of St. John’s.

<sup>3</sup> See the account of the Vice-President’s expenses in 1687 (*St. John’s*, 190).

of residence. A gentleman of the Restoration had his obligations. They included a present of "six paire of long fine white gloves" for the President's wife.<sup>1</sup>

Apart from Presidents and men of fashion, St. John's had its distinguished sons. In Elizabethan days names of note, Talbot and Stanley, are found in the College. Bereblock was there, before he passed to Exeter, and his famous drawings were long kept in the President's Lodgings.<sup>2</sup> Neale, who wrote the verses which went with them, was a New College man but Bel-sire's nephew. Edmund Campion was one of the first Scholars, and a special favourite with the Founder. He spoke of White with real feeling at the time of his death.

"For the last ten years he has devoted all his thoughts, his money, and his labour to us. When he was away from Oxford his heart was there. Awake or asleep of us only did he think."

Campion was a brilliant preacher in the University, till his religious opinions drew him into more dangerous paths. John Case, elected to a Scholarship in 1564, became a well-known figure in Oxford. Physician, theologian and philosopher, he received pupils and "coached" them in his house in St. Mary Magdalen Parish on the North side of the George Inn. His sympathies were Catholic, some people thought Romanist. He was a skilled musician. His book on Ethics was the first production of the Oxford Press of 1585. His manual of political philosophy<sup>3</sup> was regarded as essential for Bachelors of Arts. He contributed to the College endowments. He married the widow of a Keeper of Bocardo prison. He died in 1600, very generally respected, and his virtues and accomplishments were recorded on the Chapel walls. Shirley and Davenant recall the same great age. John Davenant, innkeeper and vintner, Shakespeare's host on his visits to Oxford, and Mayor of the city in 1622, apparently sold wine to the College. His eldest son, Robert, became a Fellow there. Aubrey had heard Robert say that Mr. W. Shakespeare had "given him a hundred kisses."<sup>4</sup> James Shirley, Wood tells us, was befriended by Laud. But Laud is said to

<sup>1</sup> See the Bodley MS. quoted by Dean Hutton (*St. John's*, 179).

<sup>2</sup> Till Sir Thomas Lake secured them in return for a contribution to the building fund of St. John's in 1516. The originals have since disappeared.

<sup>3</sup> *Sphæra Civitatis* (1588). On Case see Hutton (*St. John's*, 64-6), Mullinger (II, 320, n. and 352-3) and the references to Wood and others in *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> *Brief Lives* (ed. Clark, I, 204). On the Davenants and their connection with the Merchant Taylors' Company see Boas (*Shakespeare and the Universities*, 42-6). Dean Hutton (94) boldly pictures Shakespeare meeting Laud in the College.

have insisted that a large mole on his left cheek unfitted him for Orders, and he left no traces behind him, if he was ever at St. John's.<sup>1</sup> Cambridge has a better claim to have inspired his dramas, to have trained the voice which sang

"The glories of our blood and state  
Are shadows, not substantial things."

Playwrights of less fame than Shirley won credit and popularity in the College. Matthew Gwinne, like Case, was both physician and musician. He excelled in disputation. He wrote epigrams and sonnets. He was on the Committee which provided the Christ Church plays for the great Queen's visit in 1592. His *Vertumnus* was performed before King James. His Latin tragedy of *Nero* passed through more than one edition. Abraham Wright, a generation later, acted in the play which the College gave before King Charles. He was a writer too of plays, of epigrams, of verses. He was no mean critic of drama and of sermons. Strafford and Juxon were among his heroes. The Puritans were unceasingly the object of his gibes. George Wilde, another devoted Royalist, who lived to be an Irish Bishop, was the author of *Love's Hospital*, in which Wright played before the King. St. John's had an early dramatic tradition and did its best to keep it alive. Thomas Tucker, the Christmas Lord of 1607, is commemorated in a manuscript attributed for long to Griffin Higgs, a distinguished member of the College, a man, like Laud, "of great courage tho' of little stature," who lived to be a Royalist Dean. Higgs certainly wrote a life of Sir Thomas White in Latin verse. And bound up in the same volume in the College Library we have the "true and faithfull relation of the risinge and fall of Thomas Tucker Prince of Alba Fortunata, Lord St. John's etc. with all the Occurrents which happened throughout his whole Domination," which describes the plays and pageantries of that famous Christmas season with a zest and detail worthy of a lover of the past.<sup>2</sup> There was a long list of revels. Laud was prominent among the subscribers. The festivities went on for many weeks. They spread to other Colleges. The Christ Church men were suspected of mocking

<sup>1</sup> See Shirley's *Dramatic Works and Poems* (ed. Dyce, I, iv-v).

<sup>2</sup> This interesting MS., which is in several hands, has just been edited by Dr. W. W. Greg and Dr. F. S. Boas, under the title of *The Christmas Prince*, the title under which Philip Bliss (the editor of the *Athenæ*) published in 1816, in his account of the Revels of 1607-8, less than one-fourth of the original. I have to thank Dr. Boas and Dr. Greg—as well as the College and the authorities of the British Museum—for leave to see the MS., full details of which will be found in their charming volume among the Malone Society's Reprints.



at the John's men,<sup>1</sup> and the whole town seems to have joined in to share the sport.

Other famous names may be noted in the College lists. Sir William Paddy, born before the foundation of the College, was a Commoner<sup>2</sup> who became "one of the prime physicians of his time." He attended King James and addressed him as Solomon. He befriended Laud. He disapproved of tobacco. He spent his last years in his old College. He enriched its Library. He gave it an organ and endowed its choir. The College possesses three portraits of him. The Chapel has an elaborate monument to his "incomparable soul." Sir Thomas White's step-daughter married a Cromwell, and two of the great Protector's uncles were Fellows of the College. Bulstrode Whitelocke, who fills a large place in the records of the Protectorate, matriculated at St. John's in 1620. His father, a Judge of the Common Pleas, had been elected a Scholar there in the year of the Armada.<sup>3</sup> Christopher Wren, afterwards Dean of Windsor, was also the father of a more celebrated son. Richard Spinke was a courageous Fellow who attacked Laud's views of Church ceremonial. Archdeacon Waple, a later benefactor, was a High Churchman who lived into Queen Anne's reign. William Sherard, born just before the Restoration, "the drudge of all the gardens in Europe," founded at Oxford a Professorship for the study of Botany, in which he so excelled. And John Speed, a medical man in a hard-drinking generation, sustained in other fields the prowess of the College by a bout with Van Tromp, which left the illustrious Admiral of Holland, no better than "a drunkeing greazy Dutchman," to be carried away unconscious to his rooms.

The buildings of the Bernardine College, which Sir Thomas White acquired, were themselves uncompleted on the East side of the quadrangle, where a Library and additional chambers had been planned. But the tower and entrance faced towards St. Giles', as they do to-day. The rooms on the South and West sides were spacious rooms with studies attached to them.<sup>4</sup> The Hall had a chamber over it larger than itself. The kitchen was worthy of a great establishment. The Chapel with its three

<sup>1</sup> See p. 189 of the above edition. It may be added here that Miss M. L. Lee's *Narcissus*, edited from the Bodleian MS., recalls a famous "Twelve Night Merriment" provided for the College a few years earlier, in 1602.

<sup>2</sup> "Hujus collegii commensalis," says his epitaph in the Chapel. The *D.N.B.* seems to be mistaken in calling him a Fellow (*St. John's*, 111 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> By a misprint the date is given as 1558 in the College history (*St. John's*, 187).

<sup>4</sup> They measured from 22 to 26 ft. in length, by 18 in breadth. The Hall measured 30 ft. × 27, the kitchen 42 × 27, the chamber over the Hall and entry 41 × 27. (See Ingram's *Memorials*, II, *St. John's*, 8, n.).

altars measured eighty feet by twenty-seven. And for a time, with such repairs as were needed,<sup>1</sup> these buildings apparently sufficed.

Before the end of the sixteenth century, however, certain additions to the old buildings were made. On a strip of land purchased on the West front of the College, a court was enclosed with walls and a gateway, to give place long afterwards to an open terrace set with elms. It is a part of the College precincts, and a distinguished tutor has reminded us that undergraduates within it may still defy the Proctors. A Lodging for the President, on the East side of the quadrangle, was built about 1597. A Library, with a portrait of the Founder in its East window, was set up about the same time, beyond the old quadrangle, on what was to be the South side of the new. Hutten says that its stones and timbers came from the ruins of Beaumont Palace:<sup>2</sup> The College accounts for 1583 show charges for a chamber window and for "making footstepps to every chamber dore."<sup>3</sup> The College was poor, but improvements went on. In James I's day the College grounds were surrounded with a wall. The old quadrangle was embattled. The kitchen was rebuilt, with chambers over it, by Thomas Clark, the senior cook, the College allowing him the rent of the chambers for twenty years.<sup>4</sup> The choir was restored. An organ was set up and singing men and choristers provided.<sup>5</sup> A Library Keeper was appointed, and the Library "in compleat sort replenished with books." Sir William Paddy's bequests included a fine collection of medical works. In 1617 a College fire under a staircase near did damage, and Laud, as Prynne by an ingenious after-thought suggested, was in some danger of being burned "for his sins."

Laud had ceased to be President, but was still the presiding genius of the College, when in 1631 the beautiful new buildings were begun. It was his liberality which supplied the funds. The new quadrangle was completed. The old Library formed the

<sup>1</sup> Wood speaks (*Colls.* 548) of "great reparations" done by Sir T. White upon the Hall, including glazing and heraldic work.

<sup>2</sup> In part at least (*Elizabethan Oxford*, 82). The East window of this Library contained, says Wood (*Colls.* 552-3), the arms of benefactors, especially Merchant Taylors. Wood also mentions (*Colls.* 547) chambers for Scholars by the President's Lodgings.

<sup>3</sup> *St. John's* (62).

<sup>4</sup> Wood says (*Colls.* 547) that these chambers were "near to the west end of the Hall on the north side," and that "several other lodging rooms" were added to them about 1638. Clark's lease was surrendered in 7 years. (*St. John's*, 103).

<sup>5</sup> The organisation of the choir under Sir W. Paddy's will took effect about 1638. But the full benefit of that endowment has not yet fallen in (*Ib.* 116-8 and 257).

Southern side.<sup>1</sup> The old cloister and the President's garden were swept away. On the North side new chambers were built for well-to-do Commoners, an important feature of the College.<sup>2</sup> On the West other new rooms were added, and a long gallery which helped to make the President's Lodgings one of the most dignified houses in Oxford. On the East side, where the new Library was to find its quarters, the taste of the builders added a new charm to the old traditions. The lovely garden front was planned on simple and familiar lines. But the façade within was ornamented with elaborate skill. A colonnade so graceful and distinguished as to have been persistently attributed to Inigo Jones,<sup>3</sup> was decorated with figures representing religion and learning, the virtues and the arts. If Jackson the master-builder was mainly responsible for the design as well as for the execution of the work, he has left behind him a monument which few craftsmen of his day surpassed. Fine bronze statues of the King and Queen were added over the two gateways,<sup>4</sup> and a gilt bust of his Majesty within. The lead-work on the walls was worthy of the bronzes. Juxon, it is said, when hunting at Bletchington, had discovered the marble which was used for the pillars. The "Canterbury Quadrangle" was finished in 1636. It cost some three thousand, two hundred pounds. The Fellows declared that, if their gratitude were mute, the very stones of the College would give forth music to their benefactor's

<sup>1</sup> Wood (*Colleges*, 551) says that Laud prolonged the old Library 20 ft. towards the East.

<sup>2</sup> Wood adds that a considerable addition was made on this side to the President's Lodgings (*Ib.* 548).

<sup>3</sup> Even by Prof. Freeman (*Hist. of Architecture*, 436). But the work is unlike Jones': (see Blomfield, *Renaissance Architecture*, 112): and no evidence has yet proved that that great artist was responsible for any building in Oxford. So far, as one can judge from the very clear account of Laud's buildings in the College archives, "Mr. Jackson" was mainly responsible for them, though it is not impossible that Juxon and even Laud may have had some say in the design. There are many letters in the Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, from 1631 to 1634, mentioning payments made by Laud to Juxon and Baylie: (see index under Laud and Juxon): the most interesting is Juxon's well-known letter to Laud of 12 March 1632. Adam Brown, the joiner, is mentioned as working both at St. John's and at Lambeth (7 Dec. 1632, and 27 Sept. 1633). The College building accounts also speak of Brown's visits, and mention other workmen engaged in carving friezes, scutcheons and "Anticks," in paving the cloister and in other work.

<sup>4</sup> By Le Sueur (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom.* 2 May 1633 and 3 May 1634), who, Sir R. Blomfield suggests, might have contributed something to the buildings. Busts of Laud, probably by Le Sueur also, are in the Library and in the President's Lodgings (*St. John's*, 129). I cannot doubt that the figure over the entrance, though tampered with by restorers, is St. Bernard. His tonsure seems to me more apparent than the attributes which Mr. Vallance (*Old Colleges of Oxford*, 78) relies on to prove it is St. John.







glory. The King, who had sent timber from Shotover and Stow, lost no time in coming to see the new buildings. Abraham Wright broke into irrepressible verse—

“ ’Tis finished then ; and so, there’s not the eye  
Can blame it, that’s best skilled in symmetry :  
You’d think each stone was raised by Orpheus’ art,  
There’s such sweet harmony in every part ”—

and wandered on in complimentary couplets for which even enthusiasm could hardly atone. The new Library was at first intended chiefly for mathematics.<sup>1</sup> Bookshelves were fitted up “ with shutters made before the shelves.” Laud sent an astrolabe, maps of the newest fashion, mathematical manuscripts in Arabic and Greek. But he could not resist adding two folios on the liberties of the Gallican Church. More valuable presents, like advowsons, accompanied his gifts. Evelyn noted afterwards the mathematical instruments which the Archbishop had provided, and two skeletons “ fine cleansed ” which apparently graced the collection then. A great storm soon after the Restoration beat into the Library building, blew down three chimneys above it, and swept away some of the battlements on the East side. Nineteenth-century restorers remodelled the windows and defaced the roof. But the noble room where Laud feasted King Charles survives with all its relics and its recollections, in a beauty which increases as the ages pass.

The manuscripts given by the Founder of the College, the spoil, no doubt, of great monastic Houses, included early classics and religious books. The Founder’s brother John had given manuscripts also, gathered probably from the same rich source. William Roper presented to the College his own copy of his illustrious father-in-law’s works. Sir William Paddy founded a rare collection of medical books. Davenant, the vintner, contributed something, and Henry Cromwell, and Gwinne and many other Fellows. Oriental manuscripts which Laud collected, prayer-books which belonged to Edward VI and James I, Wycliffe’s translation of the Scriptures, alleged to be in his own handwriting, Caxtons in profusion, Shakespeare’s Second Folio, given two years after its publication by an old Merchant Taylors’ boy, and the only perfect copy of the second edition of Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* are possessions which any library would prize. But a more special character attaches to relics like Laud’s Diary, to the history of his trial, to the Little Gidding book, and even to the cannon-ball which the Puritans fired into the gateway of a College ennobled by the Archbishop’s munificence and endangered by his views.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> And for MSS. particularly, Wood suggests (*Colls.* 551).

<sup>2</sup> Dean Hutton (*St. John’s*, Ch. XII) gives many interesting details of the College books, vestments and relics.



The old Hall with its open-work roof, built about 1502 as the monks' Refectory, measured only thirty feet by twenty-seven. But it seems to have sufficed for many years for the needs of the College, and it was not till the eighteenth century that it was substantially enlarged. The Founder's picture hangs over the high table, with Laud and Juxon upon either side. John Case hangs near with emblems and mottoes of mortality around him, and Sir William Paddy, and Buckeridge and Peter Mews. The old Common Room close by, with its ornament and carving, was made in the reign of Charles II. Its silver has since replaced the losses of the Great Rebellion and added splendour to the old toasts which it sustains. The Chapel which White took over was more recent than the Hall. But the Bernardines had built it before Robert King ceased to be an Abbot, and they invited him to consecrate it in 1530. Some of the ancient vestments it possesses probably came to it from Sir Thomas White.<sup>1</sup> Laud's day saw many changes in it, protests against his action and warm defences of his views. Organ and choir, dress and ceremonial received attention. Parliament diverted Sir William Paddy's fund for singing men to the use of the President and poor Scholars, since choirs had been taken away and were "not likely to be set up again." But within a few years Laud's ritual was triumphant once more in his old College. The Chapel was paved with black and white marble. Wainscoting and a fine screen were introduced. Some of the windows, says Wood, were altered, to admit more light. The old painted glass in the East window was removed. And President Baylie built on the North side of the main altar a beautiful little Chapel, with a roof of fine fan tracery, to hold the monument which he intended for himself.

Baylie's recumbent figure has a place of honour in his own building. Paddy's elaborate memorial too is there. Laud and Juxon lie beneath the chancel with the Founder. Old brasses of John Case and other Elizabethans, moved from their original positions, have found a resting-place in the Ante-Chapel. Wood has noted the inscriptions which grew up upon the Chapel walls. The Grove beyond the two quadrangles, farmed in part at any rate in early days, was enclosed in 1612. Abraham Wright told King Charles on his visit that the Baptist's sons desired to have a desert like their sire. But even by that time some kind of "bower" existed, and Loggan's print forty years later shows more than one garden formally laid out.<sup>2</sup> To the South of these

<sup>1</sup> One altar-cushion, it is thought, may have been worked for the Chapel by the Court ladies in the Civil War (*Ib.* 246-7).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Ingram, writing in 1837, says that within less than a century from that date there were still two gardens divided by a wall (*Memorials*, St. John's, 15).

green courts, with their walks and woodlands, the gardens of Trinity were taking shape. Further East rose the tree-tops of Wadham. To the North the open meadows stretched to the ruins of Godstow and the waters of its weir. It was no wonder, when the Civil War brought all the world to Oxford, that visitors expressed delight. But it was not only Cavaliers and courtiers who found refreshment in those lawns and groves. Their beauty and their calm must have descended on many a spirit since those troubled years, perplexed by doubts which could find no such decisive answer as the fierce loyalties and arbitraments of war.<sup>1</sup>

The last College founded in Oxford under the Tudors has long been regarded as an appanage of the race from which they sprang. Yet neither in the Letters Patent granted by Elizabeth nor yet in the Statutes issued under James were there any of the usual restrictions as to the locality from which its students were to come.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Hugh Ap Rice or Price, the Founder, was a Welshman who, no doubt, intended his compatriots to benefit by his bequest. He had come up from Brecon to Oxford in the far-off days before the Reformation. Tradition says that he lodged at Oseney. He took his degree as a Doctor of Canon Law while Wolsey reigned supreme, and he was alleged, like Wolsey, to have been a butcher's son. Nearly half a century later, when Treasurer of St. David's and stricken in years, he secured the Queen's permission to devote his estate to founding a College in the University where he had been trained. As the old inscription by the gateway ran,

"Breconiae natus patriae monumenta reliquit,  
Breconiae populo signa sequenda pio."

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<sup>1</sup> An account of the College documents is given in the *Fourth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission* (465-8). I have to thank the President, the Librarian and the Bursar for kindly giving me access to them, and to thank in particular Mr. W. H. Stevenson for all the help and information which he has given me on a subject which he knows like no one else. To several documents in the archives references have been already given. President Derham's admirable calendar of them dates from the eighteenth century. Dr. Joseph Taylor's little Latin history of the College, a MS. dating from 1666, is not of much value: and the College Registers kept in the President's house, which run continuously from the earliest days, are full of formal documents and have comparatively little to say on points of general interest. On episodes like the opening of the new buildings in 1636, or Charles II's visit in 1663, or the vicissitudes of the Civil War and the Commonwealth, they have practically nothing to tell us. My debt to many printed sources I hope I have acknowledged fully: to Dean Hutton's College history it is obviously great. On the buildings Sir R. Blomfield's judgment is of course of great value, and Mr. Vallance has many interesting comments, though I do not see my way always to accept his views.

<sup>2</sup> It is possible—though there is no evidence—that the Queen or her advisers thought it better not to limit the scope of the College.

Price desired and deserves the name of Founder. But in the Letters Patent of 27 June 1571 the Queen reserved that title for herself. The College was to be called in English "Jhesus College wythin the Citie and Universitie of Oxforth, of Quene Elizabethes fundacion."<sup>1</sup> Price was only permitted to supply an endowment, which Elizabeth regarded as no part of the Founder's task. The College was to consist of a Principal, eight Fellows and eight Scholars. It might enjoy Price's bequest of sixty pounds a year, and additional revenues up to a hundred a year if provided by anyone else. David Lewes, Doctor of Laws, was named as the first Principal. But comparatively few of the First Fellows and Scholars were Welsh.<sup>2</sup> The Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor of the University and Price himself were empowered to draw up Statutes. The Charter ran generally on the old lines. The study of philosophy, arts, sciences and languages—Hebrew, Greek and Latin are named—was intended to lead up to theology. But the preamble recalled the Queen's success in defending the faith against heresies and abuses, and dedicated the new foundation to the establishment of true religion in words which may justify its claim to be regarded as the first Protestant College in Oxford.<sup>3</sup>

The College was founded, but there were no means at first to keep it up. Dr. Price's bequest did not become available till after his death in 1574.<sup>4</sup> There was no pay for the Fellows or Scholars, and their posts being honorary, they preferred to live elsewhere. Lancelot Andrewes, by far the best known of the earliest Scholars, with his rare power of seeing "mysteries in common things," went to Pembroke, Cambridge, where a Scholarship was better worth having.<sup>5</sup> The first Principal, Lewes, was an Admiralty judge, who only held his office for a year. And yet it seems that nearly thirty students gathered before long in the College-buildings, and that the great majority of these were Welsh.<sup>6</sup> Price had obtained possession of the old

<sup>1</sup> *Statutes of Colleges* (Jesus, p. 5).

<sup>2</sup> Only the Principal, 4 or 5 Fellows and possibly 1 Scholar (see Dr. E. G. Hardy's history of *Jesus College*, 16). But very few of the first nominees were in any real sense members of the College.

<sup>3</sup> See the Letters Patent of 1571 (*Stats. Jesus*, p. 5).

<sup>4</sup> And then it proved to be only £600, laid out on mortgage at 10 p.c. The Goldsmiths secured the money on loan and left the interest for some time unpaid. Afterwards All Souls took it over and paid 7 p.c. (*Jesus Coll.* 20).

<sup>5</sup> In 1572. Like Thomas Dove, his contemporary, he probably never took up his Scholarship at Jesus, though he continued to figure in the College lists.

<sup>6</sup> See the list given by Dr. Clark (*Register*, II, ii, 36) for 1572-73. The 32 names include the Principal and 4 servants. "Griffin Floyd," the Principal, should be Griffith Lloyd.



White Hall near the East end of Cheyney Lane,<sup>1</sup> with other Halls and tenements close by, which it had probably absorbed. Here, in 1552, there had been apparently some twenty students,<sup>2</sup> most of them studying Civil Law. But it is quite possible that by 1571 White Hall, like its neighbours, had fallen into decay, and that Price was thus enabled to secure it on easy terms for his College. When Dr. Lewes resigned, Dr. Griffith Lloyd succeeded, like Lewes a lawyer and an old Fellow of All Souls. Students came in,<sup>3</sup> but for lack of endowments the Fellows stayed away. No Scholars came up. No Statutes were given to the College. In 1586 Dr. Francis Bevans, a third lawyer with the same credentials from All Souls, was nominated by the absent Fellows, and took possession of his quarters in the presence of the students. But he "remayned for the most part at Hereford, where he was Chancellor," indifferent to financial interests which could ill bear neglect, and in his absence Griffith Powell became the governing spirit of the College.<sup>4</sup>

One thing, however, Bevans did. Prompted perhaps by the energy of Powell, he secured from the Queen the second Letters Patent of the 7th July 1589, which empowered the College, with rather cruel irony, to receive property worth two hundred pounds a year, and appointed twelve commissioners to make Statutes for it. When Bevans died, in 1602, Powell secured the election of John Williams of All Souls, the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, to succeed him. The surviving Fellows were invited to repair to the College, and to elect successors more disposed to take up their duties. A bequest of twenty pounds a year in land from Bishop Westphaling provided some little additional endowment. A College Register and College accounts began. Resident Fellows and Scholars, Welshmen all, at last appeared.<sup>5</sup> And though the income available was pitifully small, though the Commissioners failed to confirm the Statutes, though, in spite of Griffith Powell's energies, Principal Williams, like Principal Bevans, tempted by the opportunities of absolute power,<sup>6</sup> deliberately left the draft of the new regulations incom-

<sup>1</sup> Now Market Street. This was distinguished as Great White Hall.

<sup>2</sup> See the list given by Mr. Boase (*Reg.* I, xxv) from *Register GG*. It includes three graduates and one or two servants. Very few names are Welsh.

<sup>3</sup> The Matriculation entries quoted by Dr. Clark amount to 30 in 1575 and to 46 in 1581, an exceptional year (*Reg.* II, ii, 62 and 101 sq.).

<sup>4</sup> A MS. left by Griffith Powell, and discovered afresh by Dr. Hardy, is the chief authority for these early days. (See *Jesus College*, 22 and n.).

<sup>5</sup> But even then very few of them could be paid.

<sup>6</sup> They both preferred, as Powell complained, "*absoluta et quasi transcendentalis potestas*" (*Jesus College*, 31). It was during these years that the poverty of the College, no doubt, suggested to Nicholas Wadham the possibility of incorporating it in his new foundation.

plete, still by 1613, when Powell succeeded to the Headship of the College, the darkest hours of the little community were past.

Griffith Powell had already fought for many years for the existence of the College. He was appointed by the Chancellor, who claimed that, in view of the indifference shown by both Commissioners and Fellows, the appointment of a Principal had lapsed, as in the case of Halls, to him.<sup>1</sup> Powell was already a well-known figure in the University. He "drudged much as a Tutor." He was Clerk of the Market. He wrote upon Aristotle :

" Griffith Powell, for the honour of his nation,  
Wrote a book of Demonstration,  
But having little else to do  
He wrote a book of Elenchs too."

He determined to organise and establish the College, and fortunately under his rule benefactions at last fell in. For several years Dr. Westphaling's bequest was all the landed property which the College actually enjoyed. But lands in Cardiganshire left by Principal Lloyd became available in 1615.<sup>2</sup> Other legacies came in from a Bishop of Bangor and a Dean of Armagh. And though the total income was small, it became possible to allot some better endowment to the Fellows. The Principal and the only Fellow in residence accordingly met and elected three more. The new Fellows chosen—two Scholars were chosen with them—lived in the College and helped in its administration. And Powell next devoted his energies to providing them with a "more decent fittinge and habitable" home. Money was collected from the squires of Brecknockshire. All over Wales the clergy and gentry were invited to help. New buildings began to rise on the old site. New arrivals from the Principality, from South Wales especially, swelled the numbers of the little College.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> But Lord Ellesmere's letter in the early College *Register* (f. 66<sup>a</sup>) states that the Chancellor did not wish to prejudice the Fellows' rights, if the Principalship proved to be elective.

<sup>2</sup> His widow had previously given money for the buildings. There were other bequests in the 17th century, of which Wood (*Colls.* 571 sq.), the *Statutes* of 1853 (Jesus, p. 81 sq.) and Mr. Hardy's history of the College (Ch. V) give details. Among the more important were Principal Powell's legacy of £648, bequests of £500 each from Sir Thomas Wynne and Stephen Rodway in 1628, £1,000 from Sir John Walter in 1630, the Rectory of Bedgeworth from Charles II, and valuable properties given by Dr. Gwynne of Anglesey, William Backhouse of Swallowfield, Dr. Mansell, and above all Sir Leoline Jenkins.

<sup>3</sup> The present Principal, Dr. E. G. Hardy, estimates in his history of *Jesus College* (40-1), to which I am repeatedly indebted, that, of some 367 students who entered the College in its first fifty years, 73 were from N. Wales, 160 from S. Wales, 70 from the Border counties, and 64 from the rest of England. But most Welsh students still went elsewhere. Both

Men of eminence began to figure in its lists. Still the confirmation of the Statutes halted, for hardly any of the Commissioners now survived. But when Griffith Powell died in 1620, bequeathing characteristically all that he had to the College, the independence of the Society for which he had so generously laboured was assured.

The Chancellor, on Powell's death, appointed Francis Mansell to succeed him.<sup>1</sup> Mansell, like the first four Principals, was a Fellow of All Souls. But the three Fellows in residence plucked up their courage and insisted on their right to elect. The Vice-Chancellor overruled their protest, secured the support of twenty Commoners, and carried through the appointment of Mansell,<sup>2</sup> who promptly deprived his opponents of their posts. But the new Principal was perhaps startled by the opposition he encountered. Or he may have thought that the College required a richer Head. Within a year a compromise was come to, in which both Chancellor and Fellows acquiesced. Mansell returned to All Souls, which had, no doubt, more comfortable pastures, and Sir Eubule Thelwall, a prosperous and influential lawyer, took his place. Thelwall, we are told, was "a most bountiful person, who left nothing undone which might conduce to the good of the College." He came from North Wales, and students from that district followed him. He finished the Chapel and was buried in it. He built a new Library. He secured gifts, subscriptions and bequests. He gave money liberally himself. And he used his influence to secure from King James a further Charter, which at last settled the Statutes of the College. Under the new Letters Patent of 1621 the College was enlarged. It was to include in future sixteen Fellows and sixteen Scholars. It was allowed to receive endowments up to six hundred pounds a year. New Fellows and Scholars were nominated, and provision made for subsequent elections. New Commissioners were appointed to make rules. And at last a set of Statutes, embodying, no doubt, those which Griffith Powell had drafted on the Brasenose model years before, was adopted, inscribed and delivered to the Fellows.<sup>3</sup>

Protestant the new College might be, but the Statutes, which were comparatively simple, ran upon the old familiar lines. The

Hart Hall and Christ Church in those years received more students from N. Wales than Jesus; Oriel, Brasenose and Edmund Hall received not many less.

<sup>1</sup> This Chancellor, Lord Pembroke, was also Visitor of the College.

<sup>2</sup> See the details in regard to this struggle quoted from the University Register by Dr. Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 291-3).

<sup>3</sup> These were printed in the *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford* (1853, Vol. III). The original on vellum, signed by Pembroke, Thelwall and two other Commissioners, but not dated, is in the College Archives.



Principal was to be a theologian or civilian, "or at least a Master in Arts," unmarried and over thirty years of age.<sup>1</sup> He was to be elected by a majority of the Fellows, and to be preferably a present or past Fellow himself. He was to consult his colleagues on important business. He had a Vice-Principal to help him in his task. Fellows must be over seventeen years old and under twenty-six, Scholars over twelve and under twenty-four. In the election of Fellows a preference was given to Scholars of the College, particularly to those who had taken degrees. But they were to be on probation for a year. Benefices over ten pounds a year in value, marriage, misconduct, idleness, desertion, taking Orders in any but the English Church, were all to be causes of forfeiture. As regards nationality no conditions were laid down. Indeed it was expressly stated that that was not to count.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, an important proviso required every Fellow or Scholar elected to a place endowed by any special benefaction to comply with the conditions of the gift; and as most of the endowments flowed in from Welsh sources and were expressly given for Welshmen, this provision largely determined the nationality of the College.<sup>3</sup> A Bursar, to look after questions of revenue, a Censor of Philosophy, to lecture at seven in the morning thrice a week, a Praelector of dialectic, who started lecturing at six, a Seneschal of Hall, chosen weekly from the Fellows, a manciple, a butler, a cook, a porter-barber—doubling the duties as he so often did—helped to make up the College Staff. Servants were still to be "celibate and unmarried." Laundresses were still peculiarly suspect. Even in a Protestant College the traditions of Catholic clerks remained.

Education was carefully provided for. Frequent disputations were arranged. All members of the College, except servants, must attend the disputations in theology, and store the lessons of religion in their minds. Degrees must be taken within the usual time. All Masters of Arts must go on to theology after completing their necessary regency, and must take Orders within six years of their Master's Degree.<sup>4</sup> Religious exercises were regarded. Provisions for daily prayers in Chapel, for attending University sermons, for grace and bible-reading in Hall, and for

<sup>1</sup> The title of Principal was, no doubt, due to the fact that the College grew out of, and was at first almost indistinguishable from, a Hall. Brasenose also, with its Principal, grew out of an ancient Hall.

<sup>2</sup> "Postpositis omnimodis amore, favore, odio, invidia, acceptione personae et patriae," etc. (*Statutes*, cap. 5).

<sup>3</sup> See Hardy (*Jesus College*, 51-3), and the last clause of Cap. 5 in the Statutes. The overwhelming predominance of Welshmen was definitely recognized in Sir Leoline Jenkins' day.

<sup>4</sup> Deacon's Orders within 6 years, Priest's Orders within 7 (*Stats.* cap. 23).

expounding the Catechism or the Thirty-Nine Articles,<sup>1</sup> took the place of the older regulations. Every Bachelor and undergraduate Scholar—it was unnecessary to make such rules for others—should not fail, on rising in the morning, to kneel and say “Our Father which art in Heaven.” He should pray to God, who strewed the heavens with the splendour of the stars, to illuminate his heart at night.<sup>2</sup>

Few of the Fellows or Scholars of Jesus had endowments to rely on when the Statutes were first framed. Their allowances were fixed at rates which only the most careless optimist could have expected the College revenues to pay. The Principal was given, on paper, forty pounds yearly for food, pay and clothes, each Fellow “who was not honorary” twenty pounds, and each Scholar ten. These figures included commons valued at five shillings a week for the Principal, at three shillings and fourpence for Fellows, and at two shillings for Scholars. But the latter were entitled, beyond this, to any special emoluments attached by benefactors to the places which they held. Further stipends, moreover, were to be paid for special work. The Vice-President, as such, drew forty shillings yearly, the Bursar and the Censor of Philosophy the same.<sup>3</sup> Commoners had to pay for their food either weekly or at the end of term. If they sat at the Principal’s table, they had to pay on the same scale as he. Commoners—the English word is used—might be admitted “according to the capacity of the rooms.” They were expected to contribute to the buildings, and to have a tutor in the College. Poor Scholars “commonly called battelars” were also allowed. The usual rules for discipline were added, for decent dress and decent language, for conversation in Latin, Greek or Hebrew: one wonders how often students availed themselves of the permission to talk Hebrew or Greek. Leave in term was limited to a month for the Principal and a fortnight for the Fellows.<sup>4</sup> Dogs and birds and dice and cards, and noisiness and weapons of war were illegitimate. Strangers must not pass a night in College; they must not be brought in to interfere with studies at all. Fines were levied for misdemeanours, and other more serious punishments were threatened. But the venerable and credulous custom of purgation for suspected persons was maintained. A Fellow could rehabilitate himself by swearing to his own innocence upon the Gospels and by inducing two

<sup>1</sup> One of the “graver Masters” was elected for this purpose (*Ib.* cap. 16).

<sup>2</sup> (*Ib.* cap. 12).

<sup>3</sup> The stipend of the Praelector of Dialectic was, I think it is clear from the original Statutes, the same.

<sup>4</sup> See *Statutes* (cap. 24). But there were of course exceptions.

of his colleagues to swear to their belief in him. Even a Protestant College was in no haste to free itself from the generous superstitions of the past.

In spite of the freedom from restrictions in the Statutes, the nationality of the College was not long in dispute. Welshmen soon came to regard it as their own. Welsh Principals and Fellows elected their own compatriots. Welsh benefactors earmarked their donations for their own countrymen and kin. And before the middle of the seventeenth century one of the most distinguished of its rulers identified it more closely than ever with the interests and the loyalty of Wales. Francis Mansell, born in the year of the Armada, had matriculated at Jesus in 1607, had been appointed Principal in 1620, and had soon afterwards returned to his Fellowship at All Souls. In 1630, however, on Thelwall's death, he was re-elected, and he found the College far more prosperous than it had been ten years before. The revenues indeed would not yet permit of maintaining sixteen fully-paid Fellowships. But there were some ten or twelve Fellows in residence, and Commoners who numbered about fifty before the Civil War. Mansell was a man of influence and connections, well known and liked in Wales. He set to work vigorously to secure subscriptions, to improve the buildings, and to complete the endowment of the College.<sup>1</sup> Thenceforth the financial statements show an income steadily rising. In 1641 there was a surplus of a hundred pounds.<sup>2</sup> It is not till the end of 1642 that pecuniary troubles begin, that we hear of the Bursar "and most of the Societie" leaving, and of the difficulty of "evening" the accounts.

But the Civil War overtook Mansell in the middle of his labours. He found himself detained in Wales and unable to get back, while Lord Saye's and the King's troops in turn were occupying Oxford, and Fellows and students were dispersing, many of them to join the forces of the King. The College plate went to the Royal Mint. The College accounts began to speak of "Beere to the Kinges Souldiers," of Musquets and Pikes for "the Prince his Trumpetters," of payments for work on the fortifications and for Foot soldiers in the Royal army. The

<sup>1</sup> The brief *Life* of Mansell, written by Sir L. Jenkins, was privately printed in 1854, from the MS. then in the Ashmolean. I have to thank the College Librarian for a copy. The *Life* of Jenkins by William Wynne, with a large collection of diplomatic correspondence, was published in 1724.

<sup>2</sup> The receipts being £731 and the expenditure £631. Both have risen substantially since 1631. In 1643 the receipts fall to £95, and the disbursements amount to £341. See the bound volume of accounts from 1631 onwards in the College archives. It is for the most part beautifully kept.



College tenants began to withhold their rents. The best College rooms were occupied by "soldiers, courtiers and others." The Fellows who remained had to take their meals in the Buttery instead of the Hall. Royalist officers, Sir Edward Stradling and Lord Grandison, died in the College. Lady Grandison ran up bills in the Buttery, and left them apparently unpaid. Mansell got back to Oxford at the end of 1642, but was called to Wales again by his brother's death. He remained in Glamorganshire, working in the King's interests, for the remainder of the war, till the Parliamentary Visitation of the University made it essential for him to return. The sympathies of Jesus men were strongly on the Royal side. But during the War the College had few annals, and its Register, which fell into the hands of the Visitors, was not returned.

Mansell of course would hear nothing of submission. He was removed in 1648, though Pembroke, the Chancellor, was his kinsman and Pembroke's younger sons old pupils of his own. He would not "frame himself to any the least evasion," but it was said that the Visitors regretted his loss. Most of the Fellows followed his example. Their answers to the Visitors were refreshingly downright. John Hughes would neither acknowledge nor submit to the Parliament, were it to save his life. Phillipp Flower dared not condemn himself to receive a portion with hypocrites in yielding up his conscience. Thomas Ellis could not submit "without the hazard of shipwreckinge" his soul.<sup>1</sup> Only one or two of the Fellows complied.<sup>2</sup> All the rest apparently faced the risk of deprivation. Of a list of twenty-three members of the College, which remains to us, it has been estimated that ten were certainly expelled and that some ten others may or may not have met with the same fate.<sup>3</sup> But some of these perhaps submitted later, and in any case enough members of the College stayed on to make it for years a centre of opposition to those in power. The Provost Marshal "of this garrison of Oxon" had to be called in to enable the new Fellows to get possession of their chambers.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Michael Roberts was appointed Prin-

<sup>1</sup> The answers by Members of Jesus College given on the 18th May 1648 are printed in Prof. Burrow's edition of the *Visitors' Register* (98-100).

<sup>2</sup> "There remayned," says Jenkins in Mansell's *Life* (4), "but one Fellow and one Schollar that was not outed."

<sup>3</sup> See Burrows' Tables (*Vis. Reg.* 503-4). The list includes some who were neither Fellows nor Scholars. For the new-comers introduced by the Parliament see Burrows (*Ib.* 177 and 504-5). But we cannot be quite sure of the facts. The *Visitors' Register* has many references to the affairs of the College.

<sup>4</sup> Burrows (*Ib.* 209). Langbaine puts the numbers of the College at 109 about 1651 (*Found. of Universitie of Oxford*)!

cipal, no very happy choice ; there were some grounds for suspecting him of corruption.<sup>1</sup> Sharp dissensions in the College followed. An appeal went up to Cromwell. The Fellows summarily removed Dr. Roberts, and though the Visitors declined in 1656 to confirm their action, Roberts was next year induced to resign. He lived on in Oxford, grumbling apparently and hoarding money, until 1679. He died, said rumour, with a girdle of gold pieces round him, and was buried in St. Peter's Churchyard.

Mansell had handed over his accounts in perfect order. But they showed that since 1644 the College had received less than half of its regular income. In 1651 the Visitors empowered it to cut down the number of Fellows and Scholars. Mansell also drew up an inventory of the College goods and an interesting catalogue of the books which the Library contained.<sup>2</sup> After that he retired to Wales, where young men of quality gathered round him, to be taught by Leoline Jenkins, on lines, no doubt, which Mansell approved. But even in Wales the Doctor's grave and pious aspect, "which should have been a protection to him among Salvages," did not save him from molestation. The little tutoring establishment, "a Seminary," some thought, "of Rebellion and Sedition," was broken up. It removed with Jenkins in 1651 to Mr. White's Town House in Oxford, and soon afterwards Mansell returned there also. He was allowed to take up his quarters in his old College,<sup>3</sup> where he lived in studious retirement for eight years. "His exercise within doores was Prayer, without doores Charity." He joined in the Episcopal services at the house of Dr. Willis. He kept his eye on the young Scholars at Mr. White's.<sup>4</sup> But his presence in College could hardly have helped to make things easier for his successor. Jesus may claim the credit or discredit of remaining a centre of disaffection until the King came home.

On Roberts' resignation in 1657 the College was well filled, in spite of its troubles. It included fifty-three Commoners, nearly all Welsh. The Fellows, it seems, wished to elect Dr. Seth Ward as Principal. But the Protector appointed Francis Howell, one of the Parliamentary Visitors, and a well-known Independent. As Roberts continued for a time to live in College, the new

<sup>1</sup> See the Visitors' Orders of 8th August 1650 and 27th March 1651 (Burrows, 302 and 332, and Hardy, *Jesus Coll.* 117-20).

<sup>2</sup> These are in a thin vellum-bound volume in the College archives, with a summary of the accounts from 1644 to 1648.

<sup>3</sup> He stayed first at a baker's in Holywell : the house (No. 66) remains.

<sup>4</sup> But in 1655 the settlement at Mr. White's, called Little Welsh Hall, could be carried on no longer, and Jenkins took his pupils abroad (*Life of Mansell*, 25-6). See also Wynne's *Life of Jenkins* (I. v).

Principal had the curious experience of acting as host to two predecessors. But the general feeling in 1660 insisted on Mansell's re-appointment. He was made Principal for the third time, and he produced a happy "expedient" for settling the College. Some of the former Fellows were restored. Some of the new ones were retained. And seven other persons were nominated to Fellowships, of whom the most conspicuous was Leoline Jenkins, Mansell's biographer and friend. But Mansell was now an old man. His sight was failing. He had twice refused a Bishopric. After seven months of office he determined to transfer the government of "his beloved College" to younger hands. In 1661 Leoline Jenkins was unanimously elected Principal, "with the good liking of our Common-Father." Mansell, who lived for four years longer, left an important legacy at his death, and Jenkins, who has been called the second Founder of the College, devoted no small part of his influence and fortune to carrying on his master's work.

Sir Leoline Jenkins became a successful lawyer, a useful diplomatist and a Secretary of State—"the most faithful Drudge of a Secretary," said Roger North, "that ever the Court had."<sup>1</sup> From boyhood he had been marked by such a settled gravity of purpose that nobody could ever think him young. Through life, it may be added, Burnet found him "dull and slow." But others formed a kinder judgment. Jenkins had taken up arms for the King. He had won credit as a zealous Royalist. He had studied law successfully abroad and had become "a sort of oracle" on legal subjects. After the Restoration legal and political preferment came quickly. In 1673 he had to give up his post at Jesus for larger work outside. But the years of his Headship were prosperous years. He proved "indefatigable, temperate and vertuous. God blesse him." Order, discipline, disputations were restored. The first minute in the Register after his election re-established daily prayers according to the ritual of the Church of England. The finances were improved: they needed improvement. In 1667 only a hundred and eighty-three pounds were available for Principal, Fellows and Scholars. In 1686 arrears of sixteen hundred pounds were still due to the College. But new members came up and new benefactions fell in. In 1669 there were eighty-eight members battling in College, apart from those on the foundation. They were almost exclusively Welsh, but they included some distinguished men.

Jenkins continued to show a warm interest in the College even after he ceased to be its Principal. He contributed liberally to its buildings. He bequeathed his whole property to it on his

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Lord Keeper Guilford* (229). Wood (*Life*, III, 162-3) and Aubrey (*Brief Lives*, II, 7-9) have notes of interest upon Jenkins.



death. Lands in Glamorganshire, Northamptonshire and other counties, and a few fortunate acres in Lambeth,<sup>1</sup> gave Jesus new revenues of seven hundred pounds.<sup>2</sup> The Principal's allowance was increased by fifty pounds. The sixteen Fellows and sixteen Scholars at last received the pay intended for them. Seven Fellowships and seven Scholarships were definitely allotted to North Wales, and the same number to South Wales.<sup>3</sup> It was now impossible to pretend that the College was anything but Welsh. Two additional Welsh Fellowships were designed, when funds permitted, to furnish Chaplains for the Plantations and the fleet. And Cowbridge School, long supported by the family of Stradling, but purchased and endowed by Sir Leoline Jenkins, became with its Pensioners and its Exhibitions a part of the charge entrusted to the College.

Jenkins' successor, Dr. John Lloyd, is described by Wood as a "bibing fellow, of little business, pedanticall, of little or no behaviour."<sup>4</sup> But once as Vice-Chancellor, in 1683, he led a body of armed men from Jesus after midnight to deliver a Pro-Proctor whom the town mob had imprisoned in the Castle. He received a visit from the Duke of York. He took part in the great funeral given to Jenkins in the College Chapel. And he passed on to higher things. In 1686, when Lloyd was promoted to a Bishopric, Jonathan Edwards, best known as a controversialist, succeeded. He was "the greatest champion" of his time against Socinianism. His last days were devoted to discussions of Original Sin. His integrity has been questioned by those who disliked his theological opinions. But he did something for the buildings of his College, and left it a handsome bequest at his death.

Mansell and Jenkins stand out in the history of the College, but Jesus can claim not a few distinguished men. Of its Bishops, Andrewes was dimly connected with the foundation. Morgan Owen, who was impeached for protesting against the acts of the Long Parliament, gave the famous South Porch to St. Mary's Church. Thomas Howell, a contemporary of Mansell, became Bishop of Bristol in 1644, and had his Palace pillaged when the Parliament's troops retook the city. William Lloyd of St.

<sup>1</sup> Worth then £85 a year. To-day they bring in over £3,000, though nearly half the property has been sold. For the details of Jenkins' endowment, and of the valuable Meyricke bequest early in the 18th century, see Hardy (*Jesus Coll.* 84-7 and 151-62).

<sup>2</sup> By 1687 the older revenues were a little over the £600 allowed by James' Charter. 17 Fellowships and 22 Scholarships had been nominally founded. But the money to pay them all had not been found. After Jenkins' death the College cut the number down to 16 of each and provided funds for them all (*Ib.* 84-7).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* (154-5).

<sup>4</sup> *Life* (III, 165).

Asaph, and of other Sees later, who figures as "Episcopus Lloyd" in the Buttery Books, was one of the Seven Bishops of 1688, and is said to have induced Burnet to undertake his history of the Reformation. Many lawyers and men of letters are in the College lists. Robert Johnson, one of the original Fellows, founded the Schools of Uppingham and Oakham. David Powell, probably the first Jesus man to take a degree, may claim to be the first historian of Wales in modern times. But Powell was only the earliest of several members of the College who devoted themselves to the antiquities and literature of their country. John Davies produced a Welsh grammar in Latin, and a great Welsh Dictionary in 1632. Rees Pritchard, who entered Jesus in 1597, was famed as poet and preacher, a Royalist in politics but a Puritan at heart. "Perceiving the people to be ignorant, and also much addicted to singing, he turned the substance of his sermons into verse."<sup>1</sup> James Howell, whose "Familiar Letters" contain interesting notices of Jesus and of Oxford, was elected a Fellow in 1623.<sup>2</sup> Sir James Perrot, with his strange, reputed ancestry,<sup>3</sup> was not only an author but a Welsh member who showed independence in the days of James I. A later politician, Sir William Williams, once famed for his independence in the House of Commons, became a Law Officer to James II, and shared with Jeffreys the hatred of the people. He pleaded for indulgence when he reverted to the Whigs: "we have all done amiss and must wink at one another."<sup>4</sup> Sir William Vaughan of Golden Grove, author of many writings, found time to take a share in colonising Newfoundland. There were many Vaughans at Jesus as the years went by. Henry, styled the Silurist—"you know Silures contayned Breconockshire, Herefordshire, etc."—followed the "pleasant paths of poetry and philology," and became no unworthy rival of George Herbert, while his twin brother Thomas, "Eugenius Philalethes," won some celebrity as a natural philosopher. Thomas Vaughan indeed forsook the philosophy of Aristotle, as no better than an apothecary's drug, and for a time went after the false gods of alchemy instead. But it was an experiment, it seems, with

<sup>1</sup> See R. Williams' *Eminent Welshmen* (425). I am indebted to Dr. Hardy's history and to *D.N.B.* for many facts and references here.

<sup>2</sup> Elected, but apparently never admitted (*Jesus Coll.* 65). Sir S. Lee has a valuable article on Howell in *D.N.B.*

<sup>3</sup> He is said to have been a natural son of Sir John Perrot, who was reputed a son of Henry VIII.

<sup>4</sup> See Foster (*Alumni Oxon.*, 1st Series, vol. IV) and the full references in *D.N.B.* Mr. Hardy does not, I think, mention Williams. Dr. Andrew Clark's notes on the College Buttery Books, six MS. volumes running from 1637 to 1799, in the possession of the College, give many valuable details about Jesus men.

mercury and not with magic which at length put an end to his adventurous career.

Politics and religion could hardly fail to overshadow the work of students in that troubled age. Sir Thomas Salesbury, "a most noted poet," who wrote in verse a history of Joseph, was even more conspicuous as a Cavalier. John Ellis, the author of *Clavis Fidei*,<sup>1</sup> is said by Wood to have "sided with all parties and taken all oathes." John Littleton, Vice-Principal in 1633, was afterwards Master of the Temple. But he joined the King's army and the Parliament turned him out. Theodore Price, a strong supporter of Laud, seemed to Prynne merely "an unpreaching epicurean." Ussher, the well-loved Archbishop of Armagh, "learned to a miracle," but with too gentle a soul for the rough problems of his day, stayed at Jesus more than once.<sup>2</sup> In the same age Vavasour Powell, a fearless Independent, or as Wood says, "a grand schismatic," found it equally difficult to accept the formulas of Presbyter and Churchman, the usurpation of Cromwell and the ideals of the Restoration. One would like to think of him visiting Oxford with Bunyan in 1657.<sup>3</sup> It is more certain that he died in prison, preaching with irrepressible vigour to the last. Among other scholars and divines Edward Lhuyd, who in 1690 was appointed Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, won so great a reputation that Sir Isaac Newton contributed to the cost of publishing his work. And in a very different field of celebrity, "Beau" Nash, whose singular triumphs at Bath were to make etiquette for a later generation, may be noted, dressed perhaps already "to the very edge of his finances," as an undergraduate at Jesus in 1692.

White Hall, or Great White Hall, the nucleus of the College buildings, was "a large tenement with a great stone gate," which had apparently existed in the days of Simon de Montfort. It was the last survivor of a group of hostels which once stood in the space between Ship Street and Market Street, South of the town wall.<sup>4</sup> In this Hall the members of Price's foundation

<sup>1</sup> A short treatise on the Creed, translated as *The Key of Faith* by H. Handley in 1842.

<sup>2</sup> His name appears in the Buttery Books in 1640 and again in 1652. But for several years the books are missing, and Ussher may have stayed at Jesus often. The evidence is summed up by Dr. Hardy (*Jesus*, 99-101).

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Boase accepts this tradition (Oxford, 140) and Mr. Thomas quotes it (*Colls. of Oxf.* 376)—for what it may be worth. Wood's lively but prejudiced sketch of Powell in the *Athenæ* (ed. Bliss, III, 911 sq.) should be checked by the *Life and Death of Mr. Vavasor Powell*, 1671, and by other authorities quoted in *D.N.B.*

<sup>4</sup> For these old Halls, which fronted, some on Cheyney Lane (Market Street) and some on Somnore Lane (Ship Street), see Wood (*City*, I, *passim*), Hardy (*Jesus Coll.* 9-11), and Hurst (*Oxford Topography*, 138 sq.). They were frequented, it seems, by law students, not specially by Welshmen.



had their earliest home. But the Founder at once began to raise beside it and behind it more ambitious buildings fronting on the Turl :

“ Struxit Hugo Pricius tibi clara Palatia, Jesu,  
Vt doctor legum pectora docta darét ”<sup>1</sup> :

and with this block, the original East front of the College, the Fellows had for a time to be content. But when Griffith Powell became Principal in 1613, a vigorous effort was made to improve the buildings. Money was collected. White Hall was pulled down. On Cheyney Lane the South side of a new quadrangle rose. On the West a Kitchen and Buttery were built, with a chamber over them, and a Dining Hall with three long windows facing East, and with panelling for which the Lord Chancellor's Secretary paid. Beyond the Gateway on the Turl, in the North-East corner, a new Chapel was begun.<sup>2</sup> When Griffith Powell died, in 1620, the outline of the original quadrangle, except for the space now covered by the Principal's Lodgings, was virtually complete.<sup>3</sup>

Thelwall, Mansell and Jenkins deserve to rank with Price and Griffith Powell among the principal builders of the College. Thelwall not only finished what Powell had begun. He built at his own cost the Principal's Lodgings on the North side, joining the Chapel with the Hall, and he fitted up a dining-room “ with wainscot curiously graven ” worthy of a Principal of standing and estate. Further West, beyond the Hall, Sir Eubule laid the foundations of a new quadrangle by building a Library with chambers over it and a colonnade beneath, for which he secured contributions both of money and of books. James Howell wrote from Rome to ask “ with what rate Jesus College new walls go up.” And there is no doubt that Thelwall earned the praises which his memorial in the Chapel gives. But Mansell, his biographer tells us, enlarged the College “ beyond all hopes.”

“ For though our Princippall had no fonds, but that of his owne Zeale, for such an undertaking ; he began the Seconde Quadrangle, and pulling downe a ruinous Library that joyned the upper end of the Hall, he built the North and South Pieces as the first halfe of the two squares of this new Quadrangle by the Contribution of his Friends and his owne money.”<sup>4</sup>

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White Hall, Mr. Hardy thinks, stood where Staircases IV and V in the old quadrangle stand to-day. But there were other White Halls close by.

<sup>1</sup> Fitzherbert says that Price put up this distich over the gateway in the Turl (*Eliz. Oxford.*, 15). The new block ran round the corner into Cheyney Lane. See also Agas' Map.

<sup>2</sup> But it did not at first extend quite as far East as Turl Street.

<sup>3</sup> The buildings were not finished till after Powell's death. The Chapel was consecrated on the 28th May 1621 (*Jesus*, 39).

<sup>4</sup> I quote from Mansell's *Life* (4-5).

The outbreak of War prevented some promises of assistance from being fulfilled. But a generous list of subscriptions from the Welsh clergy remains. The Chapel was improved. A new and charming doorway was inserted, with the inscription over it "Ascendat Oratio descendat Gratia." The East front with a "fayre east window" was extended to the Turl. Thelwall's Library, curiously described as "ruinous," was pulled down. Two sides of the second quadrangle were laid out.<sup>1</sup> A new Library had been promised, to form the West side, and Dr. Oliver Lloyd's Law Library had been inherited by the College, when the outbreak of the Civil War scattered all schemes of improvement to the winds. Yet even in the hour of his expulsion Mansell completed his full Catalogue of College books. Five hundred works, including the Price manuscripts, which had belonged to the Library of old, nine hundred works lately given by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and four hundred and fifty works given by Mansell himself,<sup>2</sup> all had to find a temporary home in rooms above the Buttery and Kitchen.<sup>3</sup> Jenkins, while Principal, had perhaps enough to do in restoring the finances of the College. But after his resignation he took up Mansell's plans. The South side of the new quadrangle was finished, and a Library built along part of the West side, at Sir Leoline's own expense. The books were transferred to it in 1679. Before that time a small but orderly garden had been laid out to the North of the old quadrangle. But the North-West corner of the new quadrangle was for some while still unoccupied, till new buildings rose to fill it in the last years of Queen Anne.<sup>4</sup>

Change and restoration have inevitably left their mark on the appearance of the College. The gables which Loggan shows in the old quadrangle have vanished: a third storey has taken their place. The Hall has got new battlements. Dr. Price's old building on the Turl has been refaced. A tower has grown up over a new Gateway. But the inner quadrangle has been altered comparatively little since Mansell and Jenkins laid it out. The Hall which Powell built has now a plaster ceiling with attics over it, hiding the old open roof. The blazons which once glowed in the windows, and the Minstrels' Gallery, which tradition places at the South end, have disappeared.<sup>5</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> It is not quite clear how far Mansell finished these two sides, North and South.

<sup>2</sup> In round figures. See the original Catalogue in the College archives and Dr. Hardy's history (114).

<sup>3</sup> Principal Roberts took charge of them in May 1649.

<sup>4</sup> The Meyricke Library was afterwards placed here. Meyricke was elected a Fellow in 1662, but his great bequest dates from his death in 1713.

<sup>5</sup> Wood records the blazons (*Colls.* 581-2).







portraits of Dr. Price and of Queen Elizabeth hang over the high table. The "virgo invictissima semper Augusta" appears more than once upon the College walls. Jenkins is close by. So is Charles I, a noble Vandyck, and Charles II by Lely—both pictures once in Jenkins' possession—and Thelwall as a boy, and Andrewes as a Bishop, and other Jesus dignitaries known to fame. Mansell's portrait is in the Principal's Lodgings, where Thelwall also reappears. The Chapel has undergone more improvements. To widen the arch of the chancel, the tombs of Thelwall and of Mansell have been moved. The wainscoting and woodwork, in which the College must once have been exceptionally rich, have here been swept away. But the beautiful Jacobean screen still guards the entrance from the Ante-Chapel. The fine old pulpit, the steps of black and white marble and the fair East window, now filled with modern glass, remain. And of the monuments Thelwall's yields to none in dignity, while the inscription upon Jenkins yields to few in length.

Jenkins' Library is overcrowded now with volumes. Its possessions include manuscripts going back to the eleventh century, given in early days by Sir John Prise of Portham, and noted in the earliest Register of the College. They include, as in duty bound, many interesting manuscripts from Wales, among which the famous Red Book of Hergest, with its tales of Arthur and of Merlin, takes the highest place.<sup>1</sup> They include also Welsh Bibles, theologians and Fathers, a fine Thomas Aquinas of 1512, a rich store of pamphlets and of works on Canon Law. They include the "Brute Chronicles" of England with their mediæval legends and the original draft of Lord Herbert of Cherbury's History of Henry VIII, which may be more reliable as history, and which came, no doubt, to the Library with Lord Herbert's great bequest. And they include works as curious or important as the "Arms and Pedigrees of 216 Baronets of England (male and female) for three descents." The long, light room, with its old, carved cases and desks at right angles to the wall, with its great South window looking over Market Street, and its fine sense of tranquillity and space, holds an honourable rank among the many noble libraries in which Oxford keeps its treasures of books.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is probably a 15th-century MS., but it was not presented to the College till 1701. (See Dr. Hardy's Note on the Library, *Jesus Coll.* 224-8). The College MSS. are now deposited in the Bodleian.

<sup>2</sup> I have already referred to the chief authorities for the College history. The Principal's book describes (221-2) the documents in the Munitment Room, and I have to thank him and the Bursar, Dr. Hazell, for their kindness in allowing me to consult them and in answering questions on the subject. The Bursars' *Computi* run from 1630 or 1631, but between 1648 and 1660 they are missing. The Buttery Books, complete for many years after the Restoration, are more fragmentary before that, but Dr. Andrew

Clark's notes on them run from 1637. The early Register (*Liber Collegii Jesu*) has some points of interest, more perhaps than the Registers after the Restoration. It runs from 1602 to about 1633; but its successor, which might have been made very interesting, was taken away for the Parliamentary Visitors and was apparently not returned. There are important lists of benefactors, a Benefactors' Book labelled 1626, Account Books of Jenkins' Endowment, and notably the interesting volume of College accounts from 1631 to about 1650. The original Statutes and other records of special value, like Powell's early account of the College and Mansell's Catalogue and inventory, are kept with the foundation documents in an iron-bound chest.



## CHAPTER XV

### JACOBEOAN OXFORD :

#### THE BODLEIAN AND THE SCHOOLS

**N**O Elizabethan found a happier way of linking his name with the immortality of Oxford than the "thrice worthy Thomas Bodley," whose offer to restore the ancient Library was welcomed by Convocation in 1598.

"Where there hath bin heretofore a publike Library in Oxford, which you know is apparent by the rome itself remayning and by your Statute Records, I will take the charge and cost upon me to reduce it againe to his former use, and to make it fit and handsome with seates and shelves and deskes and all that may be needfull, to stirre up other mens benevolence to help to furnish it with bookes. And this I purpose to begin, assoone as timber can be gotten, to the intent that you may reape some speedie profit of my project."<sup>1</sup>

Cobham's Library and Duke Humphrey's Library had both passed away. The fifteenth-century building had been plundered by iconoclasts or knaves. Bodley had entered Magdalen College within a few years of the shameful transaction which empowered the University officials to sell off such of its fittings as remained.<sup>2</sup> His family had taken refuge abroad during the reign of Queen Mary. At Geneva he had been nurtured from the age of twelve in scholarship and in theology. At Oxford under Laurence Humfrey this teaching had been continued, and the love of books implanted in him by his father, a well-known printer of the Bible, had grown into a genuine love of knowledge. Bodley was elected in 1563 a Probationer-Fellow of Merton, and began to give Greek lectures in the College Hall. In 1566 he was lecturing on Natural Philosophy. In 1569 he was serving as Proctor. He became a great student of Hebrew. He obtained leave to travel and to study languages abroad. He was drawn into

<sup>1</sup> See Bodley's letter as given by Wood (*Annals*, II, 266). Bodley's spelling is more exactly reproduced in *Trecentale Bodleianum* (23-6). But the differences are very small.

<sup>2</sup> It seems that, after the dispersal of the books in the days of Edward VI, the Library building was used for medical students. Wood speaks rather vaguely of "infamous uses." (See *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, III, 148).

diplomacy, sent on embassies to German Princes, allowed to carry encouragement to Henry of Navarre. He spent years in a difficult mission to the Netherlands. If it be true that Queen Elizabeth one day expressed a wish that he were hanged, that would not necessarily reflect on her Ambassador's integrity. Burghley and Essex both appreciated his political abilities, his grace and charm. But Bodley escaped at last from the entanglements of politics. His public service was to take a more enduring form. He resolved to set up his staff "at the Librarie dore in Oxon." He would fain "stay the wreck, drive the waste away, rescue from destruction the great buildings of old founders as lovingly as they had been raised of old, and bring back to the Muses whom the savagery of the past had driven into banishment, the flow of life and blood and their ancient birthright of a home."<sup>1</sup>

Two years were spent in repairing and in fitting up Duke Humphrey's reading-room again. The building cost Bodley more than he had expected, "because the timber-works of the house were rotten and had to be new made."<sup>2</sup> The beautiful roof which we know was installed, with the arms of the University painted in its compartments, the Bible, the seven seals, the three crowns and the familiar motto,<sup>3</sup> and with Bodley's own arms on the bosses between. From the first Bodley began to gather in books and to provide a Register for those who gave them. The Register, two noble folios on vellum, with some entries in the fine handwriting of a young graduate of Corpus, the "ever-memorable" John Hales, was placed in a conspicuous position in the Library.<sup>4</sup> Essex, Buckhurst, Hunsdon and other

<sup>1</sup> These words—quoted by Mr. Gibson (*Some Oxford Libraries*, 22), to whose work, as to Mr. Madan's recent treatise on *The Bodleian Library* (1919) I owe many useful hints—are in John Hales' funeral oration in Merton Chapel, March 29, 1613, as translated by Canon Skrine for the Tercentenary service in 1913 and reprinted by the *Oxford Times*. Bodley's brief autobiography, written in 1609, was printed by Hearne in 1703 in *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ*, with many of his letters to Thomas James. It was reprinted by Mr. Lane in 1894, and in *Trecentale Bodleianum* (1913). See also *Pietas Oxoniensis* (1902), Macray's *Annals of the Bodleian*, and *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> See Sir D. Carleton's letter (*Cal. St. Pap. Dom.*, 1598-1601, 174) and Macray (*Annals*, 2nd ed., 16 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> "Dominus illuminatio mea." But the University in those days had other mottoes. "Bonitas regnabit, Veritas liberabit," was one. "In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum," was another. (See Macray's note, *Annals*, 17-18). The University arms, Mr. Madan tells me, are found on a mace of 1429. There may be some fifteenth-century work in the roof of the Library still.

<sup>4</sup> "Eminentissimo semper recubito loco" (Wake's *Rex Platonicus*, 6th ed., 193). Donations to June 1604 were printed. Hales made manuscript additions.

nobles were among the early contributors.<sup>1</sup> Bodley had a "great store of honorable friends." He himself gave many volumes collected in Italy by a London bookseller whom he employed, and among others probably the beautifully illuminated manuscript of the *Romance of Alexander*, which does not appear in the Register of donations.<sup>2</sup> Bishop Westphaling of Hereford gave twenty pounds to purchase books. Contributions came in from Dean Nowell, from President Bond of Magdalen, from Thomas Allen of Gloucester Hall. Allen had secured some of the Grey Friars' spoils. Thomas James of New College, the first Librarian, a scholar and book-lover who had edited the *Philobiblon*, gave a supply of manuscripts, for which, Wood unkindly suggested, he had rummaged to some purpose among College shelves. Merton offered thirty-eight volumes. The Dean and Chapter of Exeter presented manuscripts belonging to their Cathedral, including a precious Missal given them in the days of Edward the Confessor.<sup>3</sup> The Dean and Chapter of Windsor followed this doubtful example later. Tobie Matthew, Lord Mountjoy, Lord Cobham, many others, gave books or money. Before the end of 1602 Bodley had collected over two thousand volumes. On the 8th November in that year the restored and replenished Library was opened. Poets were already singing its praises. In the year of Elizabeth's death the most brilliant of her courtiers added his gift to a foundation which prolonged the greatest traditions of her reign.<sup>4</sup>

Under the new Sovereign the Oxford Library found equal favour. Bodley had succeeded in making it the fashion, and the stream of donations flowed on. Great peers like Northumberland, Nottingham and Pembroke, Veres and Cecils, Nevilles, Spencers, Grosvenors, book-lovers like Sir Robert Cotton and Sir Henry Wotton, nobles and churchmen, lawyers and merchants, helped to enrich it as its fame increased. In 1604 Bodley was knighted. In 1605 the first Catalogue, compiled by Thomas James and dedicated to Prince Henry, appeared. Bodley's letters to his earliest Librarian, frequent, racy and delightful letters, show his keen interest, not only in the building but in every detail of its administration. We have notes about the

<sup>1</sup> Buckhurst's gift of £100 does not seem to have been made till March 1602 (*Bodl. Quart. Record*, II, 100). But the library of the Bishop of Algarve, seized by Essex at Faro in 1596, was among the earliest donations (*Ib.* IV, 77).

<sup>2</sup> See *Bodl. MS.* 264 and Macray's *Annals* (21-2).

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Bodley was born at Exeter, and his brother Laurence became a Canon there.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Walter Raleigh gave £50 in 1603. For lists of benefactions see Wood (*Ann.* II, 920-50), Macray (*App.* III, as well as under separate years), and *Pietas Oxoniensis* (21-5).



books acquired. Plays, almanacs and day-books Bodley would not have. Hardly one play in forty, he thought, was worth the keeping—though Shakespeare filled the stage. He would not stuff his Library with “baggage-books” or “riffe raffles.” We have instructions about desks and shelves and chains, advice about wainscoting and painting.<sup>1</sup> We have protests against closing the Library too long. We have questions about cataloguing, binding, cleaning. A little rosemary is to be rubbed into the floor: but “the Breeding of Worms in your Desks we cannot prevent.” We have questions more rarely which affect the Librarian personally. The demands for his attendance were exacting: the six hours sometimes mounted up to ten. There were questions of salary. James had only twenty-two pounds, thirteen and fourpence to begin with. He asked for more. But Bodley was not prepared “to charge the spitte with too much rostmeat,” and it was not till 1610 that the Statutes assigned the Keeper forty pounds a year. Till the Under-Keeper was appointed James had no assistant but the Cleanser. Had it not been for the Delegates of Convocation, he would hardly have persuaded the Founder to give him the Staff which he required.<sup>2</sup> But even worse than a demand for salary was James’ announcement that he wished to marry. Kindly and affectionate as he was, Bodley could not conceal his bitter disappointment. He had always thought James “*alienissimus* from any such Cogitation.” He would not at first hear of it. When he yielded, it was on the strict understanding that the rule of celibacy should be “inviolable” in future. And inviolable it was, with some curious exceptions, till a much later date.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. G. W. Wheeler, to whose exact knowledge I am here constantly indebted, points out that some wainscots referred to by Bodley were often pieces of wood to be made into shelves.

<sup>2</sup> On this point see Mr. Wheeler’s two papers in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (II, 279–85 and 310–13). The Keeper’s £40 a year assigned by the Statutes consisted of £33.6.8 from Library revenues and of £6.13.4 from Henry IV’s donation, which had been assigned to the Keeper of the earlier Library.

<sup>3</sup> See *Reliquiæ Bodleianæ* (*passim*, and especially 49–54 and 162) and Macray (*Ann.* 26). The original letters of Bodley were mostly printed by Hearne, but without adequate dates or arrangement. They have now been carefully arranged in the Library, though the proposal to reprint them is postponed. I have been kindly allowed to study Mr. Wheeler’s chronological list. The letter numbered iii in *Reliq. Bodl.*, objecting to James’ marriage and dated Sept. 11, belongs to 1601. The letter numbered lxxvii, consenting to it and dated Aug. 11, belongs to 1602. The rule of celibacy lasted into the nineteenth century, but one Librarian nevertheless married twice. Some of the letters on building matters (marked by Hearne ccxix, cciii and ccxxix) belong to 1611 and 1612. The protest against closing the Library too long for vacations (Hearne’s cxxxvii) was the last of Bodley’s letters and was written on Jan. 3, 1613. An interesting letter

Under-paid or over-paid, married or unmarried, James was too valuable an officer to lose. A learned, large-minded and far-sighted man, "esteemed by some a living library," he remained in charge till 1620, and he continued to work at the Catalogue even after he retired. The first printed Catalogue, produced by Joseph Barnes not without difficulties in 1605,<sup>1</sup> included nearly six thousand volumes. But it was made when books were flowing in, and a third of them were placed in the Appendix. The shelves were arranged according to Faculties, under the four time-honoured headings of Theology, Medicine, Law and Arts.<sup>2</sup> Bodley at first saw no need for press-marks, and he insisted on keeping manuscripts and printed books together.<sup>3</sup> Classification presented many problems. Law included the art of government and Medicine the greater part of Natural History. Arts comprised so many subjects—history, philosophy, mathematics, literature, language—that it was bound ultimately to increase out of proportion to the others. But for many years Theology held its own.<sup>4</sup> In the first Catalogue there were only three works on English literature, and it was not till 1635 that Shakespeare's name appeared. The Bodleian was intended to be a Library for scholars. No English translation of a Greek or Latin book was allowed in early days.<sup>5</sup> But even scholars like James and Bodley were divided as to whether a Hebrew Lexicon and Grammar belonged to Theology or Arts.<sup>6</sup> The folios were chained to the shelves and easily accessible. The quartos and octavos were for long locked away, and readers may sometimes "for modesty sake" have hesitated to trouble the Librarian for them.<sup>7</sup> To each book-case a frame was affixed, on which the titles of the books were entered under the initial

of 1612, not given by Hearne, is printed in the Bodleian *Record* for November 1919 (II, 287).

<sup>1</sup> There is an earlier MS. catalogue of 1602 (in *MS. Rawl. Q. e. 31*), and there are indications of at least one other earlier than this (*Bod. Quart. Rec.* II, 147 and 150).

<sup>2</sup> Theology had 9 alcoves allotted to it, Medicine 1½, Law 3 and Arts 4½ (*Ib.* I, 283). In the original arrangement, which Bodley preferred, Law came before Medicine.

<sup>3</sup> Twyne complained of James' action in locking up the MSS. after Bodley's death (*Ib.* I, 287).

<sup>4</sup> Up to 1652 at any rate Theology increased more rapidly than Arts (*Ib.* I, 260-1).

<sup>5</sup> And there is only one from French or Italian in the Catalogue of 1620. Florio's translation of *Montaigne*, Sir H. Savile's translation of *Tacitus* and the English version of Camden's *Britannia* were all excluded (*Ib.* I, 115-16).

<sup>6</sup> Bodley pressed for a special catalogue of Hebrew books, and steps were taken to carry out his wishes (*Ib.* III, 144-6).

<sup>7</sup> Quartos bound in boards were chained with the folios. The practice was extended at Twyne's suggestion.

letter of the author's name; and these frames became the basis of the first printed Catalogue, "the earliest general catalogue of any European public library." The idea was new. The proof-sheets called for Bodley's criticism. Barnes' Hebrew type was by no means above reproach. There were other faults also, and James, well aware of them, had some reason for the "weerinesse and weaknesse" which he felt. But the first Bodleian Catalogue was nevertheless a considerable achievement and a valuable piece of pioneering work.<sup>1</sup>

The second Catalogue, published in 1620, was more ambitious. It was arranged in alphabetical order and included some sixteen thousand books. James' preface to it shows that he had little liking for the system of classification by shelves. He would have preferred to divide the books into three sizes, folio, quarto and octavo, to number them consecutively, and to supplement the alphabetical Catalogue of authors by subject-catalogues in each Faculty. He had already, it seems, compiled subject-catalogues in Theology, Medicine and Law. He continued these labours after his retirement and crowned them with an elaborate subject-catalogue in Arts.<sup>2</sup> James had, it seems, a real desire to help the younger students, though Twyne criticised his attitude towards them. He wished to form a selected library for undergraduates reading Arts. He insisted upon indexes. He recommended scholars to use note-books. Latinist though he was, he saw the value of learning modern languages. Protestant as he was, "the most industrious and indefatigable writer against the Papists that had been educated in Oxon since the reformation of religion," he believed that the reading of theology would contribute to confound the friends of Rome.<sup>3</sup> If James was disappointed in his hopes of ecclesiastical preferment, and if, as Bodley once suggested, he was a little inclined to take things up too eagerly—he was still a young man when he entered on his task—he must yet have had a real enthusiasm for the fine work to which he gave so many years, and his services seem hardly to have been appreciated as thoroughly as they deserved.

James' work held the field for many years. But in 1635 the

<sup>1</sup> The *Bodleian Quarterly Record* has printed in recent years several valuable notes and articles on the early history of the Library, its catalogues and its arrangements. To Mr. G. W. Wheeler's papers I am very much obliged, not to mention help received from Mr. Madan, Dr. Craster, Mr. Gibson and others. (See especially *Record*, I, 228-32, 254-62, 280-9; II, 17-23, 147-51, 279-85, 310-14; and III, 46-50, 98, 119-21, 144-6.)

<sup>2</sup> After James' day a new and important subject-catalogue was planned about 1652. But the scheme fell through (*Ib.* III, 193-4).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* (IV, 91-5). Mr. Wheeler points out that it was rather to Puritan opinion than to High Church opinion that the Bodleian in its early days appealed.



second Catalogue received an Appendix, drawn up by John Rouse, in which a few great dramatists' names were suffered to appear. Then the War came, and after the Restoration an attempt was made, under Dr. Lockey's Librarianship, to compile a new Catalogue. Fifty Masters of Arts were incautiously called in to help. But this attempt apparently came to nothing, and it was left for Thomas Hyde, Lockey's successor, to produce a more extensive Catalogue in 1674. Hyde knew little of bibliography, though he had a considerable reputation as an Oriental scholar. He had little of James' enthusiasm for his work. He felt keenly the drudgery of the business. He was very much alive, especially in winter, to the physical discomforts of his lot. But in the end he had some right to claim that he had issued the most copious and useful Catalogue of the Library as yet achieved.

James may have disliked being applied to by readers to get out the smaller books. But he set to work to make a list of these applicants, and of others who used the Library as well.<sup>1</sup> The earliest list of admissions runs from 1602 to the date of James' resignation. Among the Colleges Christ Church, it seems, supplied the longest list of readers, with Gentilis figuring among them. The average daily attendance was at first only sixteen. After 1616 autographs accompany the entries of admission: after 1618 lists of foreigners of gentle birth. The Registers of Congregation, which give the Graces granted for admission, include many foreign names. We find more than one student styled "Patricius" from Nürnberg. We find a great Scottish peer like Arran. We find Oxford boys like Sir Walter Raleigh's sons. We find Puritan leaders like Abbot and Holland and Rainolds. We are not so sure of Laud. In 1605 the King paid a visit to the Library, and praised it with a combination of pedantry and facetiousness peculiarly his own. The Librarian, warned by Bodley to imitate the King's pronunciation and to make his speech of welcome "short and sweet and full of Stuff," claimed that thirty languages were already represented and that readers came from every part of Europe.<sup>2</sup> The King was so impressed that he rashly promised to give Sir Thomas

<sup>1</sup> This Register (*MS. Bodl.* 763) only lately re-discovered runs from Nov. 8, 1602 to Nov. 7, 1603. Besides that we, no doubt, owe to James the earliest Admission Register, 1602-1620, which is not mentioned by Dr. Macray (*Record*, I, 328-9, and II, 148). Dr. Clark has drawn attention to the Register of Admissions, from 1610 or 1611 to 1692, and has analysed the Graces for admission contained in the Registers of Congregation (*Univ. Reg.* II, i, 262-82). See also *Bodl. Quart. Rec.* (IV, 95).

<sup>2</sup> In 1611 James counted French, Spanish, Italian and Dutch readers—Dutch includes German—as well as "Danes, Bohemians, Polonians, Jewes, Ethiopians, and others" (*Piet. Oxon.* 13).

any volumes from the Royal Libraries that he cared to take. Official influences perhaps prevented a too literal interpretation of this pledge.<sup>1</sup> In the same year Bacon sent the Founder a copy of his *Advancement of Learning*. The Library authorities treated it as an unnecessary duplicate when another copy came into their hands. In the same spirit later they disposed of the First Folio of Shakespeare when they received a copy of the Third.<sup>2</sup> The Library grew. In 1609 the Founder purchased as a permanent endowment a manor belonging to Lord Norris at Maidenhead. The books increased so fast that an extension of space was needed, and in 1610 the Eastern addition to Duke Humphrey's Library, the Arts End over the Proscholium, was begun.<sup>3</sup> In the same year a fee of twelve pence was fixed for admission. On a far-sighted suggestion made by Thomas James, the Stationers' Company in London agreed to give the Library a copy of every book they printed.<sup>4</sup> And the Statutes, after examination by a Delegation of Convocation, were finally confirmed.

Bodley's English draft of his Statutes is preserved among the archives of his Library, and was printed a hundred years later by Hearne.<sup>5</sup> There are careful rules for the election of the Keeper and his assistant, and for the keeping of the great Register of donors chained in "the upper broad Window." There are rules as to the arrangements and the hours of admission—from eight to eleven in the morning, from two to five in the after-

<sup>1</sup> But Bodley obtained a warrant to confirm the King's promise (*Reliq. Bodl.* 205). For James' visit in 1605 see *Oxford's Triumph* and *Rex Platonicus* (6th ed., 182 sq.). James visited the Library again in 1614.

<sup>2</sup> It was not till 1821 that another copy of the First Folio was secured (Macray, *Ann.* 52). But the remarkable story of the return of the copy which had been disposed of to its old home in 1905 has been told by more than one writer. Mr. Gibson's account (*Some Oxford Libraries*, 75-6) characteristically omits to mention that it was his own skill and knowledge of bindings which identified the book.

<sup>3</sup> Twyne (XXI, 285) gives an account of the laying of the foundation-stone by John King, Dean of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellor, on the 29th July 1610. This, though it has been doubted, seems to be the right date.

<sup>4</sup> On this important agreement, which became a statutory obligation under Charles II, see Macray (*Ann.* 40-1, 44-6).

<sup>5</sup> See *Reliq. Bodl.* (16-44). There is a more accurate reprint in *Trecent. Bodl.* (27-64). Dr. John Budden's translation of Bodley's draft into Latin—Twyne's copy of it, Dr. Clark thinks (*Wood's Life*, IV, 147)—is inserted after p. 568 in *MS. Wood D. 32*. A transcript by T. James is in [*Bodl.*] *MS. Arch. Seld. A 75*. Bodley had "rudely conceaued" his Statutes by June 1608, and had drawn up a series of headings for them as early as 1602, which Mr. G. W. Wheeler has lately printed from *MS. Wood F. 27* in a valuable Note in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (III, 119-21). The Statutes, in which the Delegates made few alterations—these are summarised in Mr. Wheeler's Note—were confirmed by Convocation on June 12, 1610. An Appendix, with 15 new regulations, was added in

noon.<sup>1</sup> The Library is rarely to be closed. No man, not even the Keeper, may enter it with torch, lamp, or candle, under pain of deprivation for ever. Access is to be limited generally to Doctors, Masters, Bachelors. But sons of Lords of Parliament and contributors of gifts have special claims. Other students can be admitted by Grace of Congregation. Bodley would not have sight-seers "pestering all the Room," disturbing students, "babbling and trampling up and down." A few years later, when a German visitor, Baron von Eulenberg, fell to fighting with a Welshman in the Library, sticks and weapons were prohibited as well. No volume is to be lent to any person "of whatever State or Calling, upon any kind of Caution or offer of Security." Yet just at the beginning, Bodley confesses to James, he has spared one book "by way of Connivance" to a good friend, Sir Henry Savile, "for a very short space."<sup>2</sup> There was never again to be such weakness. When Charles I and Cromwell tried to borrow books, they were both inexorably refused. Any graduate convicted of stealing, dismembering or altering any volume is to be publicly disgraced and banished. Eight perpetual Overseers and Visitors of the Library are to be appointed, from Vice-Chancellors, Proctors and Professors; and, though it cannot be supposed that such a duty calls for any recompense, an allowance for dinners and gloves is permitted them, to render the honour agreeable as well. Bodley watched over his Library tenderly, worked for it, saved for it, begged for it wherever he could. In June 1604 he presented to it the Warning Bell of Ingress and Egress mentioned in the Statutes,<sup>3</sup> and a treasure-chest with finely elaborated locks. In January 1613, however, he succumbed to a long and troublesome illness. A stately funeral at Merton followed. Volumes of elegiac verse, to which William Laud and Isaac Casaubon contributed, expressed the grateful University's regret. But monuments and elegies could add nothing to the splendour of the memorial which Bodley had built to his own fame.

The Founder's will gave rise to some heart-burnings among disappointed legatees.<sup>4</sup> And one of his Executors was accused

November 1613, and there were some additional regulations in 1621. Mr. Gibson is printing all in full. (See pp. 487-502, 513-16 and 544-5 of his book.) See also the *Laudian Statutes* (Griffiths ed., 221 sq.).

<sup>1</sup> In winter from 1 to 4.

<sup>2</sup> The letter numbered clviii in *Reliq. Bodl.* should be dated Mar. 30, 1610.

<sup>3</sup> Taken down and mislaid for some generations, it was found and re-established in 1866.

<sup>4</sup> Bodley's will by no means ignored his relatives and friends. See the copy of it printed by Macray (*Ann.* 402 sq.) and *Trecentale Bodleianum* (65-86). For criticisms of it see also Macray (47-9).



of defrauding his estate.<sup>1</sup> Most of his money he devoted to his Library, and few will question his right to do so. But three projects in particular seem to have lain near his heart. As early as 1611 Bodley had urged upon the University the need of better Schools, in place of the "ruinous little roomes" existing. In his will he suggested that, if the plan for the new Schools went forward, a third storey should be added over them, giving "a very large supplement for stowage of Bookes." Next, a fair stair-case<sup>2</sup> was to be raised, "to make y<sup>e</sup> ascent more easye and gracefull to y<sup>e</sup> first great Librarie." And thirdly, there was to be "some bewtifull enlargment" of the Library at the West end towards Exeter College. All three schemes were carried through. The new Schools and the third storey of the Schools Quadrangle were built within a short time of Bodley's death. The familiar corner stair-case was erected. The West wing, with a new Convocation House beneath it, was finished before the Civil War broke out. Selden's great bequest was stored there just before the Restoration. But the motto inside Selden's books,

*περι παντός τήν ελευθερίαν,*

was not one to be much regarded in the days which followed.

Thomas James retired in 1620. John Rouse, the new Librarian, is remembered as a friend of Milton, but he had no disrespect for Kings. The compliments which he bestowed on the Works of King James may rank with any courtier's adulation, and he subscribed fifty pounds to the necessities of King Charles. But when Charles tried to borrow a book from the Library, Rouse did not hesitate to point out that the rules forbade. His influence, however, obtained from Milton a presentation copy of the great Puritan's early poems.<sup>3</sup> Another famous author's gift, the copy of his Essays which Francis Bacon had originally sent to Buckingham, found its way to the Library earlier, bound, like two or three volumes which had once belonged to Bacon's Mistress, in fine embroideries of gold and silver thread. In one of these volumes there are notes in Elizabeth's handwriting. On some of the covers there is work from her needle. And the Library has a translation from Cicero in her hand. An exercise-book of Edward VI is also to be found among its autographs. And

<sup>1</sup> For Sir John Bennet's alleged defalcations see Twyne (VI, 120-4), where no charge of fraud is brought, Macray (46-7) and *D.N.B.* The facts are not very clear, but a note in *Reg. K* supports the charge. (See Gibson's *Statutes*, 516, n.).

<sup>2</sup> The words "storie case" in Mr. Macray's print of the will (*Ann.* 407) seem to be a mistake. (See *Pietas Oxon.* 14, n.).

<sup>3</sup> *Poems both English and Latin*, published in 1645. The first copy given had been lost (Macray, 56).

a beautifully illuminated Book of Hours inscribed by Mary Tudor was presented to it in 1615.

In Rouse's day, but through no fault of the Librarian, the inevitable thefts from the Bodleian began. But they were of little moment compared with the presents which flowed in.<sup>1</sup> In 1629 William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, whose initials have never been quite dissociated from the possibility of a great romance, gave the University with his "beste love" the famous library of Giacomo Barocci of Venice, containing many valuable Greek manuscripts. This noble gift, which Laud sent down to Oxford on the Chancellor's behalf, was completed by Cromwell in 1654. At the same time Laud forwarded from London twenty-nine manuscripts given by the great traveller Sir Thomas Roe. In the years that followed he presented still more splendid offerings of his own—cabinets of coins, an Arabian astrolabe, a fine bust of Charles I,<sup>2</sup> above all a collection of some twelve or thirteen hundred manuscripts on which no book-lover could look unmoved. They included a seventh-century manuscript of the *Acts of the Apostles*, which once, it is probable, belonged to Bede, and a precious copy of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* continued to 1154. A store of manuscripts from Sir Kenelm Digby, many of them works of mediæval science collected by Thomas Allen the astrologer, reached the Library in 1634. The earliest known copy of the *Chanson de Roland* was among Digby's gifts. Robert Burton's bequest a few years later was happily rich in day-books, pamphlets and "currantoes," the very kind of ephemeral baggage which Bodley had disdained.<sup>3</sup> From the same age we have notes on the work of Oxford binders, preserved in the Bodleian Day-books and Accounts. One binder liked green edges for his leaves, another blue, a third, it seems, variegated colours. Roger Barnes, brother to the University printer, mentioned his "greate pressing presse" and his tools among his effects. And William Wildgoose was the binder who in 1624 received an order to bind "William Shakespeares comedies histories etc.," the first Folio which was to be so wantonly disposed of and long afterwards so romantically restored.<sup>4</sup>

King Charles visited the Library in 1629, hailed by the Public Orator as "Excellentissime Vice-Deus." Charles was

<sup>1</sup> See Macray's note on this subject (114 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> With some other idols.

<sup>3</sup> Including one of the only two known copies of the 1602 edition of *Venus and Adonis* (Clark, *Bodleian Guide*, 117-8).

<sup>4</sup> See Gibson (*Oxford Libraries*, Chap. VI). There are good examples of Oxford fifteenth-century bindings in the Bodleian, but "not even a passable example of the class of binding attributed to Rood and Hunte" (*Ib.* 63-4). See also Gibson's *Early Oxford Bindings*.

there again in 1636 and he might well have been in the Bodleian later. In 1642 he borrowed five hundred pounds from Bodley's Chest, which the authorities with pathetic optimism continued to treat as repayable until 1782. Fairfax, on the surrender of the City, set a guard to save the Library, and afterwards left it a valuable bequest.<sup>1</sup> Cromwell gave it manuscripts and praised the strictness of its regulations, when refused permission to take out a book. Thomas Barlow of Queen's succeeded Rouse as Librarian in 1652 and held the place until the Restoration. The pay of his post and of his subordinates was unaltered still.<sup>2</sup> In those years John Evelyn figured in the list of donors, and the eight thousand volumes of Selden's great bequest fell in. Charles II was welcomed with enthusiasm after his Restoration, and entertained at a great banquet in the Selden wing at the West end. James II breakfasted there while the dynasty lasted, and discussed Chinese theology with the Keeper. Clarendon as Chancellor was at home there. Thomas Hyde, who so disliked the cold,<sup>3</sup> continued in office as Librarian when his namesake fell. Isaac Casaubon's notes on scholarship, filling over sixty volumes, reached the Bodleian in 1671. Rare Anglo-Saxon manuscripts came in the same years from the collections of Lord Hatton<sup>4</sup> and Franciscus Junius, including a translation made by King Alfred of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, and a quaintly illustrated paraphrase of parts of Genesis, Exodus and Daniel, which may possibly be Cædmon's work.<sup>5</sup> Other valuable manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries with Welsh and Cornish glosses came from elsewhere. One was decorated with a drawing of Dunstan and was once not improbably Dunstan's own. The great Vernon manuscript of early English poetry, gifts from famous Cavaliers like Newcastle and Ormonde, the lantern which helped to arrest Guy Fawkes, a chair made from the timbers of the unforgotten *Golden Hind*,<sup>6</sup> were among the many valuable offerings made to the Bodleian before the seventeenth century closed. Its income was then between three

<sup>1</sup> Including some valuable early English books and Dodsworth's great collection of genealogical MSS. (Macray, *Ann.* 137-9).

<sup>2</sup> The Keeper £40, the Second Keeper £10, and the Janitor £8. See the accounts for 1657 (*Ib.* 124), which do not, however, include the £6.13.4 which supplemented the Keeper's salary.

<sup>3</sup> The Library was not warmed artificially till 1821 (Clark, *Bodleian Guide*, 37).

<sup>4</sup> The Hatton MSS., it seems, were mostly bought (See Wood's *Life*, II, 231 and n.), and were not the gift of the second Lord Hatton.

<sup>5</sup> See Article on Cædmon in *D.N.B.*

<sup>6</sup> Presented by John Davies, store-keeper at Deptford dockyard, in 1662. Similar chairs, possibly made from the same ship's timbers, exist elsewhere (*Bodl. Quart. Record*, III, 128 and 151).



and four hundred a year, and it contained perhaps six thousand manuscripts and twenty-five or thirty thousand printed books. In 1682 an annual speech or lecture, founded by bequest some years before<sup>1</sup> to commemorate Sir Thomas Bodley and incidentally to encourage Hebrew studies, was established by decree of Convocation, and has since done justice yearly to the Founder's fame.<sup>2</sup>

But Bodley not only established in Oxford a Library with which none except the Vatican's could compare. He set on foot a scheme of building such as few Universities had contemplated yet. As Cobham's Library recalls the old House of Congregation at St. Mary's, as Duke Humphrey's Library was originally an adjunct of the grand Divinity School beneath, so Bodley's Library became an inseparable part of the new Schools Quadrangle, by which seventeenth-century Oxford replaced the small and ruinous buildings of an earlier day. Between Brasenose Lane and the Northern end of Cat Street, some of the old Schools still survived, amid the relics of mediæval Oxford and the houses of binders and parchment-makers, illuminators and scribes. We hear of them in King Edward's day as disused and forsaken. Glovers and laundresses, it is said, had taken possession of the seat where once "Minerva sate." We read vaguely of nettles and brambles growing there, of a "stinking pound for cattle,"<sup>3</sup> of a pig-market on the space where the North end of Schools Street ran. Early in Queen Mary's reign the University secured from Christ Church the Arts Schools of 1439, which had been built on Oseney land, and in the years which followed more than one Vice-Chancellor may have taken part in rebuilding or restoring them.<sup>4</sup> But by the end of the century they were felt to be inadequate, or they may have fallen again into disrepair. When Bodley began to extend the Library eastwards, he broke into this area and set on foot the idea of rebuilding it all. It was proposed that the Proscholium, with his new wing above it, should form the West side of a new quadrangle, sweeping away the mediæval houses, and stretching as far as Cat Street on the East. Spurred by Bodley's example

<sup>1</sup> By Dr. John Morris, Professor of Hebrew, who died in 1648. A list of orators since 1682 has been prepared (*Ib.* II, 80).

<sup>2</sup> A detailed history of the Library will be found in Mr. Macray's *Annals*. Other authorities have been cited. A list of Librarians (from 1449) is given in *Pietas Oxon.* (28 sq.), and a valuable note on the chief collections in Mr. Madan's little treatise (*The Bodleian Library*, Chap. V).

<sup>3</sup> Wood's language is the most severe (*Ann.* II, 780). The Proscholium represents the traditional site of the pig-market. But these statements must be taken with reserve; accurate information is wanting.

<sup>4</sup> But there does not seem to be much evidence of this in the Vice-Chancellors' accounts we have. (See *ante*, p. 93, n.).

and encouragement, the University took up the scheme. On the day after Sir Thomas' funeral at Merton, Sir John Bennet, his executor, laid the foundation-stone of a "compleat quadrangular pile," combining, as the builders of seventeenth-century Oxford loved to do, elaborate classic decorations with the old traditions of Gothic art. This pile, with the older and the later buildings gathered round it, is the chief visible embodiment of the University to-day.

The Proscholium, the high stone vestibule at the East end of the Divinity School, was intended as a "vaulted walke" for students waiting in wet weather for lectures to begin.<sup>1</sup> Its fine roof may have been suggested by older work at Merton. Its fine carved door gave entrance to the Divinity School.<sup>2</sup> On its walls the stone panelling copied from the Divinity School remains. Over the archway runs Bodley's inscription:

Quod feliciter vortat  
Academici Oxoniens.  
Bibliothecam hanc  
Vobis Reipublicaeque  
Literatorum  
T B P.

Above, at right angles to Duke Humphrey's Library, was the real Bodleian, the first addition to the older room. The beautiful timber roof with its paintings was repeated. A noble window<sup>3</sup> broke through the stone panelling on the Eastern wall. Two graceful little wooden stair-cases led up to galleries inside.<sup>4</sup> Under the galleries the books were chained, but they could be lifted down and rested on the counters below. Locked cupboards, which still survive, protected the most precious volumes. Close beside Duke Humphrey's Library, reserved for the higher Faculties after 1612, stood the globes, celestial and terrestrial, without which no seventeenth-century Library was complete.

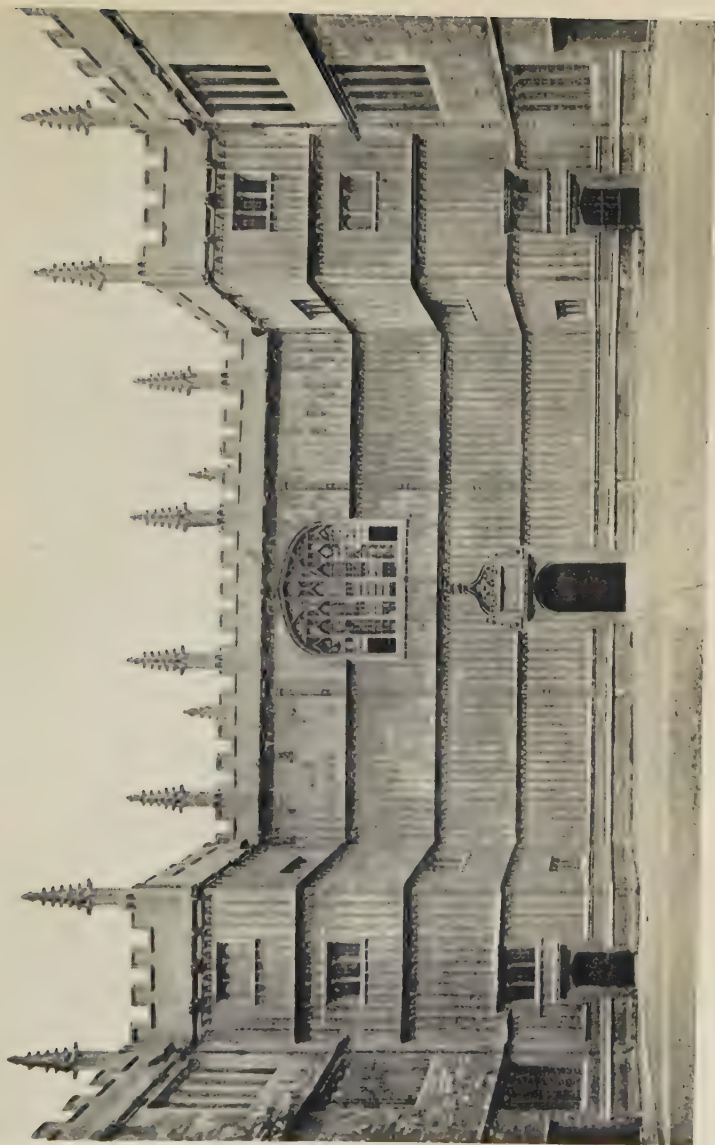
Bodley's East wing was finished in his lifetime; he pawned

<sup>1</sup> After the Convocation House was built, candidates for degrees had to wait here bare-headed while their Grace was asked, for personal inspection by any Regents who desired to see them (Clark, *Bodl. Guide*, 19-20).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Clark thinks that this door was brought here from the West end about 1639 (*Bodl. Guide*, 18). But I know of no authority for this conjecture. Wren's door on the North side was built into the central window in 1669. An iron gate was made at the entrance to the Proscholium about 1622-3 (*Pietas Oxon.* 12, n.).

<sup>3</sup> But the curious old glass in it was not presented till 1797.

<sup>4</sup> They have lately been restored, in careful imitation of the originals removed about 1800, by the aid of drawings made by Conrad Von Uffenbach, a German visitor in 1710 (*Bodl. Quart. Rec.* II, 103-4 and 127-8). Bodley preferred 2 to 4. For the appearance of the old Library before Bodley's wing was added see *Pietas Oxon.* (9-11).



THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY, EAST END





his plate to carry it through. The quadrangle beyond was begun in 1613, and Sir John Bennet, whatever his failings, helped greatly to get subscriptions in. On each side were two storeys of Schools, rising together to the height of the Proscholium. On the South were the Schools of Natural Philosophy and Music, with Medicine and Rhetoric above. On the North were the Schools of Moral Philosophy and of Grammar and History, with Civil Law and Greek above.<sup>1</sup> On the East were the Schools of Metaphysic and Logic, with Geometry and Arithmetic and Astronomy above. Stair-cases were set in each corner of the court. On the East side lay the chief entrance, and over it "an eminent and stately Tower," with four floors devoted respectively to the Mathematical Library of the Savilian Professors, to the Picture Gallery, to the University Archives and to the Observatory at the top. The gateway into Cat Street was closed by an imposing door, now shut by long custom except on two days in the year. It opens in March to receive the new Proctors, and in June to admit the ceremonial procession on its way to commemorate the ancient Act. The shields of the Colleges which enriched the panels ceased with the arms of Wadham, founded just before the building was begun.

The Tower, mainly Gothic in its spirit and its workmanship, for all its rich and delicate ornamentation, was ascended by a winding stair. It represented the five orders of architecture, from the plain Tuscan of the ground floor, up through Doric, Ionic and Corinthian, to the Composite adornments and mouldings above. Picturesque and charming as it is, it wants perhaps those "solid, masculine, and unaffected qualities" which the greatest of English architects required. High up were set carved figures and inscriptions—James, "the most learned, munificent and best of Kings," presenting volumes to the University and to Fame. Tradition says that the King's figure at first was gilded, and that James on a visit to the new buildings<sup>2</sup> begged to be

<sup>1</sup> The Greek School was also called *Schola Linguarum*. The names and uses of the rooms varied with time. (See Wood, *Ann.* II, 792.) In the end the Library obtained possession of them all. See also Wood's *Life* (II, 63-5) and *Bodl. Quart. Record* (II, 74-7).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Clark dates this visit 1619 (*Bodl. Guide*, 10). Wood mentions no visit to Oxford under that year, only one to Woodstock under 1621. But at the end of the *Annals* (II, 793) he speaks of the King coming over from Woodstock to see the new Schools, without giving a date. Nichols (*Progresses of James I*, II, 23) quotes this passage under 1614; but the statues could hardly have been ready then. From Nichols' account of the King's movements in 1619 (III, 564) it seems that James was at Woodstock and Rycote that summer. He might possibly have visited Oxford then, but I know no record of it. The Vice-Chancellor's Accounts in the University Archives (*Computus Vice-Can.* 1621-66, pp. 1-58) give

allowed a coat of white-wash. The arms of Pembroke found a place over the South passage to St. Mary's : there is admirable lead-work on this South façade. The quadrangle, like the Tower, had fine rectangular windows, divided up by shafts and transoms. But the soft stone of the Headington and Taynton quarries needs re-facing often, and in one of the restorations the transoms for the most part disappeared. Through the third storey of the Tower, above the Schools, ran the great gallery which Bodley had designed, with "two Lobies or passages framed with some speciall comlines of workmanshippe," to make a fair entrance into his Eastern wing.<sup>1</sup>

The Picture Gallery, with its space for "stowage," was provided in part by subscription and in part by Bodley's will. Its corridors formed a covered walk for students. Its painted roof must frequently have drawn their eyes.<sup>2</sup> Portraits and

building expenses of a rather later date, but do not seem to throw any light on this point. On the Tower itself see Sir R. Blomfield's criticism (*Hist. of Renaissance Architecture*, 54 sq.) At the beginning of Convocation *Register N* details of expenses are given "in structura tertiæ partis Anglice the third story novarum scholarum."

<sup>1</sup> That is, into the Library. The cost of the third storey is entered as £2,497 10s. in *Register N*, under date Nov. 25, 1615. Wood speaks of a total expenditure of £4,500, apart from moneys given by Bodley (*Ann.* II, 791). Fees had to be raised to help to pay. (See the decrees of 1615 and 1628 in Gibson's *Statutes*, 520 and 560-1.) The work was not finished in 1615. The date on the water-pipe by the Library door is 1618, and a smith's bill of 1619 for hinges, locks, etc., is in the University Archives. (See Dr. Poole's *Lecture on Hist. of Archives*, 16-18). John Hawley, Principal of Gloucester Hall, received a D.C.L. for superintending the building (*Reg. K*, 154<sup>b</sup>): but the credit for the design is not easy to apportion. Thomas Holt, the master-carpenter, was spoken of as architect of the Schools on his monument in Holywell Church (Peshall, *Antient and Present State of City of Oxford*, Addendum on Inscriptions, p. 15); and Wood (*Life*, I, 160) uses the same phrase. The monuments of John Acroyd and John Bentley make similar claims for them. But in Bodley's lifetime Holt is not mentioned as working for him, though the masons Acroyd and the two Bentleys are (Blomfield, *Renaissance Architecture*, 57-8). Holt was clearly not the architect in our modern sense—Acroyd may have a better claim than he—but he probably was responsible for the woodwork: he is nearly always referred to as "ye carpenter" in the Vice-Chancellor's building accounts. It is not impossible that Savile, the patron of Holt, Acroyd and Bentley, may have had some say in the design, especially of the Tower, as the contemporary work at Merton suggests. (See Mrs. Poole's valuable note, *Bodl. Quart. Rec.* III, 263-4). Twyne gives us no help on these points, and it is not easy to do full justice to the great impersonal builders and architects of Oxford before the days of Sir Christopher Wren. In 1638, however, the timber-work had to be strengthened, and even earlier, says the Vice-Chancellor's *Computus* (25); and the Laudian Statutes speak of the whole fabric as "male materiata" (Title XX, S. iv).

<sup>2</sup> Some of its panels are in the Upper Reading Room now (*Bodl. Quart. Rec.* II, 105).



rarities were gradually collected for it. Wood speaks of faces round the walls, illustrious Oxford faces, which have vanished. But the oldest picture-gallery in England is full of famous portraits still.<sup>1</sup> Bodley is there, with a group of Chancellors whom he could remember, reinforced by Clarendon and Sheldon later. Wolsey and More are there, and Gardiner and Cranmer. Burghley is there, close to his exacting Mistress: the reputed mule, which he bestrides in one picture, is an ass and not a mule at all.<sup>2</sup> Mary Stuart, a picture with a curious history, and Lady Jane Grey recall the tragedies of Queens. Hawkins and Frobisher stand for the world of adventure. Erasmus, Galileo, Grotius speak for the scholar's catholicity of taste. Ben Jonson, Cowley, Dryden are among the poets: it is Cowley whose verses commemorate the chair made from the Golden Hind. Pembroke's fine statue, cast in bronze, in Jacobean armour, stands out in the central chamber under the Tower. Laud and Strafford are in the gallery, and Falkland, who could die for a cause which he misdoubted; and with them are portraits of Sir Kenelm Digby, now discredited, and of the Royal Stuarts whom they served. James I and his two sons, Henry and Charles, hang close together, and Charles II whom Oxford students recalled as "an impudent-lipped, black-avised boy." Savile and Wotton and Camden and Harvey are flanked by many other representatives of learning. Bodley's famous chest is kept here. Clarendon's cabinet has since been added. And a far older relic, the embroidered pall used when the University said Mass for Henry VII, still displays amid its Tudor badges the silver greyhound of Beaufort and the red dragon of Wales.<sup>3</sup>

The stair-case with its thirteen flights in the South-West corner of the quadrangle, the easy stair-case which Bodley had desired, leads also to the old School of Medicine and Anatomy. Here the Regius Professor of Medicine lectured, and the Medical students' disputations were held. Its collection of "incomparable curiosities"—a human skin, an Indian serpent, a robe of Tartar lambskin<sup>4</sup> given to Elizabeth's envoy by Ivan the

<sup>1</sup> See Wood's long list (*Ann.* II, 954 *sq.*). He says that portraits of Founders of all the Colleges were hung there about 1670. Hearne in 1708 gives a list of 222 portraits from Archimedes downwards—no doubt the heads or faces to which Wood refers. Renovated in 1715, they were cleared away in 1831: but one still survives. (See *Bodl. Quart. Rec.* II, 105-6). I hope to return to this subject later. <sup>2</sup> *Ib.* (158).

<sup>3</sup> Some of the 16th and 17th century portraits were not presented till the 18th century. Dr. Clark's measurements of the gallery are 129½ ft. by 24½ ft. on the North and South sides, and 158½ ft. by 24 ft. on the East side (*Bodl. Guide*, 70).

<sup>4</sup> Really cotton. For these and other details see Clark (*Ib.* Chaps. III and IV).

Terrible and known as "Joseph's coat"—long drew the admiration of observers, and amused the insatiable leisure of Charles II. Near this South-Western corner, under a window in the outer wall, a St. Andrew's cross still marks the boundary of St. Mildred's parish which has disappeared, and here on Ascension Day the choir-boys of St. Michael's still beat the bounds with willow-wands. On the other side of the Library, where the original stair-case mounted, a Western wing was needed to complete the Founder's plan, and here from 1634 onwards a new Convocation House was built, with an unrobing room, an Apodyterium, at its Northern end. It corresponded to the Proscholium, and flanked the Divinity School upon the West. Its roof was a late example of the fan-tracery in which Oxford masons still excelled. Over it the Selden end was added to the Library, and the old turret stair was swept away.<sup>1</sup> A new and stately room, well lit with windows,<sup>2</sup> reproduced at the West end of the old Library the general plan of Bodley's wing. Here Laud's manuscripts were stored and later Digby's. Here Selden's great collection afterwards found a home. Here Selden's portrait hangs and Bodley's bell is kept. And here the University, ever unwilling to give umbrage to its rulers, offered hospitality, as circumstances altered, to Fairfax and Cromwell, the second Charles, the second James.

James I, with whose reign this noble scheme of buildings is connected, may not have deserved the flatteries which the University bestowed. He has indeed been accused of an incredible preference for Cambridge. But he had at least a serious love of learning and serious intentions of ecclesiastical reform. Before the end of 1603 he received the representatives of the University at Woodstock, and promised to visit Oxford when the plague, which had again broken out with fury, died away. He was often at Woodstock as the reign went on.<sup>3</sup> He came in state to Oxford in August 1605, and in 1614, and it may be later also, he paid a brief visit to the Bodleian. The first visit was a great occasion, though Cambridge scholars made a mock of it in

<sup>1</sup> The main fabric seems to have cost some £2,820, the interior £1,130, the site about £265. It was not completely fitted up till six years later (*Bodl. Guide*, 102). But see the details given by Dr. Clark in *Wood's Life* (IV, 53-5), where the figures are slightly different. Among the workmen mentioned are William Mason for stone-work, Edward Bromfield for carpentry, Thomas Richardson, and again Jackson.

<sup>2</sup> North, South and West. Two of the three West windows have since been blocked up.

<sup>3</sup> In 1621, says Wood, the wits of the University acted the "Marriage of Arts" before the King at Woodstock, without much success (*Ann.* II, 339). Wood also says that in 1610 the King and Queen passed through Oxford on their way to Woodstock (*Ann.* II, 306).

verse. Regulations were issued, preachers and disputants selected, windows, railings, gates fresh painted, all arms newly tricked. And to enlarge the Royal lodgings at Christ Church, "a wall or study," we are told, was pulled down. The arrangements for the theatre in Christ Church Hall gave some trouble, and the authorities differed as to where the King should sit. The King and Queen and the boy Prince Henry arrived on Tuesday, the 27th August with a great train of lords and ladies. The procedure generally followed the Elizabethan plan—the reception by the Academic leaders,<sup>1</sup> the welcome by the Mayor and citizens further on, the acclamations of the crowd from North Gate down to Christ Church, the Greek speech at Carfax, and the Public Orator's "Ciceronian" effort ere they entered the Cathedral doors. One new incident was admitted, a pause at the gates of St. John's College, where three Sibyls<sup>2</sup> recalled to James old Scottish legends foretelling the greatness of his race. And after the first ceremonies at Christ Church Prince Henry was escorted to Magdalen, where he held his Court, and was entertained, perhaps a little heavily, by speeches and disputations from noblemen's sons. The King's stay was made the occasion for conferring complimentary degrees.<sup>3</sup> Lennox and Northumberland, Oxford and Pembroke, Cranborne and Northampton were among the new Masters of Arts. Disputations at St. Mary's, which gave the King admirable opportunities of displaying knowledge, were again the chief attraction. But the Colleges received a larger share of Royal notice than before.

Sir Isaac Wake, the Public Orator, afterwards described in Latin of elaborate discursiveness the story of those four full days; and James must have heard a good deal of bad history if Wake accompanied him upon his tour. The first evening closed with the performance at Christ Church of a comedy or pastoral, which the King apparently required persuasion to sit out, and in which actors almost naked were introduced, to the

<sup>1</sup> Outside the city, near Aristotle's well. The Mayor tried to anticipate them, but was compelled to retire.

<sup>2</sup> "Tres adolescentes concinno Sibyllarum habitu induti," says Wake (*Rex Platonicus*, 6th ed., 30). Nixon in *Oxford's Triumph* speaks of "three little Boyes comming forth of a Castle of Iuie drest like three Nymphes." Gwinne appended an account of this interlude to his *Vertumnus*. See also the notes in Nichols' *Progresses of James the First* (I, 543-5). Wood's brief account of James' visit (*Ann.* II, 285-7) is based on Wake's. I have followed in the main Philip Stringer's account printed in Nichols' *Progresses* (I, 530-562), but it is rather bitter and critical in tone. See also Twyne (XVII, 181-6).

<sup>3</sup> See the list given by Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 236-7).



disgust of the Queen.<sup>1</sup> On the Wednesday morning the King was at St. Mary's soon after nine o'clock, ready to devote himself to the discussion of theses in Divinity—the power of Saints and angels to know the hearts of men, and the duty of pastors to visit those infected by the plague. Dr. George Abbot, Master of University, acted as Moderator. Dr. Holland, Rector of Exeter, and Dr. Airay, Provost of Queen's, were among the Opponents chosen. After dinner disputations followed from two to five on points of Civil Law. Gentilis was Moderator, and the King several times interposed in excellent Latin amid great applause. That night another Latin play was acted, *Ajax Flagellifer*, built upon the Sophoclean tragedy, and prepared originally for Elizabeth's visit to Cambridge in 1564. One observer says that it was performed by Magdalen men.<sup>2</sup> But it seems again to have exhausted the King's patience. James was tired, and it may be that he made too little effort to disguise the weariness he felt.

Next day, Thursday, there were more disputations at St. Mary's. The Medical men had an opening, and the merits or demerits of tobacco proved an entertaining theme. The King, as all the world knew, had written on the subject.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Warner moderated, and Dr. Gwinne took part. Sir William Paddy, "a great drinker of tobacco," delighted James by arguing against it. A pipe was produced and the King was very merry; so much so that, after dining with the Chancellor at New College, he hurried back to St. Mary's to debate again. Buckhurst, now created Earl of Dorset, not only feasted the King at New College, where he kept open house. He sent a buck and twenty shillings for wine to every College, so that the scholars of other

<sup>1</sup> According to Stringer's account (Nichols', I, 547-8) this play was called *Alba*. Twyne gives it no name. (See also Boas, *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.* VI, Ch. XII). Nixon speaks only of a Latin comedy. Wake (*Rex Plat.* 78) calls the piece *Vertumnus* and describes it in detail; and Wood accepts this, distinguishing the piece from Gwinne's *Vertumnus* or *Annus Recurrens*, played on the third night. He adds that Gwinne's play was acted at St. John's College, which is evidently a mistake. Wake's description does not correspond with Gwinne's play, and he ought to have known the facts. Yet it seems very improbable that two plays called *Vertumnus* were acted. In Part III of the Malone Society's *Collections* Dr. Boas has printed (pp. 246-59) lists from the University Archives of the properties hired for the Oxford plays. But such facts as we can gather from these lists of the characters appearing in the first night's play do not seem to bear out Wake's description. Stringer is the only—but perhaps a sufficient—authority for James' ungracious behaviour. On the shifting scenery which Inigo Jones is said to have provided see Blomfield (*Renaissance Architecture*, 99).

<sup>2</sup> Nixon in *Oxford's Triumph*. The other accounts do not confirm this.

<sup>3</sup> *A Counterblast to Tobacco*, 1604.

houses might "thankfully frolicke it" too. The afternoon was passed in discussing Natural and Moral Philosophy. The King held forth with admirable learning, especially on the possibility of chemistry producing gold, and the Proctors had to cut the other speakers short. James wound up the day by promising the University his favour, and by urging his hearers to persevere in their pursuit of knowledge and to avoid Romish superstitions and new schisms alike.

That night a company of St. John's men played *Vertumnus*, but the King, exhausted with his efforts, fell asleep. Gwinne's play was good, and Inigo Jones—"one Mr. Jones, a great traveller"—helped with the scenery of all these plays. But the only really successful stage performance was the English play, *The Queenes Arcadia* by Samuel Daniel, given on the Friday morning before the Royal party left.<sup>1</sup> It was the first English pastoral written for the academic stage. The Queen and Prince and their retinue attended. The audience came to it unwearied, and we are told that it "made amends for all." But the King in the meantime was visiting the Bodleian, and the nobles at St. Mary's were receiving their degrees.<sup>2</sup> That last morning must have been a busy time. In the newly-restored Library James found plenty to discourse on. If he were a prisoner, he protested, he would choose it for his prison and be chained with the good authors there. He was then shown the Divinity School. He visited Brasenose, heard an oration, and studied the famous nose above the gate. He passed to All Souls, where another oration welcomed him, and on to Magdalen, where he had to listen to a third. At Magdalen, it would appear, he spent more time.<sup>3</sup> A fourth oration awaited his return to Christ Church, and a fifth was delivered "with good audacity" as he prepared to go. He drove away quietly to Magdalen Bridge, with a small escort of townsmen. But he bade the academic authorities trouble themselves no more, and to the disappointment of the students he paid no attention to the verses hung out in High Street on the College walls. James, no doubt, carried away agreeable recollections of his visit. But incidentally it seems to have made drinking more than ever the fashion in Oxford. Moralists noted that on the minds

<sup>1</sup> See Boas (*Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.* VI, 317, and *Malone Collections*, Pt. III, 249) and Daniel's published play. But it is, I think, clear that it was acted in the morning, not at night.

<sup>2</sup> James would not allow Prince Henry to be made an M.A. He was too young.

<sup>3</sup> For the brief visits to the Colleges compare Stringer's account with Nixon's and Wake's. Stringer's seems to be the clearest. Nixon dwells most on the visit to Magdalen.

of the students the Court left "impressions of debauchery" behind.

Prince Henry, a boy of eleven, had won all hearts at Magdalen by his bearing. His spirit, says the annalist, so full of life and splendour, made him the people's darling and delight. His death in 1612 was followed by a genuine outpouring of affection, and both Universities broke into elegies on their loss.<sup>1</sup> Before that year was over his brother-in-law, the ill-starred Elector Palatine, visited Oxford and was entered on the Christ Church books,<sup>2</sup> and in 1616 Prince Charles came, honourably attended, entered himself also as a member of the University and was taken round and fitly entertained. Charles' first visit to the beautiful city destined to be so closely linked with his misfortunes, made apparently no such impression as his brother's. The tragic loyalties which were to gather round him were still far away. But a few years later, when the threat of a Spanish Marriage began to stir the indignation of the country, Oxford preachers and versifiers were not backward to show their interest in the Prince. The arrival of Charles and Buckingham at Madrid demanded an official thanksgiving at St. Mary's. But their return to England with the marriage unaccomplished called forth a much more genuine expression of joy. Oxford made holiday. In London streets the bonfires blazed and tables were spread freely. "When I shall come out of Egypt, and the House of Jacob from amongst the barbarous people," were the words of the anthem chanted at St. Paul's.<sup>3</sup>

James had little respect for academic opinions on matters of high policy when they differed from his own. But on ecclesiastical questions he was ready to listen, and still readier to reply, to University divines. He took a delight in theological controversy. His reading and his powers of argument were not to be despised. He sometimes professed himself a Calvinist. He was ready at the beginning of his reign to listen to Puritan petitions, to discuss toleration, the removal of ecclesiastical abuses and the better distribution of Church funds. At first Whitgift and the Anglican divines felt some anxiety. There was talk of a "Scotch mist" overspreading the Kingdom, on

<sup>1</sup> For a full account of the Prince's death, and of the publications which followed it, see Nichols (*Prog. of Jas. I*, II, 469-512). Among the remedies tried in his illness was a cordial or "quintessence" sent by Sir W. Raleigh. From a careful examination of the symptoms recorded Sir N. Moore concludes that he died of typhoid (*The Illness and Death of Henry Prince of Wales in 1612*).

<sup>2</sup> The Elector's marriage, like Prince Henry's death, was hailed with an outpouring of academic verse.

<sup>3</sup> Nichols (*Progresses*, IV, 929).



the setting of Elizabeth, "that bright occidental star."<sup>1</sup> But these fears soon proved to have little foundation. The petition of the thousand Puritan ministers, who asked for the removal of offences in the Church, produced protests from both Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>2</sup> The Hampton Court Conference in January 1604 gave James opportunities of argument which he thoroughly enjoyed, and John Rainolds of Corpus, the chief spokesman of the Puritans, had no reason to complain of the Royal reception. But, though certain reforms were suggested, the main objects of the Puritans failed. James boasted that he had peppered them soundly.

"They fled me so from argument to argument, without ever answering me directly, *ut est eorum moris*, as I was forced at last to say unto thaim; that if any of thaim had been in a college disputing with thair scholars, if any of thair disciples had answered them in that sort, they would have fetched him up in a place of a reply; and so should the rod have plyed upon the poor boyes buttocks."<sup>3</sup>

The Archbishop recognised "the special assistance of God's spirit" in the speeches of the King. But Whitgift's strong, stern rule was nearly over. Bancroft, his successor, had neither the temper nor the breadth required. New canons, passed in spite of the protest of the House of Commons, insisted on ecclesiastical conformity. Clergymen who could not accept them unreservedly<sup>4</sup> were driven from their cures. All students proceeding to degrees had to swear obedience to the Royal Supremacy, to the Articles, to the government and to the liturgies of the Church.<sup>5</sup> The surplice was made obligatory on Sundays for all Fellows and Scholars in Colleges and Halls. Bancroft had little sympathy with compromise or toleration. Any hopes raised by the Hampton Court Conference died away. Its most satisfactory outcome was the authorised translation of the Bible, in which Rainolds took a leading part. Holland and Kilby, the Rectors of Exeter and Lincoln, George Abbot of University and Leonard Hutten of Christ Church were among the colleagues who gathered round Rainolds in his work.

Rainolds, crippled by illness, died three years after the Conference, and with his death the strongest spokesman of Puritan

<sup>1</sup> For the attitude of Whitgift and other divines on James' accession see Strype's *Life of Whitgift* (II, 469 sq. and III, 391 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> But the University protests against the Millenary Petition—the signatories fell far short of 1,000—were at least partly due to fears for College endowments.

<sup>3</sup> See the King's own account, Tobie Matthew's letter, and the full record of the proceedings in Strype's *Whitgift* (II, 491 sq. and III, 402–8) and in Gardiner's *Hist. of England* (1883, I, 153–9).

<sup>4</sup> See, *inter alia*, Perry's *History of the Church of England* (I, 129).

<sup>5</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* (1603–10, p. 177).

views in Oxford passed away. Laurence Humfrey had been dead some years, and Frewen was before long to lead the Magdalen theologians into other paths. The Anglo-Catholic movement, which had found a home at St. John's, and which was to find powerful leaders in two illustrious Heads of that College, was steadily gaining ground in the University. But it had not yet conquered the sympathies of Oxford men. Fear of the Romanist reaction was still powerful in England. The Gunpowder Plot produced a decree from Convocation against Recusants.<sup>1</sup> Parliament required an oath of allegiance not from Popish Recusants only but from all loyal subjects over eighteen, with special reference to the Universities and to candidates for degrees.<sup>2</sup> At Oxford still the two Abbots were uncompromising opponents alike of Romanist and of high Anglican opinions. When George Abbot passed to astonishing preferment, his brother Robert, Master of Balliol in 1609 and Professor of Divinity three years later, carried the same traditions on. Dr. Airay, Provost of Queen's, shared the views of the two Abbots. Dean Goodwin of Christ Church leaned to the same side. Prideaux of Exeter, for all his breadth and moderation, was as stout "against Arminius" as the rest. Nathaniel Brent, elected Warden of Merton in 1622, was relentless in his attitude to Laud's opinions, and Laud was equally unsparing in condemning his.

It might have puzzled some who inveighed against Arminius to explain exactly what his influence on the Church of England was. The stern and logical doctrine of absolute Predestination, which Calvin inherited from Augustine, had produced a reaction among Protestants who could not reconcile its rigidity with their conception of the loving providence of God. Arminius,<sup>3</sup> once a pupil of Beza, had been led to question it, and the movement named after him had become a movement of inquiry and revolt. The rational spirit of the early Reformation, repressed for a time by dogma and authority, revived to discuss with every resource of polemical theology the teaching of Scripture, the Church's power to interpret it, the distinction between what was fundamental and what was less essential in belief. At the Synod of Dort in 1618, it is true, the strict Calvinists triumphed. The Remonstrants, the disciples of Arminius, appealed in vain for an impartial hearing. But their leader's eloquence greatly

<sup>1</sup> In Dec. 1605 the University took measures against privileged persons who did not openly conform to the Established Church (*Reg. M.*, 91<sup>b</sup>, and Gibson, *Statutes*, 482-3).

<sup>2</sup> See 7 Jac. I, cap. vi.

<sup>3</sup> James Hermann or Harmensen became Professor of Theology at Leyden in 1603. He died in 1609. (See Tulloch's *Rational Theology in the Seventeenth Century*, II sq.).

impressed one famous Oxford churchman who was present. John Hales at least learned from these discussions how uncharitable sectarian prejudice might be. A change came over his opinions, even if he did not, as has been stated, "bid John Calvin good-night." For many besides Hales in England Arminianism grew into something larger and more important than a new heresy or an unwarrantable schism. It became a part of the movement against dogmatic Calvinism, a plea for moderation and liberality of thought. Thinkers within the Church were driven to consider it. The authorities who dreaded Puritan aggression found in it an ally. The King saw the friends of his prerogative turning with sympathy towards it. As years passed James became more and more persuaded that the interests of the Crown and of the Bishops were the same. "No Bishop no King," became a Royal maxim. Absolutism and Arminianism went hand in hand.

The struggle between the two parties in the Church of England had now become the outstanding feature of Oxford life. The University pulpit was their battleground, and the sermons which they preached at each other had often a vivid personal interest. The Tuesday sermons were promoted chiefly by Dr. Airay and the Calvinist party. In 1606, when Laud in a sermon at St. Mary's defended the Catholic position of the Church, Dr. Airay as Vice-Chancellor called him to account. A great stir followed. Laud's friends intervened and made interest with the Chancellor. But the preacher was freely censured in Oxford as "a busy and pragmatistical person," who, if not a Papist, was "at least very popishly affected." Many, we are told, made a point of avoiding his company or failed to give him the usual greetings in the street. Two years later one of the Chaplains of Christ Church was suspended for preaching doctrines too much favoured by Rome. In 1611 Laud's election as President of St. John's excited strong protest. The flowing tide perhaps was with him, but its strength was not as yet understood. Robert Abbot in the University pulpit demanded to know whether the new President were Romish or English, Papist or Protestant, or "a mongrel compound of both." Any preacher who presumed to reflect on the doctrines of Geneva was liable in those years to be sharply censured by the authorities in power.

It was under these conditions that Isaac Casaubon, who had abandoned Paris for a refuge in England and had already won high favour with the King, paid a visit to Oxford in May 1613. Sir Henry Savile drove him over from Eton, with rather more display and patronage than Casaubon cared for, and the University warmly welcomed so profound a scholar. Casaubon had already discovered that the English were by no means a



barbarous people, but fond of letters and engrossed in theology.<sup>1</sup> He had found the King tireless in theological discussion and surprisingly well-informed. And he now found Oxford absorbed in controversies over ecclesiastical questions, compared with which all other educational interests, culture or science or classical learning, took a secondary place. An active routine of instruction there was, ancient formalities, busy officials, and an unmistakable interest in the beliefs and passions which divided the nation. But the rulers of the University were pre-eminently Churchmen, and their time and thoughts were largely occupied in theological debates. Casaubon was taken to the Divinity School to hear the Saturday disputation, saw Robert Abbot presiding there and became his friend. He was taken to two sermons on Sunday and to dine at the Deanery in between. When Savile returned to Eton, Casaubon moved on to Christ Church as the Dean's guest. He enjoyed the hospitality of the Colleges, hospitality in which Magdalen took a leading part. He enjoyed still more his time in the Bodleian, though there were not yet enough Greek manuscripts in it to satisfy his "greediness" for knowledge. After six hours in the Library he would go back to the Deanery for a little light reading in Rabbinical Hebrew. He made the acquaintance among others of Prideaux, who had always a generous welcome for a foreign scholar, and ascertained that they had much in common. Prideaux, though no Arminian, was, it seems, advancing from the Calvinist position to one more in sympathy with the historical conception of the English Church. Casaubon declined an honorary degree, but he appreciated the kindness shown him. He thought that the wealth of the Colleges might possibly minister to self-conceit. Their Heads lived like nobles, "splendidly, yea magnificently, having an income of ten thousand livres." He had seen the University of Paris, then half-ruined by the Civil Wars. And he could not but contrast with it the security, the freedom and the stateliness of Oxford, where the students were school-boys no longer, and where the Fellows combined the pursuit of learning with a spacious life of dignity and ease.

James' friendliness for the Universities was genuine. He exempted them from subsidies. He transferred to them the right of presenting to all benefices in the hands of Popish recusants.<sup>2</sup> He gave them Members of Parliament. The first two

<sup>1</sup> So Grotius in 1613 declared that theologians were "the reigning authorities" in England, and Fra Paolo Sarpi regretted that the King of England was becoming a doctor of divinity (see Pattison's *Life of Casaubon*, 322, and for Casaubon's Oxford visit, Ch. 8).

<sup>2</sup> Every "Popishe Recusant convict" was disabled from presenting (3 Jac. I, cap. v). Oxford University was given the presentation in the

chosen for Oxford in 1603 were both Civilians, Sir Daniel Dunn of All Souls and Sir Thomas Crompton of Merton. The value of the privilege was afterwards questioned on the ground that University interests had till then been the care of all University men in the House of Commons. But a few years later, when Parliament debated whether Oxford or Cambridge should be named first in its Acts, the Oxford Burgesses were able to secure a majority for their claim.<sup>1</sup> The election of these Burgesses did not always pass without disturbance. In the elections for the Parliament of 1626 the junior members of Convocation saw reason to protest against the Vice-Chancellor's handling of the matter.<sup>2</sup> They petitioned Parliament on the subject and secured a fresh election. Later still, in more tumultuous times, Selden, after the death of his colleague the only representative of the University in the Long Parliament, was able to render no small service to its cause. One result of James' friendliness to Oxford was a valuable Professorial endowment, which followed his visit in 1605. He annexed to the Chair of the Regius Professor of Divinity a Canonry of Christ Church and the Parsonage of Ewelme, destined to a brief celebrity in years still far away.

But Royal interest in the University was apt to mean interference with its freedom. A Scottish King had Scottish friends whom he wished to provide for, and he had also singular views in regard to the sanctity of tithe. James proposed in 1603 to surrender for the benefit of poor clergy such tithes as he possessed,<sup>3</sup> and he invited the University to follow his example. But the Archbishop and the Universities received the project with such coldness that the King was obliged to abandon his scheme. The pulpits were occasionally tuned: preachers were made to understand that they must not ventilate theories unpalatable to the Crown. Convocation, with the King behind it, insisted more and more on ecclesiastical discipline. In March

Southern counties as far North as Staffordshire. The Act was extended in 1688. (See Shadwell, *Enactments in Parliament*, I, 225-6 and 300-3).

<sup>1</sup> On Feb. 26, 1606. The old practice of naming Oxford first, abandoned to some extent under the early Tudors, was generally, though not invariably, adopted after this (Shadwell, I, vii). In Jan. 1641 Sir Simon D'Ewes revived the claims of Cambridge, but his audacious arguments met with no success (Mullinger, III, 209-10).

<sup>2</sup> The Vice-Chancellor put forward a candidate agreeable to the Court and declared him elected. The Masters petitioned Parliament and a fresh election was ordered (Wood, *Ann.* II, 356-7). But Wood says nothing of any attempt, such as the Heads of Colleges seem to have made at Cambridge in 1614, to "nobble" the elections (Mullinger, II, 459-60).

<sup>3</sup> "Where the ordinary benefit of the vicarages doth not suffice, and the parsonages are impropriate and in laymen's hands" (see the King's letter to Oxford, 10 July 1603, in Wilkins, *Concilia*, IV, 369).

1617 Royal edicts demanded a new subscription to the Church's doctrines,<sup>1</sup> and greater strictness in enforcing those doctrines in sermons and studies, in the pulpits and the Schools. Preaching and reading were to be more closely regulated. Students of divinity were to be "excited to bestowe there time" on the Fathers, the Councils and the history of the Church. The Vice-Chancellor was to report to the King on the observance of these orders.<sup>2</sup> They were posted up in Colleges and Halls; and they were naturally regarded as a blow to the Calvinist party. The star of Laud was rising. Ecclesiasticism was gaining ground. Bancroft had laboured steadily to increase the influence of the Church Courts. Even Archbishop Abbot may have allowed himself to press too far the dangerous jurisdiction of the High Commission.

Discipline in matters of conscience is not always easy to achieve. There was more to be said for enforcing it on points of academic order. Chancellors like Bancroft, Ellesmere and Pembroke<sup>3</sup> may have felt it their duty to insist on conformity in religion. But their admonitions perhaps were more generally accepted when they dwelt on less exalted themes, on the need of study, lectures, Latin talk, on the suppression of taverning and gaming, on eccentricities in conduct or in dress. Academical Habits must not be neglected. Indecent attire must not be allowed. Scholars who ought to be examples of decorum must not wear their hair longer than their ears: in Queen Elizabeth's time only "swaggerers and ruffians" did that. Boots and spurs in public assemblies had to be prohibited. Boots and gowns must not be worn together. Drunkenness was causing scandal. Scholars were forbidden to accept lodging or entertainment in the city. Ale-houses had increased beyond all former record. Young scholars especially were warned against them.<sup>4</sup> The number of maltsters required to be reduced. Admonitions of this kind had their justification. Wood mentions an ugly incident at Jesus College in 1614, the killing of one Welshman by another, which "put the University to much trouble" in

<sup>1</sup> By the first Edict all men taking degrees had to subscribe both to the Thirty-nine Articles and to the Three Articles of 1604 "in canonem 36 redactis." For these Edicts see Gibson's *Statutes* (521-6).

<sup>2</sup> "Every Michaelmas Term, when his Majesty resorts into those parts" (Wood, *Annals*, II, 323-4 and 326-8). Most of the edicts related to ecclesiastical questions, but one dealt with dress, and one with the haunting of houses in the city by scholars, especially at night.

<sup>3</sup> Archbishop Bancroft succeeded Lord Dorset as Chancellor in 1608. Lord Ellesmere followed in 1610, and Lord Pembroke in 1617.

<sup>4</sup> And against "officinam aliquam vbi tobacco venalis est" (see the Royal Edicts of 1617, and the Statutes of 1607 and 1610; Gibson, 523-5, 483-4, 502-4, etc.).



claiming its right to try the offender.<sup>1</sup> There was an acute crisis over the wearing of caps. Some of the Regent Masters objected to having to sit bare-headed like boys in Convocation House, especially after their attention had been drawn to a window at St. Mary's, which represented Masters as sitting covered in the Chancellor's presence. Henry Wightwicke of Gloucester Hall took the lead in this revolutionary movement, boldly clapt on his cap at a sitting, and even organised a petition on the subject. The authorities gravely condemned him for trying to subvert "the Honour and Government of the University." Wightwicke was banished and reduced to submission: he lived to be Master of Pembroke College. But a few years later the constitutional problem was revived. Gilbert Sheldon, of All Souls, was among the Masters who signed a fresh petition. Prideaux, as Vice-Chancellor, treated the matter with wise moderation. The Chancellor now saw no reason to resist. And the precious privilege of wearing caps in Convocation, provided only that the caps were square, was conceded in 1620 to all Masters for the future.<sup>2</sup>

Legislation continued from time to time to confirm or modify the Statutes. A fresh decree enforced the old disputations in the parvise, now "much more carelessly kept than in days gone by."<sup>3</sup> Improper canvassing for the election of Proctors was sharply checked.<sup>4</sup> A new Statute revised and supplemented the scale of fees.<sup>5</sup> The Vice-Chancellor was required to render a yearly account of the receipts and expenditure for the New Schools.<sup>6</sup> Appeals were regulated. Weekly meetings of the Heads of Houses were arranged.<sup>7</sup> The Proctorial elections led to serious controversy. Canvassing and treating had grown into an abuse. "He that could give the greatest entertainment, was the Proctor against all the world." Even in the election of Collectors entertainments were given, and we hear of candidates and electors, "warmed with high liquors," setting fire to acres of furze on Bullingdon Green. In the Proctorial elections it seems that certain Colleges combined to carry their candidates against the rest, and that the weaker side tried to call in non-resident voters. In 1628 a Statute confined the suffrage to those who had been in residence for a hundred days before the election.<sup>8</sup> The Chancellor ordered this rule to be applied. The

<sup>1</sup> *Ann.* II (317). But I do not find this mentioned in Mr. Hardy's history of the College or in the College papers.

<sup>2</sup> See Gibson (540) and Wood (*Ann.* II, 317 sq. and 336 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> In 1607 (Gibson, 485). There were further rules for disputations in 1623 (*Ib.* 548-9).

<sup>4</sup> In 1608 (*Ib.* 486-7).

<sup>5</sup> In 1611 (*Ib.* 505 sq.; see also 527-8).

<sup>6</sup> In 1624 (*Ib.* 550).

<sup>7</sup> In 1631 (*Ib.* 568-70).

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* (559).

Proctors challenged the decision, and a violent dispute ensued. The King bade the Chancellor "calme the Tempest." An election was held, which produced charges of foul play. Mr. Hyde, the senior Scrutator, gave "a great screake as he was sitting down in his chair," and fell down dead to the astonishment of all present. But the Masters, happily, "got life into him again."<sup>1</sup> The Vice-Chancellor dissolved the Convocation. An appeal was made to the King. Two controversialists, accused of underhand dealings and of striking a Master, were committed to the Fleet. The Crown appointed new Proctors, and on Laud's advice the whole system was altered and reformed. The claims of the different Colleges, and the right of their members to vote, were defined. But the old democratic theory that the Proctors were the representatives of the whole body of Masters disappeared. The cycle invented by Peter Turner of Merton, recommended by Laud and sanctioned by the King, provided that all the Colleges should have their turn in nominating Proctors within the compass of twenty-three years.

"Christ Church was to enjoy 6 Proctors, Magdalen College 5, New College 4, Merton, All Souls, Exeter, Brasenose, St. John's and Wadham Colleges three apiece, Trinity, Queens, Oriel and Corp. Ch. Coll. only two. The rest, as Universitie, Baliol, Lincoln, Jesus and Pembroke Colleges but only one."<sup>2</sup>

Other troubles requiring regulation arose from the old rivalry between University and Town. The City Bailiffs who, without leave from the Vice-Chancellor, had presumed to search the streets at night for felons, were condemned and fined on leaving office as Noctivagators and Perturbers of the peace.<sup>3</sup> When they rebelled they were sent to prison. The King's Bench supported the University and the citizens had to submit. The City retorted by imprisoning certain privileged persons, but the Vice-Chancellor discommoded the leaders of the movement, and that powerful weapon brought them to account. In 1611 Convocation found the citizens high and insolent in regard to the Night Watch. A sharp quarrel followed. Certain traders were discommoded, and the Recorder in particular was registered as the most pestilent enemy the University possessed.<sup>4</sup> At length the Privy Council intervened, and decided, as usual, in the University's favour. The discommoded offenders made their peace, but the Recorder was driven to retire to Henley

<sup>1</sup> Wood (*Ann.* II, 363).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* (365). The Statute of December 31, 1628, is printed by Mr. Gibson (561 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> In 1609 (Wood, *Ann.* II, 299 sq.).

<sup>4</sup> "Pro infestissimo et inimicissimo huic Academiae" (*Ib.* 308).

for the remainder of his days. In 1616 an opportunity for co-operation offered. The waters of the springs above North Hinksey were collected and brought in a conduit to Carfax, to supply the citizens and the University alike. In 1618 the citizens tried to secure a new charter from the Crown,<sup>1</sup> hoping to escape to some extent from University control. But the project, it seems, fell through. Pembroke, warned perhaps by Bacon, sent down the draft for the advisers of the University to see, and gave them an opportunity of pointing out how it infringed their rights.

Another cause of dispute was the increase of cottages within the University precincts. It was attributed by academic critics to the "intolerable avarice" of the citizens. But it was due more probably to the pressure of a housing problem which even the seventeenth century could not escape. Complaints that a hundred and fifty new cottages had been erected in the fifty years preceding 1612, that foreigners and other rascals came to lodge there, to "shark upon young scholars," to plunder the King's forests, to be a charge on College charities, may or may not have been as serious as the complainants thought. There was perhaps more substance in the contention that these lodgers—though there is no evidence of overcrowding—increased the possibility of plague. The Lords of the Council in their wisdom decided that the matter called for reform. After the serious outbreak of plague in 1625 the increase of cottages was in principle condemned. But building inevitably went on. Wood speaks of a hundred and seventy-nine cottages being erected between 1620 and 1640. The practice of erecting houses that were wanted was due to causes which no University could control.

Meanwhile the number of undergraduates was rising, and their standing was perhaps rather higher than before.<sup>2</sup> But the number of Papists, "or at least the lovers of them," gave no cause for alarm. Two new Colleges were founded, the last new foundations for nearly a hundred years. The rights and possessions of old Colleges like Oriel and Corpus were confirmed. The influence of the Colleges became more than ever the preponderating influence in Oxford life. Between 1603 and 1621

<sup>1</sup> Already in 1605 James had granted the City a charter. But in this the University's rights were expressly preserved. (See Ogle, *Royal Letters*, 228-48).

<sup>2</sup> See Clark (*Reg.* II, ii, 410 and 414). The eighteen years from 1604 to 1621, as compared with the eighteen years from 1585 to 1602, show substantial increases in Matriculations and Determinations, and even in the number of new-comers entered as "fil. equitis." Wood puts the total number of students in 1611 above 2,420 (*Ann.* II, 307).



it seems that matriculations were most numerous at Brasenose and Exeter, at Queen's and Magdalen Hall.<sup>1</sup> New Professorships were established. In 1619 Sir Henry Savile, finding mathematical studies neglected, founded the Professorships in Geometry and Astronomy which bear his name.<sup>2</sup> The holders might be drawn from any Christian nation, provided they had drunk deep of the founts of Aristotle and Plato, had been thoroughly instructed in mathematics, and had acquired a little knowledge of Greek. Copernicus appears among the authors to be studied—a lonely modern figure in a list which included Euclid and Archimedes, Theodosius and Ptolemy, Proclus and Geber, the latest of whom had died eight or nine centuries before.<sup>3</sup> The gift was all the more valuable in days when the tradition still survived that “the most useful Branches of Mathematicks were spels, and her Professors limbs of the Devil.” Savile also gave a Mathematical Library for the use of his Readers, and contributed a hundred pounds to a Mathematical Chest. He gave books and manuscripts to the Bodleian and money for building the new Schools. Despite the foibles which rendered his patronage irksome to Casaubon and the pedantry which cropped up in his letters,<sup>4</sup> there is no doubt that Savile, with his wealth and reputation, played a great part in University life. He enjoyed the favour of Elizabeth. As a friend of Essex he was acceptable to James. As Warden of Merton and Provost of Eton he had no small influence in the world of education. And his translations from Tacitus and his great edition of St. Chrysostom were examples of a learning which won wide respect.

Savile's new Professorship did not stand alone. Sir William Sedley had already left money for a Lecture on Natural Philosophy,<sup>5</sup> and in 1621 Dr. Thomas White of London established one in Moral Philosophy too.<sup>6</sup> William Camden, who in his life and labours at Westminster had never forgotten his debt to Oxford, founded in 1622 a Professorship of History, with a stipend of a hundred and forty pounds a year.<sup>7</sup> Camden's

<sup>1</sup> See Clark (*Reg.* II, ii, 412-3). Christ Church, Magdalen and New College were apparently less in demand. Balliol and Trinity kept up well. But the figures are not complete.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Gibson has printed the Savilian Statutes in full (528 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> The Arabian Geber or Djafar is said to have died about 765.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, his letters to John Hotman in the second part of the *Francisci et Ioannis Hotomanorum Epistolæ*.

<sup>5</sup> *Univ. Archives* (S.E.P., D. 18). He died in February 1618.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* (I, 51). See also Gibson (540-4).

<sup>7</sup> See *Reg. N* (144). It appears, however, that no Statutes were drawn up. An autograph note by Camden, preserved in the Register, appoints Degory Whear the first lecturer, and provides that he should lecture first on L. Annaeus Florus.

great friend William Heather followed this up by a Professorship of Music. There was to be a Music Master, "to plaie and exercise Musick with twoe boyes in his companie," with a salary of thirteen pounds, six shillings and eightpence, and an annual lecture on musical theory for which three pounds was set aside.<sup>1</sup> But the degrees in music continued to be very few.<sup>2</sup> In 1624 Richard Tomlins "of the Citty of Westminster" founded a Lectureship in Anatomy, to be held by the Professor of Physic, the directions for which are delightfully detailed. The body of an executed person, if possible, immediately after the Lent Assizes, was to be prepared and dissected by a "skilfull Chirurgicalian." The Reader was to stand by and lecture on the subject, explaining the situation and the office of the Natural, Vital and Animal parts. In the Michaelmas term he was to "reade the Sceleton or History of the bones." All physic students and chirurgians in the University were expected to attend.<sup>3</sup> Science was very slowly making way. A "Garden for Physical Simples" was demanded. Lord Danvers, afterwards Earl of Danby, came forward with a welcome gift. A site was leased from Magdalen, the old Jews' cemetery beside the Cherwell. On St. James' day 1621 the Vice-Chancellor laid the foundation stone.<sup>4</sup> Danby laid out the grounds, secured a gardener, set up the "comely Gate-house" in 1632.<sup>5</sup> He intended, it seems, to endow botanical lectures, but these had to wait till after the Restoration. In the days of King James degrees in medicine were a little more numerous than degrees in music. But the practice of medicine still lagged behind the theory, and licenses to practise surgery were rare.<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile the University Press still held its own. Without endowment but not without encouragement it continued the business which Leicester's patronage had revived.<sup>7</sup> Joseph

<sup>1</sup> See the indenture of Feb. 20, 1627, printed by Mr. Gibson (558). The lecture did not continue for long. (See Article on Heather, *D.N.B.*). A Statute of 1624 had recently assigned a salary of £10 to the University Organist (Gibson, 555).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Clark gives (*Reg.* II, i, 147-8) a list of 15 candidates who supplicated for them in James' reign. But his tables (*Ib.* II, ii, 411) suggest a smaller number of degrees.

<sup>3</sup> See Gibson (550 sq.).

<sup>4</sup> Twyne describes the ceremony (XXI, 838). See also Wood (*Ann.* II, 335 and 896-8). I give Twyne's date, but Wood makes it 1622. Magdalen granted a new lease and Danby apparently bought out the old tenant.

<sup>5</sup> The fine gateway is by Nicholas Stone. There is no evidence that Inigo Jones designed it.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Clark's tables (*Reg.* II, ii, 411) with the details given earlier (*Ib.* II, i, 123 sq.).

<sup>7</sup> Earlier developments have been already noticed. But see Mr. Madan's *Brief Account of the University Press*.

Barnes, equipped in 1585 with a loan of a hundred pounds from the authorities, established himself close beside St. Mary's. He was the sole University printer until 1617. He issued the first catalogue of the Bodleian in 1605. He printed Brian Twyne's *Apologia* or history of the University in 1608. He published books in Greek and Hebrew, in Latin, in Welsh, and even in Spanish. But a Spanish Grammar by Corrano, issued just before the days of the Armada, had to be provided with a forged imprint, as if it came from Paris.<sup>1</sup> He made the little venture a success, and later printers, among whom the Lichfields were the most conspicuous, carried on its traditions for a century and more.<sup>2</sup> Laud's influence secured in 1632 Letters Patent for the University Press, and in 1636 a Royal Charter extending its rights still further. With the outbreak of the War and the King's establishment at Oxford political propaganda sent its output bounding up. But Fairfax had some reason to distrust the political sympathies of the Oxford printers, and after the surrender of the city to the Parliament the fortunes of the Press fell to their lowest point.

The Laudian Code did not take shape till James' reign was over. But questions of Statute reform became daily more pressing as the years went on. Questions of politics also from time to time threw their shadow over the University. Ecclesiastical politicians, like Abbot, Laud and Williams, all had their friends and their supporters there. The cause of the Prince Palatine was dear to the hearts of the Protestants. The Spanish Match was bitterly unpopular. Problems even of domestic controversy, of the Royal prerogative and its limitations, found an echo in Oxford pulpits. In 1622, when a rash young preacher, William Knight of Broadgates Hall, developing the views of the eminent German Professor Paraeus,<sup>3</sup> ventured to justify resistance to the Sovereign in extreme cases of tyranny and wrong, he was sent to gaol by the Vice-Chancellor and brought down on himself the anger of the King. James commanded that the Heads of Colleges should be assembled and reminded

<sup>1</sup> But Mr. Gibson tells me that an issue of Corrano with an Oxford imprint is known.

<sup>2</sup> John Lichfield and William Wrench took over Barnes' work in 1617. Other University printers were appointed from time to time in the seventeenth century, but the Lichfields continued printing in Oxford till 1749 (*Ib.* Ch. II).

<sup>3</sup> Paraeus (David Wängler) appointed Professor of Divinity at Heidelberg in 1598, an eminent Calvinist divine, had raised the question, in his *Commentary on the Romans* (Ch. xiii, 1), whether resistance to the civil ruler were justifiable or not. (See Mullinger, II, 562 *sq.*, and the *Life and Works* of Paraeus edited by his son.) The censured propositions are printed by Wood (*Ann.* II, 345-6) and by Mr. Gibson (545-7).



of the books which theologians ought to study. The end of their reading was to "preach Christ crucified," and not to meddle with affairs of State. The Privy Council ordered the works of Paraeus to be burned. Convocation solemnly repudiated all ideas of resisting Princes by force of arms. Knight, confined for nearly two years in the gate-house at Westminster, died prematurely. Prideaux' good sense would have treated "hott headed young fellows" more lightly,<sup>1</sup> but Prideaux' temper was unhappily too rare. In 1625 Montagu's challenging book *Appello Cæsarem* stirred angry feelings in the University, and Prideaux again appealed for caution and moderation. The plague drove Parliament to Oxford. Colleges and Halls had to be "freed" from Fellows and students, to provide accommodation. Christ Church was put at the disposal of the Council. The Commons sat in the Divinity School, and carried away from it, some thought, the impression that the settlement of all questions of theology belonged to them. In 1629 the Speaker called on the University for a return of all persons who had contravened the Articles of Religion. In the same year Charles and his Queen visited Oxford. They viewed Wadham College and the Public Library. They were given a banquet at Merton. The King apparently encouraged a proposal to pull down what remained of Cat Street between St. Mary's and the Schools, and to erect more new buildings for the University there.<sup>2</sup> Next year Lord Pembroke suddenly died and opened the way for Laud's accession to the Chancellorship. The King's chief adviser became supreme in Oxford, and an era of strenuous, high-minded discipline, as confident of its good intentions as it was exasperating in its methods, began for the nation and for the University alike.

<sup>1</sup> See *Wood MS.D. 18* (quoted by Maclean, *History of Pembroke*, 142-4). In 1609, it seems, Edmund Campion of Trinity was censured for the same error; and Edward Hurd of Corpus, who spoke out boldly like Knight afterwards, was forced to recant (*Wood, Ann. II*, 348).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib* (367).

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY COLLEGES AND HALLS

WHILE Bodley was building his immortal monument, another notable West Countryman, bred like him in the great traditions of Elizabethan days, founded one of the most perfect of Oxford Colleges to perpetuate his name. Nicholas Wadham, of Merifield near Ilminster—a house so hospitable that visitors accounted it “an Inn at all times, a court at Christmas”—came of a distinguished stock. His family had for generations accumulated properties in Devonshire, Somerset and other counties of the West. Descended from the Plantagenets, connected with the Seymours, son-in-law to Sir William Petre, the veteran statesman who had recently endowed Exeter afresh, himself very probably educated at Corpus,<sup>1</sup> a splendid gentleman, yet wise enough and rich enough to lay by money which he could dispose of as he wished, Nicholas Wadham determined in his childless old age to build for himself a memorial at Oxford which should last “from generation to generation.” The note of his intentions, dictated, it may be, to one of his nephews just before his death,<sup>2</sup> shows that he had thought of incorporating Gloucester Hall or Jesus College in his new foundation, and that he had planned his Statutes in one or two points on original lines. While the Head of the House and the Fellows were to be forbidden to marry, they were not to be compelled to take Orders or to be tied to any profession. Every man was to be left “free to profess what he liked as it should please God to direct him.” But after “a competente number of yeares” they were to go into the world, so that others might grow up under them and be nourished and trained to learning. A present was designed to secure the Lord Treasurer’s favour. A “white and pied nagge,” which its owner valued, was to be given to Prince Henry with the same design. And the Bishop of Bath and Wells, a Somersetshire magnate, was

<sup>1</sup> This is not certain, but Corpus seems more likely than Christ Church, though Wadham’s name is not found in the register of either College. See Sir T. G. Jackson’s *Wadham College* (6), Ingram’s *Memorials* (II, Wadham, 3) and Fowler’s *History of Corpus* (101–2).

<sup>2</sup> See the Warden’s history (*Wadham College* by J. Wells, 4) and Jackson (*Wad. Coll.* 12–14). But the book of Warden’s MSS., which contained this and other records, has unhappily disappeared.

suggested as Visitor of the new College.<sup>1</sup> A few days after issuing these instructions Nicholas Wadham died, at the age of seventy-seven. He was buried with magnificence in Ilminster Church. And his widow Dorothy who, though only two years younger, was destined to survive for nearly nine years more, lost no time in carrying her husband's wishes out.

The trust for the establishment of the College was apparently constituted in July 1610, and in the same year, on the 20th December, "our most Serene Lord James, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland," gave his license for the new foundation. But the building had already begun. The proposal to incorporate Gloucester Hall fell through: the Principal insisted on retaining his Headship. The proposal to incorporate Jesus, if ever made, came to nothing. But just outside Smith Gate there lay the old home of the Augustinian Convent, stripped of its great church, its refectory and all its buildings,<sup>2</sup> and represented only by small tenements and gardens which had come into the possession of the city of Oxford. For this site the citizens asked a thousand pounds. But Royal influence was brought to bear. Six hundred pounds was offered and accepted. The city, which "thought it too little" a price, was allowed to nominate one Fellow and two Scholars on the foundation, and in March 1610 the agreement was carried through. In April workmen were engaged. In May the haulage of stone began. In July the first purchase of oaks in Cumnor Wood was recorded. On the 31st July 1610 the first stone was laid in the presence of the Vice-Chancellor, the Proctors and others, who went in procession from St. Mary's Church and met the Mayor of Oxford on the site. A *Te Deum* was sung. The Warden of New College made "an elegant oration." Six pounds, seven shillings and tenpence were expended in music and wine, beer, "bisket" and cakes.

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to credit Wood's story (*Colleges*, 592) that Wadham and his wife once contemplated the establishment of a Roman Catholic College at Venice. But see the interesting suggestion made in the history of *Worcester College* (100-1). There is no evidence that Wadham had Romanist sympathies. Dorothy Wadham was suspected of them: in 1613 arms were seized in her house, and two years later she received a pardon. But she founded a Church of England College and was buried in Ilminster Church. (See Jackson, *Wad. Coll.* 87-8).

<sup>2</sup> If Agas' map is reliable, nearly all the ground was vacant. Sir T. Jackson thinks that not a stone of the Friary remains. See the details and the admirable plan which he gives (*Wad. Coll.* Chap. I). Mr. H. Hurst (*Oxf. Topography*, 131) thinks that the Friary buildings may have occupied much of the College site: but his reference to the Friars' "Chapel" seems inadequate if we accept Sir T. Jackson's account of the great Friars' Church, and William of Worcester's details (*Itinerarium*, ed. Nasmith, 297).



A folio volume in the College archives preserves the building accounts from the beginning. No College in Oxford has been so little altered. It stands in essentials as its builders left it, perfect and complete; and the record of their activities, of the materials they used, and of the rewards they merited—"Item gave them xix<sup>d</sup> in beare when I agreed with them"—can be read in all its picturesque detail to-day. Burford stone and Cumnor timber—oaks felled at sixpence or eightpence apiece—were brought by water to Hithe Bridge,<sup>1</sup> and hauled over Broken Hays, where as yet no road or lane existed. Other stone was fetched from Eynsham, or carted down from the quarries at Headington or Shotover. Somersetshire sent up workmen and even teams of oxen to assist. A Somersetshire church supplied a model for the fine Chapel screen. A Somersetshire man, John Arnold, Mrs. Wadham's steward, probably controlled the operations. And another Arnold, William, perhaps a connection whose skill the steward knew, seems to have been largely responsible for the building, architect, master-mason and clerk of works in one.<sup>2</sup> The new quadrangle rose quickly. The chambers on three sides of it, North and South and West, took precedence of the Hall and Chapel on the East. The kitchen, reversing the Christ Church tradition, was dealt with last of all. In June 1612 the chambers were finished. Next month the roof of the Chapel and Hall were begun. By the end of that year, it seems, the Cloister and the kitchen vault were ready, and the joiners and carvers were busy in the Choir. In March 1613 the statues were set up over the Hall entrance. On the 20th April the Warden, Fellows and Scholars were admitted, though carpenters and plasterers, painters and glaziers were still hard at work. On the 29th the Chapel was consecrated by the Bishop of Oxford, and the opportunity was taken for a memorable feast, at which the leading members of the University, no doubt, assisted, and which cost the new Society no less than eighty-three pounds.<sup>3</sup>

The buildings so quickly completed were as graceful in

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise High Bridge, at the end of George Street.

<sup>2</sup> This is Sir T. Jackson's conclusion, and his examination of the Building Accounts (*Wad. Coll.* Chaps. II, III and IV) is of special value. These Accounts, in the College archives, run from April 1610 to July 1613, and William Arnold appears there repeatedly as receiving a weekly wage of £1, at the head of a list of "Layers," who receive less. Holt appears among the carpenters later; but he could hardly have been responsible for the design. The credit for that seems to be due to William Arnold, unless John Arnold, the steward, or his mistress, had a larger share in it than we know.

<sup>3</sup> The total sum spent on the buildings is put at £11,360 "in the beginning of 1613." (*Wood, Colls.* 599, n.)

execution as they were happy in design. The Classical impulse could not be resisted, and Classic decorations mingled happily enough at Wadham with the older style. But even in the days of Inigo Jones seventeenth-century Oxford clung to its architectural traditions, and the new College in its fine simplicity preserved the Gothic spirit and the mediæval type.<sup>1</sup> The ground bought by Mrs. Wadham stretched from Holywell Street Northwards to the line where the Fellows' Garden was to end. Along Holywell the land was let in narrow strips to various tenants; all the land not needed for the College was immediately let off again. North of these holdings in 1610 a butcher held the vacant land on which the College was built, and a gardener rented the "grove" of two acres beyond.<sup>2</sup> The main quadrangle was set back from the lane which bordered the territory of Trinity and St. John's,<sup>3</sup> and here perhaps the old wall of the Friary acted as a boundary still. In Loggan's print some sixty years later a gateway on the lane gives access to a small courtyard enclosed by walls, and on either side of this are little narrow gardens, dedicated at one time to the Warden and the Fellows. Beyond this court rose the West front of the College, with its gate in the centre and its tower. Chambers, three storeys high with attics over them—styled ground chamber, middle chamber, upper chamber, cock-loft—ran round three sides of the main quadrangle, but no attic windows were allowed to overlook it. Hall and Chapel lay together on the East side, but the Ante-Chapel only was continuous with the Hall. Beyond it the Chapel projected Eastwards at right angles, as the kitchen projected further to the South. These two projections, joined by the Cloister, formed the beginnings of a new quadrangle and enclosed the little grave-yard of the College.

The chambers with the studies attached to them followed the old pattern.<sup>4</sup> But they were unusually spacious: in all the buildings there was a certain nobility of scale. Each Fellow

<sup>1</sup> "The five orders might be piled up one above another, and figures or busts in Roman costume placed in round-headed niches, but the mulioned lights, four-centred doorways, high pitched roofs and numerous gables proclaimed the buildings to be Gothic works, in spite of all apparent contradiction." Yet Wadham "inclines towards the Classic side of the English Renaissance more decidedly than the Schools quadrangle." (Jackson, *Wad. Coll.* 2 and 126). See also Blomfield (*Renaissance Architecture*, 144-6).

<sup>2</sup> The rental of the whole property was £27.14.4. The garden land further North was not added till the 18th century.

<sup>3</sup> There was no open road here till 1871, and the rights of Wadham extended up to the garden wall of Trinity.

<sup>4</sup> Sir T. Jackson thinks that most of the chambers had "three studies apiece, two across the far end of the room and one under the stairs" (*Wad. Coll.* 134).

had a separate room. Three Scholars shared a bedroom together. The space allotted for Commoners and battlers probably varied according to their means. The Foundress provided in part at any rate the original furniture: the Bursars had to see that it was preserved or made good.<sup>1</sup> The walls were probably plastered—all partition walls between the stair-cases were plastered timber—and hangings and paintings and occasionally panelling<sup>2</sup> may have added to their warmth. There are accounts of the chambers and their occupants from 1621 in the College archives, and a plan of them made by Bursar Lee in 1653.<sup>3</sup> The Fellows generally preferred to live upon the second floor, and sometimes rented for a small sum the garrets overhead, which, so long as "Chumming was in fashion," were not required by the members of the College. Windows facing the quadrangle and fire-places were needed to make the cock-lofts habitable in a later day.<sup>4</sup> Some of the ground-floor rooms were probably occupied at first by College servants. On the top floor of the tower was the College Treasury, with three locks to its door and three locks to its chests, where the Statutes signed by the Foundress, the seal and charters and muniments were kept.<sup>5</sup> The great chamber below it with an oriel window at each end, "and other seven chambers lying nearest on the north side,"<sup>6</sup> were allotted to the Warden, who being by rule a Bachelor was allowed to let off what he did not require. Before the Civil War began, however, he had surrendered the tower chamber. It became known as the Astronomy Chamber and was occupied by Seth Ward and Christopher Wren. Before Charles II's reign was over, the Warden had abandoned his original quarters, and had settled entirely in the North-west corner, where he lives to-day.

Across the gravel of the main quadrangle—the fine turf dates from a much later time—the Hall entrance was conspicuous facing West. Its decorated façade of the four orders, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite, recalled the similar work just done at Merton and very soon to be repeated in the tower

<sup>1</sup> *Statutes* (cap. 26).

<sup>2</sup> The manciple's chamber was "wainscotted 7 foot high," says an inventory of 1628 (Jackson, 151).

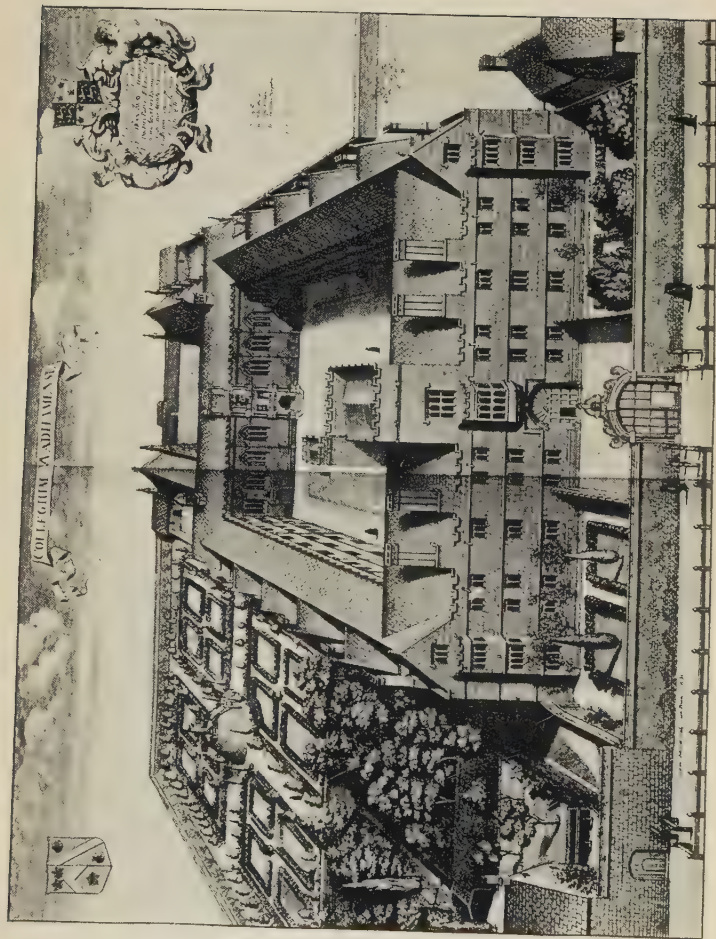
<sup>3</sup> This is reproduced by Sir T. Jackson (*Wad. Coll.* 135).

<sup>4</sup> One fire-place, however, was built in a cock-loft as early as 1636. Windows towards the quadrangle were added in and after 1781 (*Ib.* 138-9).

<sup>5</sup> The plate in the Bursar's chest was to be kept in the Bursary unless the authorities thought the Treasury a better place (*Stats.* cap. 21).

<sup>6</sup> *Stats.* (cap. 26). The chambers adjoining the tower—*proxime adjacentia*—were of course on the West front, but the Lodgings ran round the corner to the North. The Porter's room probably intervened.





WADHAM COLLEGE  
(Loggan)



of the new Schools. Niches and statues rose over the doorway, the Founder and Foundress, with King James above them, surmounted by the Royal arms. But even here the Gothic tradition mingled with the Classical details.<sup>1</sup> The Hall below was one of the largest in Oxford<sup>2</sup> and perhaps the most finely-proportioned of them all. The open timber roof, if rather heavy, was a good example of hammer-beam work. A screen of great beauty shut off the Buttery passage. The floor was oak till stone flagging replaced it,<sup>3</sup> with vaulted cellars underneath. The brazier with the lantern overhead served for a fire-place till 1797. The windows, remarkable for William Arnold's tracery, included a large oriel on the East and a great South window at the end. Wood describes the painted glass he found there, the arms of Wadham, Petre, Strangways, of West country families and of West Country Bishops, who acted at times as Visitors of the College. Later changes displaced the old glass,<sup>4</sup> cut down the panelling and painted the ceiling between the timbers overhead. But no changes have destroyed the dignity or the proportions of the stately room. Portraits of seventeenth-century worthies—Nicholas Wadham and his wife, Sir John Strangways their kinsman, early Wardens with Wilkins conspicuous among them, Blake and Wren and other less celebrated figures—appeared in time upon the walls. And the plate which shone at College banquets, even after King Charles had carried off its early treasures,<sup>5</sup> displayed, before the century was over, no mean store contributed by Wadham men.

The Chapel at Wadham followed the plan which William of Wykeham had adopted at New College, and which the fifteenth century had reproduced at Magdalen and All Souls. Without the pure style of those famous buildings, its picturesque variety gave it special charm. A spacious Ante-Chapel, divided into aisles by double arches, and lit by windows of curious Jacobean tracery,<sup>6</sup> the work of William Arnold and his men, opened into an imposing Choir. A screen enriched with admirable carving

<sup>1</sup> It breaks out, says Sir T. Jackson (126), "not only in the doorway, which though it has a Classic architrave has a four-centred arch, but in the cusped canopy over the King, and in the row of quatrefoiled circles and pierced cresting that crowns the composition."

<sup>2</sup> 83 ft. × 27. Only Christ Church Hall was longer. New College Hall was wider but not so long.

<sup>3</sup> But in 1891 the oak flooring was restored.

<sup>4</sup> Some of this glass, including the arms of Laud, as Visitor, found its way later into the windows of the Cloister.

<sup>5</sup> See Jackson's list of the plate surrendered to Charles I (*Wad. Coll.* 203-4). It included Mrs. Wadham's drinking cup, a replica of which the College possesses and long regarded as the original.

<sup>6</sup> See Sir R. Blomfield's remarks (*Renaissance Architecture*, 144).



formed the gateway to the inner Chapel.<sup>1</sup> The woodwork was probably painted red—seventeenth-century builders did not share the modern reverence for oak; but this was at least preferable to the grained and varnished woodwork introduced by restorers of a later age. The ceiling above was originally boarded and divided in panels intersected by rosettes. After the Restoration a floor of black and white marble was laid down, and an altar-rail of cedar wood added. The clock of the same date is said to have been presented and designed by Wren. The Statutes assigned theological disputations to the Chapel and required Wardens and Fellows to be elected there.

The striking windows of the Choir, in style far older than the College, have been mistaken even by good judges for fifteenth-century work. They were to suffer many changes in the years ahead. The ten side windows, given by the Foundress, must have glowed with colour from the earliest days. The figures on the North side, David and the Prophets, were ill-proportioned though effective in design. Mrs. Wadham found reason to complain of the artist. "I would haue you also to end w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>r</sup> old Glasier," she wrote to the Warden on the 28th March, 1614, "that there may be noe more brabbling with him."<sup>2</sup> But the figures on the South side, Our Lord and His Apostles,<sup>3</sup> were admirable work, and the combination of clear glass above with the transparent colouring below added a special charm of lightness to the Chapel. The great East window depicting with splendour the Passion of our Lord, was given by Sir John Strangways, one of the Founder's heirs, and was painted by Bernard Van Ling<sup>4</sup> in 1622, at the rate of three shillings and fourpence a square foot. The old Jacobean pulpit and the old communion-table still survive, though their positions have been altered. Isaac Fuller's drawings on cloth around the altar survived till the nineteenth century swept them away. The communion-plate happily escaped the Royal clutches, and two

<sup>1</sup> See Ackermann's plate of the interior before the restoration of 1832 (*Hist. of Univ. of Oxford*, II).

<sup>2</sup> Sir T. Jackson (*Wad. Coll.* 160-1) thinks that the artist was Robert Rudland of Oxford.

<sup>3</sup> The figures included St. Paul and St. Stephen.

<sup>4</sup> Bernard signed his name here without the final e. The history of this window is given by Sir T. Jackson from the College MSS. (*Wad. Coll.* 163-171 and 199). But Mr. Grinling's paper before referred to (*Proceedings of Oxford Architectural and Historical Society*, N.S., vol. IV, pp. 144-71, and especially 152 and 161) should be noted. It may be worth mention that the arms of Wadham are on Archbishop Abbot's tomb in Trinity Church, Guildford, and that the two fine windows in Abbot's Hospital opposite the Church, of much the same date as the great window at Wadham, have strong points of resemblance with Bernard Van Ling's work.

rare round-bellied flagons, inherited from Mrs. Wadham, recall Elizabethan work. The Ante-Chapel had a door into the Cloister which led to the burying-ground beyond. But many members of the College were buried in the Ante-Chapel, and a few by favour in the Choir. At least one early Commoner who died of plague was allowed to rest in the "Church-yard."<sup>1</sup> Wood has preserved the inscriptions on some of the most interesting monuments within.

The kitchen wing corresponded with the Chapel, projecting Eastwards at the South end of the Cloister. It was approached by steps leading down from the Buttery passage.<sup>2</sup> The kitchen was ceiled with a barrel vault in cut stone. Young members of the College visiting it without permission were subjected to fines. The Library, placed over the kitchen wing for warmth and dryness, was a handsome room fifty-four feet long, lit by many windows on both sides, and by a large window of traceried Gothic at the end. It was reached by a stair from the Cloister, as it is still. The College Statutes appointed a Librarian at a salary of thirty shillings a year, and made provision for the keeping and chaining of the books. The building accounts have entries for chains and staples, desks and seats. The Foundress contributed some volumes, but the first great contributor was Archdeacon Bisse, an old Fellow of Magdalen and a Somersetshire man.<sup>3</sup> The Archdeacon's portrait has been loyally preserved. Another contributor in the seventeenth century was Bishop Henchman, a more illustrious divine, who was housed in the Warden's Lodgings when Parliament met at Oxford in 1665. Wadham Library was comparatively late in its foundation, but a certain number of rare early printed books found their way sooner or later to its shelves. There is a copy of *Phalaris* from the Oxford Press of 1485.<sup>4</sup> There are volumes from Caxton, Pynson, Wynkyn de Worde and the Aldine Press, and still earlier volumes printed at Rome and Venice in 1468 and 1471. There is a beautiful edition of Petrarch issued at Venice in 1490, a Plautus of 1495 and a Terence of 1498. There are four rare editions of the English Bible, a first edition of

<sup>1</sup> The register of burials between 1613 and 1646 contains 26 names, including two Wardens (Wells, *Wadham*, 44).

<sup>2</sup> In the window over these steps are medallions of Charles I, Henrietta Maria and Dorothy Wadham, once apparently in the oriel window in the Hall.

<sup>3</sup> Wood says (*Coll.* 601) that Dr. Bisse gave 2,000 volumes, valued at £1,700. They were rich in controversial theology.

<sup>4</sup> And another great rarity, the Antonius Andreae printed at St. Albans in 1482. On this and other treasures of the Wadham Library see Mr. E. Gordon Duff's note contributed to Sir T. Jackson's volume (198-200), and the first Appendix to Mr. Wells' history of the College.

Hakluyt's voyages presented by a Drake, the first four folios of Shakespeare and the first edition of *Paradise Lost*. A fine tenth-century manuscript of the Gospels was given to the College by William Boswell in 1625.

A Common Room at Wadham formed of course no part of the original plan. The chamber over the Buttery was at first reserved for the Bursars, who met there to consider the weekly expenditure with the manciple, the butler and the Steward of the Hall. But its panelling suggests that it was converted to its present use not long after the Restoration.<sup>1</sup> In the same age the College fabric was seriously damaged by a storm; the falling chimney-stacks, we are told, might have killed several of the scholars had they not been "accidentally then at prayers." And a later storm in 1690 played havoc with the Chapel windows, which, it seems, were not properly repaired for many years. At the South-west corner of the College a little timbered building of an older date, set close against the boundary wall, survived till 1693.<sup>2</sup> Just beyond it, further South, a gabled and three-storeyed building, also older than the College,<sup>3</sup> was used for additional rooms in the seventeenth century. It was known in Cromwell's day as the "Back lodgings," and was preserved, in spite of its dilapidations, till the nineteenth century began. For several years the College had no garden except the two little walled enclosures in the front. The two acres to the North with their grove or orchard had been let off immediately by Mrs. Wadham. But before the end of the Civil War part of this ground had been taken over and made into a garden for the Warden's use,<sup>4</sup> and during Dr. Wilkins' Wardenship the rest of it was laid out as a garden for the Fellows. Loggan gives an elaborate picture of trim hedges and parterres, with a figure of Atlas set upon a mound and holding up a gilded world, and of walks where the "universally-curious" Warden entertained John Evelyn, telling him of his inventions and of the "transparent apiaries" which he had built. Evelyn took away one of the hives, and the King came down to Sayes Court to

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be no mention of the Common Room till 1724 (Jackson, 148). But see Mr. Wells' argument as to its date (109-10).

<sup>2</sup> See Loggan's print. It was then replaced by a new building—the first substantial addition to the College—now Staircase No. IX.

<sup>3</sup> But probably not much older. Skelton shows it (*Oxon. Rest.* pl. 153) and calls it part of the Augustinian Friary. But Sir T. Jackson dismisses that idea (21 and 128-9). Converted into a brewhouse in 1801, it made way for No. X Staircase in 1828. It may have been built originally out of the Convent ruins.

<sup>4</sup> Agreements between the Warden and Fellows on the subject in 1645 and later are noted in the *Convention Books* in the College archives (No. II, p. 108 and No. I, p. 1).



see it.<sup>1</sup> Time has added space and beauty to the grounds where Evelyn wandered, and its own charm to the silvery walls above.

Before the buildings were finished the little Society had been formed, and Dorothy Wadham had embodied in her Statutes her husband's uncompleted plans. Among Oxford Founders she stands apart with Dervorguilla in a long line of churchmen, statesmen, merchants, Kings. Her Statutes with a few exceptions were moulded on the old familiar lines, and recalled in particular the Statutes of Corpus. But there is a modern note in some of the arrangements. The language is the language of the Foundress and has a character and spirit of its own.<sup>2</sup> They established a "perpetual College of poor and needy Scholars," consisting of a Warden, fifteen Fellows and fifteen Scholars, with two Chaplains, two clerks, a manciple, two cooks, two butlers and one porter.<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Wadham reserved to herself all nominations in her lifetime, with the exception of the members nominated by the City of Oxford. The Warden, the real ruler of the Society, chosen for life from among the Fellows present or past, was required to take the degree of Doctor of Divinity,<sup>4</sup> to be a blameless man and not an alien or a Bishop. He was to be at least thirty years of age—the first Warden, Dr. Wright, was fifty-two—and was until the nineteenth century refused permission to marry. The Warden had assistants, a Vice-Warden, Dean and Bursars, elected annually by the Head and the five senior Fellows on St. Nicholas' day. The Dean had a Sub-Dean to help him to preside over disputations. The Bursars were responsible, with the Warden and Vice-Warden, for the management of the College property and for the College chests. A Catechist, to instruct the younger members once a fortnight in the elements of piety and religion, a Praelector of Humanity, to expound classics in the Hall, a Moderator of Philosophy and a Librarian were included in the Staff. The Fellows, elected

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's *Diary* (ed. 1879, II, 57). For the gardens see also Williams (*Oxonia Depicta*, pl. XVIII). The "non ultra walk" was probably the lane which ran along the North side of the College (Jackson, 211).

<sup>2</sup> The Statutes were not printed by the Commissioners in 1853, and have never been published. I have to thank the Warden's kindness for a copy printed in 1855. The originals, signed and sealed the 16th August 1612, are in the College archives.

<sup>3</sup> The first butler was John Buller, a poor cousin of the Foundress, whose name lingered on in the College buildings and is still recalled in the Chapel. (See Jackson, 80, and Wells, 28). Of the first Fellows seven were M.As., seven B.As. and only one an undergraduate. (See the list in the *College Register* of 1636).

<sup>4</sup> *Stats.* (cap. 2). The Foundress altered, it is said by the Society's wish, the original proposal, which insisted only on a Doctor's degree in one of the three Faculties (Jackson, 53, n.).

from Scholars of the College and subjected to a year's probation first, might hold their places for eighteen years, not more.<sup>1</sup> They were not required to take Orders, but they must not marry, and they must not possess more than ten pounds a year. The Scholars were to be between fourteen and nineteen at the time of their election, and might hold their Scholarships for twelve years after taking their Master's degree. Three of them were to be Somersetshire and three Essex lads, and for three Fellowships and three Scholarships also a preference was by an after-thought given to Founder's kin.<sup>2</sup>

For all alike stipends were allotted, but the income available at first did not go far. The Warden drew a hundred pounds a year, each Fellow twenty and each Scholar ten: but like some other members of the College they were to receive only half-pay during Mrs. Wadham's life.<sup>3</sup> Each Chaplain had thirteen pounds, six shillings and eightpence. Each Clerk had to be content with half of that amount. To increase the "alacrity" of the officers, the Vice-Warden received four pounds a year, the Catechist and the Moderator of Philosophy three pounds, the Bursars, Dean, Sub-Dean and Prælector of Humanity forty shillings each. But the last-named had also sixpence a quarter from each undergraduate Commoner and batteler, and the Dean and Sub-Dean had fees of their own.<sup>4</sup> The manciple was handsomely paid with ten pounds yearly: he was neither to seek nor to make gain in buying College food. The butler and the cook had three pounds each, but the under-cook and under-butler four: there must have been pickings which added to the earnings of the chiefs. The under-cook was to be a robust young man, honest and unmarried, and to carry the cook's basket when he went to market. The barber and the laundress received thirty shillings a year—the same as the Librarian—the porter twenty-six shillings and eightpence. The Steward of the Hall was a Fellow and unpaid. The Visitor, when he came, had his expenses humbly and reverently offered him by the College.

The Foundress laid great stress on education. In all forms of discipline, she told her students, nothing could be better than practice.<sup>5</sup> Her scholars must write at least mediocre

<sup>1</sup> The Foundress extended to 18 years the 10 years originally proposed. These terminable and non-clerical Fellowships anticipated modern ideas (Wells, *Wadham Coll.* 21-2).

<sup>2</sup> This also was one of Mrs. Wadham's additions to the Statutes.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Wadham, however, increased their pay in February 1614. (See later, p. 260).

<sup>4</sup> *Stats.* (cap. 10).

<sup>5</sup> "In disciplinis omnibus cum nihil sit praestantius exercitatione," etc. (*Ib.* cap. 11).

Latin verses. Lectures and disputations must go on all the time. The undergraduates spent three hours daily upon logic. They heard lectures on Greek and Latin authors three times a week.<sup>1</sup> Graduates, but only graduates, might read in the Library as a matter of right.<sup>2</sup> Even the Long Vacation had its studies, and leave for Fellows was limited to forty, for Scholars to thirty, days in the year.<sup>3</sup> One or two Fellows were allowed, as at Corpus, to travel in order to study Medicine or Civil Law.<sup>4</sup> There were rules for services in Chapel, rules for the disposal of the rooms in College, rules for food and clothes and discipline traditional in Oxford life. The commons allowed for the Warden and Fellows were to be at least twelve pounds a year, deducted from their stipends, those of the Scholars six pounds and those of the Chaplains eight.<sup>5</sup> Clothes and boots were to be as nearly as possible black. Caps must come off in presence of a senior. Hair must not be worn long upon the shoulders. No one living in Mrs. Wadham's College must grow a beard. Walks alone and guns and cross-bows were forbidden. So were cards, except on feast days and for moderate stakes. Dogs and ferrets, hares and birds—coursing and cock-fighting are suggested—were as illicit in the seventeenth century as in earlier days. Female servants were still banned: even the laundress, though protected by her years, might only come to the outer gate of the College. Fines and impositions figured among the penalties: whipping was not mentioned, but it by no means follows that it was not allowed. Fellows, Scholars and even the Warden were removable for gross misconduct. The Visitor, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, had power to interpret and enforce the rules. Commoners and battelers who would not obey them could be removed after a warning by the Warden. But these two classes of members could not be admitted without the consent of the majority of Fellows.<sup>6</sup> They had, on attaining the age of fifteen, to swear to be true and faithful to the College, and to "observe and keep the ordinary exercise of this house appointed" for

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Wells estimates (*Wadham*, 25) that an undergraduate had 23 or 24 hours of lectures or disputations every week.

<sup>2</sup> For the Library rules see *Stats.* (cap. 28). Each graduate had a key; any others entering must be accompanied by a Fellow.

<sup>3</sup> The Warden might be absent 4 months in the year (*Ib.* cap. 2).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* (cap. 30). They drew a "viaticum" of £10 yearly for 4 years while away.

<sup>5</sup> The Clerks had £4 of their stipends deducted for commons. The butler, under-butler, porter and manciple had £10 a year to spend on meat and drink in Hall (*Ib.* cap. 13). At first the Fellows, Scholars, Chaplains and Clerks must have spent more than half their incomes on their commons: but the Foundress reserved power to alter this (*Ib.* cap. 31): there were also allowances for Gaudy days (cap. 27).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* (cap. 29).



them. This oath was allowed to be taken in English, though Latin was still the language of the Scholars, and still enforced at meals in Hall.<sup>1</sup> Commoners had to pay twenty shillings or to give a silver cup on admission. Even battelers had to pay ten shillings each. They were both to some extent profitable members, and when the College opened there were a large number on its list.<sup>2</sup>

Wadham, which thus differed in some ways materially from the earliest Colleges, was from the first a West Country foundation. A majority of the original Fellows belonged to Somerset or Devon, and four were imported from Exeter College. But the "extraneous" undergraduates outnumbered them largely. The first Warden, Robert Wright of Trinity, who resigned in a few months' time because the Foundress refused him permission to marry,<sup>3</sup> was in some respects a remarkable man. As a Bishop he was impeached in 1641, and he died in arms for the Royalist cause. His immediate successors were mostly short-lived.<sup>4</sup> Warden Fleming's appointment indeed was irregular, for he was a Fellow of Exeter and not of Wadham. But the College during its first years was largely ruled by the directions of the Foundress, a great lady of the Elizabethan age. She wrote letters nominating Bursars, Lecturers and Deans. She insisted on her nominee being made a cook: Dr. Wright had surreptitiously introduced his own.<sup>5</sup> She sent ten pounds to be spent "in Gawdyes" on the first Christmas Day. A few weeks later, in February 1614, she made over to the College the Essex property left to her for life, reserving only a rent-charge of two hundred pounds a year. This at length gave the Fellows and Scholars a reasonable margin beyond the cost of food. Next month her "Cosen Buller," the butler, and John Williams, the manciple, received small annuities. And a little later, when the Essex rents fell off, Mrs. Wadham generously reduced her own charge to a hundred pounds. If the Fellows encroached on her rights under the Statutes, she would gently "write these few lines" to remind them of their duty. But on the whole she found "great comfort" in them: and when she died in May 1618, at the age of eighty-four, the College joined John

<sup>1</sup> For the order observed at meals in Hall see *Stats.* (cap. 17).

<sup>2</sup> Sir T. Jackson (66-7) makes the total numbers of the College over eighty, of whom some three-fourths were undergraduates. The *College Register* gives 18 ordinary Commoners for 1613; and the Fellow Commoners and battelers together accounted for at least as many more.

<sup>3</sup> There is no ground for the ridiculous story that Mrs. Wadham wished him to marry her.

<sup>4</sup> That is, as Wardens:—John Fleming, 1613-17; William Smyth, 1617-35; Daniel Estcott, 1635-44; John Pitt or Pitts, 1644-48.

<sup>5</sup> This letter is copied in the *College Convention Book II* (p. 3).

Arnold, her Executor, in giving her a far more sumptuous funeral than she had desired. Alderman Boswell's bill for broadcloth—his son was a Scholar of Wadham College—exceeded a hundred and fifty-seven pounds. And the funeral feast in the Hall was on a corresponding scale.<sup>1</sup> The motto over the head of the Foundress on the fine brass in the church at Ilminster—"I will not dye but lyue and declare ye worke of ye lorde"—claims immortality for the work she left behind.<sup>2</sup> Fuller reminds us that "Absalom having no children reared up for himself a pillar to perpetuate his name."

The West Country lost no time in showing its interest in the new College. Of twenty-six new-comers in 1615 twenty were from Dorset, Somerset, Devonshire or Cornwall.<sup>3</sup> A Drake appeared as a Scholar in 1617, and a Rodney as a Fellow-Commoner in the same year. Robert Blake, perhaps the greatest son of Wadham, and one of the greatest of English captains, came up from Bridgwater to St. Alban Hall, but took his Bachelor's degree from Wadham in 1618. "He was an early riser," says Aubrey, "and studyed well, but also tooke his robust pleasures of fishing, fowling, etc."<sup>4</sup> Tradition adds that Merton refused a Fellowship to a man of such squat and ungainly build. One of Blake's eleven brothers spent many years as a member of Wadham. Carew Raleigh, "son of the most brave and learned knight Walter Raleigh," was boldly welcomed to the College within a short time of his father's death.<sup>5</sup> Monk's brother Nicholas, but not George Monk the King-maker himself, came up from Devonshire later on. Courtney, and Thynne, Carew and Chudleigh, Portman, Windham and Luttrell occur early among well-known West Country names. There was little at first to mark the College annals. King James tried, in contempt of the Statutes, to intrude a Scottish Fellow. But though the Fellows "feared the King, they feared Almighty God still more," and the Royal candidate was rejected, even though he canvassed the Fellows in their bedrooms. In 1625 the plague came to Oxford with the Parliament, and there was some fear of its invading the College. One

<sup>1</sup> Sir T. Jackson gives the figures from the Warden's MSS. (*Wad. Coll.* 89), and quotes some of Mrs. Wadham's letters in his seventh chapter.

<sup>2</sup> The eighth chapter of the same book has an admirable description of the Wadham monuments at Ilminster. But the inscription on the scroll over Mrs. Wadham's head surely begins "I will," and not "I shall." The Vicar of Ilminster has very kindly verified it for me.

<sup>3</sup> For this and many other personal details see Mr. R. B. Gardiner's valuable *Registers of Wadham College* (I, 31-6).

<sup>4</sup> *Brief Lives* (I, 107).

<sup>5</sup> See the *College Register* of 1636, under 1619: the entry is in Latin.

of the original Fellows refused to surrender his place when he inherited more than the Statutes allowed. A Commoner of 1630, who could not live within his income, besought his father to remember the abnormal price of Oxford bread. John Gauden, who may have written the *Eikon Basilike*, came to Wadham in that year as a tutor. Students destined to succeed as Puritan preachers came up even in the days of Laud. One iconoclast, Philip Hunton, whom Cromwell made the Head of a College, maintained that the sovereignty of England resided in the three Estates—a doctrine burned in the Schools' Quadrangle, with some of Milton's heresies, after his death.

The Civil War brought its inevitable divisions to Wadham as elsewhere, though the gift of the College plate to the King was "unanimously agreed by Warden and Fellows."<sup>1</sup> A Strangways and a St. John were among the members of the College who held commissions in the Royal Army. Henry Ancketyll, a Prebendary in 1639, threw off his cassock and held Corfe Castle for the King. Charles Dymoke, the King's Champion, died in garrison at Oxford: he had come to the College fresh from the Royal Coronation. Francis Blewett was killed before Lyme Regis fighting against Blake. Charles D'Oiley, on the other side, at Naseby commanded Fairfax's victorious guards. Nicholas Love, a lawyer of distinction, sat on the Court which condemned King Charles to death. Thomas Sydenham, the large-hearted physician, "Medicus in omne ævum nobilis," came back to Oxford after serving with the Parliament, and entered as a Fellow-Commoner, it seems, at Wadham.<sup>2</sup> With the War admissions dwindled quickly. There were no new Commoners in 1644 or 1645.<sup>3</sup> The vacant rooms fell to Royalist soldiers and officials. The Attorney-General

<sup>1</sup> See the entry in the *College Convention Book II* (100-1).

<sup>2</sup> Sydenham's letter to Dr. Gould of Wadham (*Sloane Addit. MS.* 4376, Brit. Mus.), which Dr. Payne notes (*D.N.B.*), though it seems to have escaped Sydenham's other biographers, rather confirms Mr. Wells' view (*Wadham*, 57-8, n.) that he joined the College in 1646, and not in Oct. 1647, as Mr. Gardiner (*Registers*, I, 165) suggests. "I my Selfe was once a Fellow-Commoner of your house but how long since I should be glad to know from you as I remember it was in y<sup>e</sup> year that Oxford was surrendred though I had bin of Magdalen Hall som time before." The name Sydenham without date or initial appears among the Upper Commoners in the *College Register* (1636) between the name of Sir E. Herbert in October 1643 and the name of Henry Paulet in October 1647. Sydenham was at Magdalen Hall before the War, and a "Mr. Sidnam" appears among the Magdalen Hall M.As. submitting in May 1648. He was made a Fellow of All Souls in Oct. 1648.

<sup>3</sup> See the *College Register* of 1636. The only Fellow Commoners entered under 1643 are William Earle of Bedford and St. Edward Herbert "ye Attourney generall." There are no entries between 1647 and 1659.



had two sons born in the College. But the surrender of the city swept the Royalists away. In April 1648 Warden Pitt was ejected.<sup>1</sup> But most of his Fellows and Scholars and Commoners stood by him. They answered the Parliamentary Visitors with every species of evasion, and many of them were content to share the Warden's fate.<sup>2</sup>

The famous Dr. Wilkins succeeded to the Wardenship. On his appointment he was only thirty-four. New Puritan Fellows were admitted. Religious discipline perhaps grew narrow, but order and scholarship improved.<sup>3</sup> In 1650 the number of admissions ran up to fifty-seven.<sup>4</sup> The old West Country families still sent their sons. The College finances were re-established: they had suffered inevitably during the War.<sup>5</sup> Four hundred pounds, it seems, were owing to brewers, bakers and others. In 1650 three Fellowships and three Scholarships were suspended for four years. In 1649 the Parliamentary Visitors took up the question of augmenting the stipends of the Heads of twelve Colleges, of which Wadham was one, and in 1651 augmentations of some value were granted. Under this arrangement the Warden of Wadham received sixty-three pounds, ten shillings a year, and in 1654 he joined the Heads of other Colleges in petitioning that the arrears of these augmentations should be paid.<sup>6</sup> In that year also a bequest by John Goodridge, the first large benefactor since Mrs. Wadham's death, created new Exhibitions and added something to the pay of members of the College. In 1668 the advowson of Wadhurst was given in memory of an undergraduate who had died. But Wadham continued to be a poor College, and was rated, in

<sup>1</sup> See the order signed by Francis Rous in the *College Register of Foundationers* (p. 41).

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Wells, following Mr. Gardiner, estimates that 9 out of 13 Fellows, 9 out of 14 Scholars, and 11 Commoners or battelers were expelled. Prof. Burrows (*Reg. of Visitors*, 559-61) estimates the numbers differently, but certainty is difficult to attain. He gives (86-8) the answers of 13 members of the College, and a list (561-3) of 26 persons appointed by the Visitors, including Seth Ward, John Wilkins and Christopher Wren. See also the *Register of Foundationers* about this date.

<sup>3</sup> See the business-like entries in 1654 in the *College Convention Book I* (p. 7).

<sup>4</sup> Langbaine's total for the College is 129 about 1651.

<sup>5</sup> One of Warden Pitt's last acts was to join in a decree by which the salaried members of the College gave up part of their stipends for College needs (*Convention Book II*, 114), and in 1670-1 and 1684 this generous policy was repeated (*Convention Book I*, under those years).

<sup>6</sup> See Wells (65), Jackson (117) and Burrows (*Reg.* cx, n., 246 and 251). Mr. Wells is surely right in thinking that the £63.10.0 was added to the Warden's income of £100. Before the end of the century the Warden's income is stated to have fallen to £70, in a list given in *Bodley MS. Tanner* 338 (f. 204<sup>b</sup>). I doubt its accuracy.

company with Balliol and Pembroke, University and Jesus, at a hundred pounds only in 1682.

John Wilkins, an invaluable Warden, was the son of an Oxford goldsmith and one of the most interesting figures in the University of his day. Educated at New Inn Hall and Magdalen Hall, he owed his first advancement to patrons like Lord Saye and Sele and the Prince Palatine. He owed something, no doubt, to the good fortune which made him brother-in-law to Oliver Cromwell in 1656—the Parliamentary Visitors had conveniently suspended the old rule of celibacy in 1652<sup>1</sup>—and father-in-law to Archbishop Tillotson later. But he owed most to his own character and judgment, his moderation, his natural kindliness, and the suprising vigour of his mind. He protected Royalists in the hour of their depression. He was John Evelyn's "deare and excellent friend." He was a Bishop after the Restoration, but not afraid of tolerant, Latitudinarian ways. Unpopular with fanatics on both sides, he soon became a power in Oxford, and was conspicuous among its rulers until he left it to become Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1659. He revived the study of the "new philosophy." He wrote treatises to prove that the moon might be inhabited, and might even be reached. He tried to invent a universal language. He was more successful in inventing mechanical contrivances—a statue that spoke, a wheel to run races in—"artificial, mathematical and magical curiosities"—perhaps with the help of his friend Sir William Petty and of that "prodigious" young scholar, Christopher Wren. Wilkins drew everybody round him, Cavaliers and Roundheads, inventors and musicians, scholars and divines. Even his College manciple became the creator of a quadrant. At a famous concert at the Warden's lodgings, where a formidable German violinist was performing, Anthony Wood was "haled in" and induced to play. A "lustie, strong growne, well sett," hospitable figure, Wilkins must have been a reconciling influence in the sharply divided Oxford of his day.

Wilkins now perhaps is best remembered for gathering at Wadham the scientific men who were to form the nucleus of the Royal Society.<sup>2</sup> Of that brilliant circle Seth Ward, Savilian

<sup>1</sup> But Wilkins was the only exception to the rule. His wife, Robina Cromwell, was the widow of Peter French, a Canon of Christ Church, and his step-daughter Elizabeth French became Mrs. Tillotson. For Wilkins' correspondence with Richard Cromwell see *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* (13 Dec. 1657, 29 Mar. and 21 May 1658, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Sprat (*Hist. of Royal Society*, 1667, p. 53) makes the Warden's Lodgings the cradle of the Society. But the first meetings were held in London, and then at Petty's Lodgings in Oxford, before they were held at Wadham (see Weld's *Hist. of Roy. Soc.* 30 sq., and later, Ch. XVIII).

Professor of Astronomy, and like Wilkins a Bishop of the Restoration, entered Wadham as a Fellow Commoner in 1650. He lived in the tower over the Gate, and during his Oxford residence he had the strange experience of being twice elected to Headships of Colleges which he was not allowed to retain.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Sprat, also a Bishop later, poet, wit, historian and versatile divine, began life as a eulogist of Cromwell and ended it as a defender of Dr. Sacheverell. He wrote a biography of Cowley and a history of the Royal Society, in prose which both Johnson and Macaulay praised. Laurence Rooke, imported like some others from Cambridge, mathematician, chemist, botanist, musician, preceded Wren as Professor of Astronomy at Gresham College. Walter Pope, the Warden's half-brother, who held the same Chair, wrote biographies not only of Seth Ward but of Claude Duval.<sup>2</sup> As Proctor he made a memorable stand against the proposal to abolish caps and hoods. Above all, Christopher Wren, who was a Fellow Commoner of Wadham for three or four years before his election to All Souls, and who long remained in touch with his old College, delighted, it seems, in the Warden's society as much as his contemporaries delighted in his own.<sup>3</sup>

With Wilkins a brilliant period of the College history ended. But the Restoration brought no violent change. Warden Blandford, elected in 1659, held his own and passed on to the Bishopric of Oxford later. Only one Royalist Fellow of the old days, Nicholas Strangways, seems to have been restored. Discipline suffered. Drinking increased. In one drunken quarrel a Bible clerk of Exeter was murdered by a Commoner of Wadham, a Judge's son. But Gilbert Ironside, a man of strong character, succeeded Blandford in 1665. He ruled the Society till 1689, and he kept up its prosperity and numbers.<sup>4</sup> Ironside had a great respect for Wilkins; he once rated Wood sharply for his churlish criticism of that distinguished man. "He gave me roast meat," the historian complains—he had been invited by the Warden to supper—"and beat me with the spit." In return Wood repeated Dean Fell's opinion that Ironside was "a prating and proud coxcomb." Ironside perhaps was too independent

<sup>1</sup> Of Jesus College in 1657 and of Trinity in 1659.

<sup>2</sup> On Rooke, Pope and others of their colleagues and contemporaries see the sketches given by Wood (*Athenæ*, III, 587-9 and IV, 724-6), in Pope's short *Life of Seth Lord Bishop of Salisbury*, and in J. Ward's *Lives of the Professors of Gresham College*.

<sup>3</sup> Wren was apparently paying rent for the chamber over the gateway in 1663 (Gardiner, *Reg.* I, 178), when he had left All Souls. On the sugar-caster which he gave to the College, and the date of the gift, see Wells (*Wadham*, 68).

<sup>4</sup> The admissions at Wadham averaged over 20, even in the dark days of the Popish Plot (Wells, 95).



for the Dean. He was too independent also for the Visitor, who once summoned the Warden and Fellows to appear before him to answer a complaint. The Warden replied boldly that the Bishop's power of visitation was limited and could only be exercised in the precincts of the College. Ironside was too independent also to truckle to King James—though Wadham men were prepared to serve, if need be, against Monmouth. He would not countenance James' illegalities at Magdalen. He told him his opinion as "an honest blunt man." He refused to meet James' Commissioners. He was no Kirke, "to dine under the gallows." He would not attend Magdalen Chapel "to hear eulogies on the Virgin Mary." He deserved the Bishopric which William gave him, rough of tongue as he often was. The Prince of Orange had visited Wadham some years before. The College became a Whig College. Warden Dunster, says a splenetic Tory, was one of "y<sup>e</sup> Violentest Whiggs, and most Rascally Low-Church Men of y<sup>e</sup> Age."<sup>1</sup> But Dunster's merits or demerits and the epigrams which gathered round him belong to the small chronicles of a later day.

Wadham had its share of Bishops, and of scientific Bishops too. William Lloyd of St. Asaph, whom James II sent to the Tower, and who was more closely connected with Jesus College, had "more learning in ready cash," said Wilkins, than any man he ever knew. He had wit too, and is credited with a practical joke which must have delighted the undergraduate world. A visitor, staying at the Mitre, was persuaded to pose as a Patriarch from Greece. The Dean of Christ Church called on him for advice, the Greek Professor harangued him in his own tongue, and religious enthusiasts applied for his blessing, before the imposture was suspected or disclosed. In the same period Thomas Lyndesay, one of Swift's friends in his Irish exile, passed from Wadhām to be Dean of St. Patrick's and Archbishop of Armagh. Henry Godolphin, though no Bishop, passed to the Deanery of St. Paul's, where he interfered with Wren. His brother Charles left to the Library a great store of Spanish books. And the list of lesser men of note could easily be made disproportionately long. Among the earliest Fellows Humphrey Sydenham, unbending loyalist and "silver-tongued" divine, once incurred "scandalous excommunication"; but he secured the patronage of Laud. Harris, son of a Mayor of Oxford, who died young, was an original Fellow nominated by the City. Alexander Huish, whom Mrs. Wadham nominated to succeed him, was a great Oriental Scholar and a great sufferer by the War. A letter still survives from the mother of Thomas Gower, the ancestor of a distinguished stock, who had come

<sup>1</sup> Hearne (*Collections*, I, 291).

up as a boy of twelve to the College, imploring him to continue his daily prayers, lest his "younge years" should lead him to forget his Maker. The College lists, soon after the middle of the century, overflow with names of interest. Cromwell's son-in-law and nephew, a Russell and a Desborough, were students under Wilkins.<sup>1</sup> Charles Sedley, a grandson of Sir Henry Savile and a typical figure of the Court of Charles II, came up in 1656. Rochester, Sedley's rival in gifts and in debauchery, came up in 1660 as a boy of twelve, eloped with a great heiress at eighteen, and died bankrupt in health and fortune at the age of thirty-three.<sup>2</sup> Lord Lovelace was one of the first Peers to rise for William of Orange. Mayow, who brought to the study of pure science gifts even greater perhaps than Thomas Sydenham's, passed on like Sydenham to All Souls. And Robert Pitt, a physician who denounced the "folly of taking too much physic," helped after the Restoration to keep the scientific traditions of Wadham alive.

In the same age, but in another field, John Pratt, a great Whig lawyer, became Chief Justice and the father of a greater lawyer still. Lord Campbell was apparently surprised by the promotion of a judge "unredeemed from insipidity by the commission of a single great crime." Thomas Creech, who translated Lucretius before passing on to All Souls in 1683, was the best of a group of minor poets, who won for Wadham the praises of Dryden and of Mrs. Aphra Behn. Humphrey Hody, who shared his room, was a greater scholar, and Professor of Greek before the century closed. He founded exhibitions for Greek and Hebrew in the College. Bentley, a greater scholar still, resided for some months at Wadham, and was Hody's friend until a point of spelling broke their friendship down. And one other name of the seventeenth century deserves at least a word of mention, that of the Puritan Bursar, Samuel Lee, whose work is still to be seen in the archives of the College, who received a London living from Oliver Cromwell, faced exile and imprisonment under Charles II, and breathed the prayer that all within the walls of his old and dear Society might be "set up for standing pillars in the House of God."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Gardiner (*Registers*, I, 199 and 214). "Valentine Disbrowe" matriculated in 1656.

<sup>2</sup> John Wilmot must not be confused with Laurence Hyde who took his title. Wilmot's wife, Elizabeth Mallet or Malet, belonged to a West Country family which figures in the College lists.

<sup>3</sup> For these and many other details see the Warden's College history, to which, with Mr. R. B. Gardiner's valuable *Registers* and Sir T. G. Jackson's beautiful volume, I am of course repeatedly indebted. I have to thank the present Vice-Chancellor for his kindness in answering questions and in allowing me to see the College documents, of which Mr.

Fourteen years after the foundation of Wadham another College, "the youngest College in England," was created by the expansion and endowment of "the oldest of all halls."<sup>1</sup> West of St. Frideswide's, between the streets now called St. Aldate's and St. Ebbe's, there lay a rectangular piece of ground, stretching Northwards from the old town wall. It was bounded on the North by Pennyfarthing Street, now named after the College which has absorbed most of the site. It was bounded on the South by the lane below the ramparts, now Brewers Street but known in bygone days by many names, Lombard Lane, King Street, Pudding Lane and Slaying Lane—the last from the shambles, and not from any "terrible slaughter of the gownsmen" there. Little Gate at the South-west corner and South Gate at the South-east corner led to the water meadows where the Franciscans and Dominicans had found homes, and dwellers on the wall could look down upon the Friars' cloisters and hear perhaps the nightingales singing in their groves. In this rectangular space the principal building was the ancient Church of St. Aldate's, its advowson shared for centuries between St. Frideswide's and Abingdon Abbey, its churchyard at least as large as at present and surrounded by a number of old Halls. Broadgates Hall, the best remembered, stood probably not far from the South-west corner of the church. It was one of several hostels which bore that name in Oxford, with histories nearly as old as the University itself.<sup>2</sup> And it may have been,

Gardiner (*Registers*, Introduction, xiii *sq.*) gives a detailed account. The Warden's MSS. are now unfortunately missing. But the original Statutes are there, and the original Building Accounts (1610–1613) of which Sir T. Jackson has made such full use. The Register of Admissions on the Foundation from 1610 is still in use: but it is mainly a record of names. The Register of Members, dated 1636, includes Commoners and battlers and has some entries of interest. But it has serious gaps, notably from 1647 to 1659, and before the middle of the eighteenth century it ceases. Neither Register throws much light on the political vicissitudes of the seventeenth century. There is more varied matter in the two Convention Books, of which the one labelled II is the earlier. Beginning in 1613 it is continued to 1648. Then Convention Book I takes up the story, with entries from July 1650, onwards. But this jumps from July 1658 to July 1668, and in Sept. 1659 No. II begins again. The Convention Books have many entries of interest, but even in them events like the Restoration pass practically unnoticed. The Caution Books, the Bursars' Accounts and the Chamber Books also contain interesting details. References in Wood and other authorities have been already noted.

<sup>1</sup> There is no proof that this claim to superior antiquity was well founded.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Wood (*City*, I, index) and Hurst's *Topography* (index) with the note in Mr. Maclean's larger *History of Pembroke College* (27–9), to which I am constantly indebted. I have referred to this volume as his *History*, and have reserved the name of *Pembroke* for his smaller and later volume on the same subject, which he has made his own.



as Wood suggests, originally known as Segrim Hall, for tradition identifies it with the great messuage in the angle of the churchyard, which Richard Segrim, a leading citizen, bestowed on the Prior and Monks of St. Frideswide's about the year 1254.<sup>1</sup>

To this Hall in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries students may have come, to attend the Law Schools near. The curious chamber built over the South side of St. Aldate's, which served in Tudor days as a School of Civil Law, carried on perhaps much earlier traditions.<sup>2</sup> The aisle below it, given by John Docklinton, a prosperous fishmonger of Edward III's day, who may have suffered twinges of conscience in regard to the great riot at Abingdon in 1327, was used as a Chapel by Broadgates students and later on by Pembroke men. Philip Repington, Wycliffite first and Cardinal afterwards, was one of the members of the Hall. Nicholas Upton became another, when the soldier who had served against Joan of Arc was persuaded by Duke Humphrey to turn Canonist and divine.<sup>3</sup> Early in the fifteenth century the list of recorded Principals begins.<sup>4</sup> Before that century was over the buildings had to be enlarged. A house called Abingdon Chambers, to the East of the old Hall, was taken in. A building beyond that, belonging to New College, was rented in 1498. In the same century the Refectory, now Pembroke College Library, and the only surviving part of the old Hall, was built. In the century that followed a house to the North of the Refectory called Cambey's Lodgings, was added, and Mine Hall beyond it to the West.<sup>5</sup> Numbers, no doubt, fluctuated with the fortunes of the University. But Broadgates held its own and persisted, though many of the other old Halls died out.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Segrim's had several houses probably close by St. Aldate's. (See Maclean's *History*, 2-9, Wood's *Colleges*, 614, and the charters numbered 288 and 290 in the *Cartulary of St. Frideswide's*, O.H.S. I, 214-16).

<sup>2</sup> It was taken down in 1842 (Maclean, *Hist.* 17-18).

<sup>3</sup> But he is said to have been a Fellow of New College in earlier days (*D.N.B.*).

<sup>4</sup> See Maclean (*Hist.*, App. E.).

<sup>5</sup> Cambey's House or Place or Lodgings may have been occupied by Broadgates students about 1517. But Thomas Owen of New College became its owner on the Dissolution, and it was not sold to Principal Summaster till 1596. He also rented Mine Hall, and perhaps Nun Hall further North (*Pembroke*, 19-21). There is a box of deeds relating to Cambey's Lodgings among the College documents.

<sup>6</sup> It was valued at 40s. in 1378. The Priory let it for 30s. in 1517. The rent fell to 13s. 4d. after the Dissolution. It passed with other St. Frideswide property to Christ Church, and the Christ Church rent was not redeemed till 1866. (Maclean, *Hist.* 36.) As for numbers, we hear of 41 "socii" in 1552, of 48 entries in 1581, of 38 entries in 1583, and of 131 members in 1612 (*Ib.* *Pembroke*, 31, and *Hist.* 95 and 146). See also Clark (*Register*, II, ii, 31-2) and Wood (*Life*, IV, 151).

Lawyers of distinction had their early training in this small Society. Brawls varied its uneventful history. There was a notable fight in 1446 against a rival Hall, in which both Principals took part. There was another in 1520 with the Town Watch. As the sixteenth century proceeded, and especially after the foundation of Christ Church, the importance of Broadgates increased. Men of note appeared among its Principals. Brian Higdon, the brother of the first Dean of Christ Church, was a friend of Wolsey and of Cromwell. John Noble, his successor, has a fine tomb in St. Aldate's Church. John Story, Bonner's Chancellor, took part in trying Cranmer, fled to join Alva in the days of Elizabeth, was captured on the seas, hanged and quartered as a traitor, and revered as a martyr to the Catholic cause. Thomas Yonge became an Elizabethan Archbishop of York. Robert Weston, Principal in 1546, was Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1567, where he subdued rebels "by sanctity rather than by force." Thomas Randolph, a Reformer and a friend of Jewel, became a great Ambassador in later days, and laboured vainly to prevent the marriage which ruined Mary Stuart. George Summaster, appointed Principal in 1575, ruled over his society of students successfully for three and forty years.<sup>1</sup>

Other names also well known in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are found in the records of Broadgates Hall. John Heywood, famous for his Interludes and Epigrams, and one of the Fathers of English comedy, holds no mean place in the history of the stage. He drew at least one rhyme from his memories of Oxford:

"Alas! poor fardingales must lie in the street:  
To house them, no door in the city made meet.  
Since at our narrow doors they in cannot win,  
Send them to Oxford, at Broadgates to get in." <sup>2</sup>

Fuller explains that the ladies of the day wore such exaggerated farthingales, "penthoused out far beyond their bodies, that they could not enter (except by going sidelong) at any ordinary door." Bishop Bonner, "the Sponge of Blood," is declared by tradition to have served once in the kitchen, which in later days he presented with a great brass pot.<sup>3</sup> Sir John Tregonwell was a Reformer under Thomas Cromwell and a loyal Catholic under Mary Tudor. Sir James Dyer, the incorruptible judge, and his kinsman Edward, styled by Spenser "in a manner oure onelye

<sup>1</sup> John Budden, Regius Professor of Civil Law, who intervened for a year or so between Summaster and Clayton, wrote brief Latin lives of Waynflete and of Cardinal Morton.

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. J. S. Farmer's edition of Heywood's *Proverbs, Epigrams, and Miscellanies* (p. 252).

<sup>3</sup> Aubrey (*Brief Lives*, I, 111-12).

Englishe poett,"<sup>1</sup> are claimed as Broadgates students. But Spenser's only English poet was by no means the only poet of Broadgates Hall. George Peele and Francis Beaumont take rank in greater company. Francis Beaumont was admitted in 1597, with his two brothers, at the age of twelve. Sir John, his brother, was a poet too. Charles Fitzgeffrey won praises as a "towing Falcon" for a poem on Drake. Richard Corbet, who passed on to Christ Church, was as witty in his verse as in his sermons and his cups. Dryden in the same age had two uncles at Broadgates. William Camden was there between his days at Magdalen and at Christ Church. Degory Wheare, Pym's tutor and the first holder of Camden's Chair of History, was a member of the Hall. Young men of fortune mingled with these men of letters—some passing on to Christ Church, some going there for tuition only—and in some the fortune and the taste for letters were combined. Philip Sidney, with his "lovely and familiar gravity," was the most conspicuous of the earlier Elizabethan students. But his stomach was weak, and his august uncle, the Chancellor, had to ask the Archbishop's leave for the boy to eat flesh in Lent. Sidney's "staidness of mind" was already remarkable, and Cecil was proposing to accept him as a son-in-law before his undergraduate days were done.

Sidney had friends at Broadgates who could appreciate his charm, even if his dear biographer, Fulke Greville, never joined him there. Carews came up from the West Country, including George Carew who entered the Hall at the age of ten, and made a figure as Earl of Totnes afterwards. There are other West Country names recorded—Drake, Grenville, Clifford, Strode, Trefusis, Thynnes from Longleat, "Judas" Stucley who was said to have betrayed his cousin Raleigh,<sup>2</sup> Francis Rous who was Speaker of Barebones' Parliament in 1653. But the greatest name upon the list is Pym's. He came up in 1599 from his stepfather's home in Cornwall. He devoted himself to poetry—in those days poetry at Broadgates was at least as popular as law; and he passed on to the Middle Temple without taking a degree. For all its love of song the Hall had also Puritan traditions, dating from those Elizabethan days. William Knight and his companions under James I even ventured to challenge

<sup>1</sup> See Spenser's dedication of Gabriel Harvey's poems (Harvey's *Works*, ed. Grosart, I, 111). But Edward Dyer may have been at Balliol, if he was at Oxford at all.

<sup>2</sup> At least Mr. Maclean (*Pembroke*, 44) includes Stucley or Stukely in his list. His chapters are full, especially in his earlier History, of interesting biographical details. But it must not be taken as certain that all the students assigned to Broadgates by tradition were there.



the excessive claims of Kings. But Broadgates found room for Catholics and ascetics as well as for Calvinists and rebels, and Wood traces in its history a fair proportion of prelates and divines.

A curious story attaches to the change which converted Broadgates Hall into Pembroke College. Thomas Tesdale, latterly of Glympton near Woodstock, was one of the many prosperous men of business who found fortune in the Elizabethan age. Beginning life as a maltster at Abingdon—he had had his education at Abingdon Free School—he developed into a great merchant, a dealer in wood and wool, a grazier, a corn-grower, perhaps a clothier and contractor too. He had married well and made influential friends. He was “a bountiful Housekeeper,” a “lover of God’s word,” liberal to his kindred, generous to the poor. Being left childless, as the Wadhams were childless, Tesdale seems to have resolved to follow the fine example they had set. And dying in 1610, he bequeathed five thousand pounds of English money to George Abbot, not yet Archbishop, Sir John Bennet, his own nephew, and Dr. Airay, Provost of Queen’s, to maintain “thirteene Schollers in Balliol Colledge in the University of Oxford,<sup>1</sup> if there they may be conveniently placed and entertained,” and if not, then in University College, and if not, “then in some such other Colledge within the University” as his trustees thought fit. Six of the thirteen were to be poor Scholars, on a lower footing than the others, and these were to be provided for first. The inscription placed by Tesdale’s widow on his tomb describes him as “lyberally beneficial to Balliol Colledge,” and there is little doubt what his intentions were.

The means by which Balliol was deprived of this great legacy have never been satisfactorily explained. Henry Savage, the Master of Balliol, who gave an account of the transaction, thought that his College had been unfairly used.<sup>2</sup> The Master and Fellows of Balliol entered into arrangements with the citizens of Abingdon—Tesdale’s scheme was closely connected with Abingdon School—by which they received three hundred pounds immediately to provide accommodation for the six poor Scholars. Cæsar’s Lodging in St. Giles’ was secured for the purpose, and there in due course the first Tesdale Scholars were housed.<sup>3</sup> It has been suggested, to account for what followed, that the

<sup>1</sup> The will is quoted by Mr. Maclean (Hist. 167-9). Seven of the thirteen, distinguished as Fellows, were to receive £25 a year. The six poor Scholars received less. For Tesdale’s life see F. Little (*A Monument of Christian Munificence*, 64 sq.) and Mr. Maclean’s *History*.

<sup>2</sup> *Balliofergus* (86-7).

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Maclean cannot find that any of them matriculated before 1621 (*Pembroke*, 66). It seems that the rents of the Tesdale property accumulated at Abingdon meanwhile.

Balliol Fellows declined to fall in with proposals which would have made the new Scholars from Abingdon too important an element in the College.<sup>1</sup> Be that as it may, when Richard Wightwicke, a new benefactor and an old Balliol man, offered in 1623-24 to add three Fellows and four Scholars to Tesdale's foundation, it seems to have been felt that the whole endowment justified the establishment of a new College. The Balliol authorities may have made conditions which gave a pretext for a change of plan. The citizens of Abingdon may have had ambitions of their own. Private influences, Court influences possibly, of which we know nothing, may have been brought to bear. At any rate it was determined to transfer to Broadgates Hall the endowment allotted to Balliol College. The claims of University were apparently ignored. Archbishop Abbot, who had been Fellow of Balliol and Master of University, seems to have acquiesced in the transaction. So did Dr. Clayton, the Principal of Broadgates, another old Balliol man. Dr. Airay was dead. Sir John Bennet did not object. The assent of Lord Pembroke, the Chancellor, who was also Visitor of Broadgates, was secured. The burgesses of Abingdon petitioned the King to sanction the new proposal. In June 1624 a Charter was granted for a College "of the foundation of King James at the cost and charges of Thomas Tesdale and Richard Wightwicke."<sup>2</sup> On the 5th August its members were admitted in the presence of a distinguished company, headed by the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Prideaux; and young Thomas Browne, a Commoner alike of Broadgates and of Pembroke, delivered one of the Latin speeches made in honour of the event.

Wightwicke, the co-Founder of Pembroke, who by a strange chance did such disservice to his own old College, belonged to a Staffordshire family of long descent. He had taken his degree at Balliol over forty years before, and had since been incumbent of a Berkshire living. His benefaction, which did not begin to take effect till 1625, was not comparable in value to Tesdale's bequest.<sup>3</sup> It finally included five hundred pounds for building,

<sup>1</sup> Savage's statement that the Condescensions of Balliol "could not have been greater, without manifest injury to the ancient foundation" suggests that serious differences arose. See also Little (*A Monument*, etc. 75).

<sup>2</sup> See the Letters Patent of June 29, 1624 (*Stats. of Colls.* III, Pembroke, vi). In the College archives there is a certified copy, but not the original deed.

<sup>3</sup> From the fund allotted—£100 a year for 5 years—chambers for Wightwicke Fellows and Scholars were to be built (*Statutes*, Pembroke, 24-5), and the Master was to receive £10 a year. But Wightwicke's arrangements were not completed till just before his death (see Maclean, *Pembroke*, 84-5).

to be paid within five years, ten pounds a year for the Master, and a hundred pounds a year for three Fellows and four Scholars—to run from Lady Day, 1630. But Tesdale and Wightwicke together allotted enough to maintain on a reasonable footing a Master, ten Fellows and ten Scholars in the new College. All the original beneficiaries, however, except the Master and the five Scholars imported from Balliol—the sixth Tesdale Scholar at Balliol had unhappily been stabbed by an undergraduate for pulling his hair <sup>1</sup>—were required to resign their places if called upon to do so, in order that funds for building might be secured.<sup>2</sup> It was not till the necessary buildings were provided that they could hope to recover their rights,<sup>3</sup> and even then it was not certain that other nominees would not be appointed in their place.

The first Statutes, issued in 1624, by Royal Commissioners of whom Wightwicke was one, still remain among the archives of the College. They were signed by Archbishop Abbot, the Chancellor Pembroke, Vice-Chancellor Prideaux, Sir John Bennet,<sup>4</sup> Sir Eubule Thelwall, Principal of Jesus, and Thomas Clayton, the first Master.<sup>5</sup> But in 1628 these regulations were remodelled and the Statutes took their permanent form. The first requirement was divine service. Prayers were to be held twice daily in the College Chapel. A fine of two pence was imposed for non-attendance, and of one penny for coming in after the Psalms : but the rod might be used to chasten absentees under eighteen. All, even servants, must attend University sermons. No man must defend heresies disapproved of by the Church of England : the penalty was a fine of six pence, or worse things if the offender persevered. Unauthorised swearing meant a penalty of twelve pence. Latin graces and Bible reading, *publice, clare, Latine*, were ordained for meals in Hall. The Master, a Churchman of thirty, and preferably a Doctor in Theology, Medicine or Civil Law,<sup>6</sup> was to be elected by the majority of Fellows from present or past Fellows of the College. But, failing Pembroke men, Balliol or University might supply a candidate—a poor compensation for the legacy which they had lost. The Master was

<sup>1</sup> The victim died, but the offender received mercy.

<sup>2</sup> Maclean (Hist. 195).

<sup>3</sup> The hardship of this arrangement was mitigated in certain cases if, as an injunction by Archbishop Laud suggests, one Fellow and 3 Scholars of Wightwicke's nomination were only 12 years old in Dec. 1632 (see *Statutes*, Pembroke, 28, and Maclean, Hist. 194).

<sup>4</sup> Tesdale's nephew by the half-blood. The Bennets grew rich, secured peerages and made great matches (see pedigrees in Maclean's Hist. 172-5).

<sup>5</sup> They were not signed by the two other Commissioners, Wightwicke and Walter Dayrell. But the Statutes of 1628 were signed by Abbot, Pembroke, Wightwicke, Frewen, Thelwall and Clayton—Bennet being then dead and Frewen Vice-Chancellor in Prideaux's place.

<sup>6</sup> But he might be an M.A. or a Bachelor of a superior Faculty.



expected to be a prudent father of the family: he was not bound to celibacy, and he need not be a priest.<sup>1</sup> He was to be paid twenty pounds a year from the Tesdale endowment and ten more from the Wightwicke fund, and to have all the profits from letting rooms, admissions, presentations for degrees and so forth, which the Principal of Broadgates Hall had formerly received.<sup>2</sup> The Master was to nominate one of the senior Fellows to act as his Vice-Gerent. Two Deans or Censors, to see to discipline and study, were to be elected yearly by the Master and Fellows. Two Bursars, elected in the same way, were to draw twenty shillings each yearly, besides commons and fees. The College servants were to include a manciple, paid by the old Hall system of fees and commissions from tradesmen until his salary was fixed, a butler and a cook paid on the same system, and others according to the needs of the Society.<sup>3</sup> The members of the College furnished Stewards, who were responsible for the quality and prices of the food supplied.

For the Fellows of Pembroke, sons of the family, each Founder left regulations of his own. The seven Tesdale Fellows, of whom four must be his kinsmen, were to be at least seventeen years old, graduates and celibates, who had been Scholars within the three preceding years. Elected by the Master and other Tesdale Fellows,<sup>4</sup> they were to study theology, to take their Master's degree as soon as possible, and to take Orders within three years of that. Each was given twenty pounds a year, but lost his place if he obtained an income of forty pounds or a benefice outside the University precincts.<sup>5</sup> The six Tesdale Scholars were to be modest and ingenuous boys, between thirteen and nineteen, endowed with sufficient Latin and Greek for their age. Two of them were to be poor kinsmen of Thomas Tesdale and to draw fifteen pounds a year. Four of them were to be poor lads from Abingdon at twelve pounds each.<sup>6</sup> The rules of the Wightwicke foundation were rather different. Two Fellows and two Scholars were to be of Wightwicke's kin. One other

<sup>1</sup> Yet Pembroke is now one of the rare survivals which require a clerical Head.

<sup>2</sup> *Statutes* (cap. 3).

<sup>3</sup> "Videlicet faber, lignarius, lapidarius, hortulanus, tonsor, janitor, etc." (*Stats.* cap. 10).

<sup>4</sup> By the earlier Statutes of 1624 other Fellows elected also.

<sup>5</sup> Or inside them also, in the draft of 1624. (For this and other differences between the two drafts see Macleane, *Pembroke*, Chap. VII).

<sup>6</sup> And preferably holders of Bennet Scholarships at Abingdon Free School, given by William Bennet, Sir John's brother. Thomas Tesdale had been the first Scholar of this School, founded in 1563. Its Master had a voice in choosing Scholars for Pembroke, and the intention was that the Tesdale Scholars should as far as possible come from Abingdon Free School.

Fellow and two other Scholars were to be chosen from Abingdon Free School. All could be appointed or removed by the Founder in his lifetime. After his death they succeeded by promotion from among the Scholars. Wightwicke Fellows received twenty pounds, Wightwicke Scholars only ten pounds a year. Marriage or a cure of souls or an income over ten pounds deprived them of their places. All were required by the Statutes of 1628 to study theology and to take Orders within four years of their Master's degree. They had also, if they wished to stay on in the College, to become Bachelors of Divinity after twenty years.<sup>1</sup> Ancient Oxford might have passed away, but even the Scholars of her youngest College inherited the old tradition of celibate devotion to the service of the Church.

Besides the members on the new foundation the Commoners at Pembroke played an important part.<sup>2</sup> At first indeed, with the traditions of Broadgates behind them, they must have been much the most important element in the new College. They were to be welcomed as guests, to have chambers allotted to them by the Master, and to enjoy all the benefits of College life. But for these privileges they were to pay as the Master and Fellows decided, or as they had previously paid at Broadgates Hall. The Statutes repeated the old familiar rules of discipline. Bad language, bad manners, brawls and bearing arms were forbidden still. Certain games were still "un-honest." Long hair was prohibited, decent dress insisted on. "Clothes both cover the body and often discover the mind."<sup>3</sup> Striking the Master, Vice-Gerent or Deans meant expulsion: fines for striking lesser people rose to six and eightpence in the case of shedding blood. Incurable offenders, the Master himself, might be removed. Study was carefully arranged for: "in a well-ordered family no one can decently be idle."<sup>4</sup> But funds probably did not allow of any great educational endowment, though the old terminology was acquiring new meanings, as knowledge developed and science awoke. Most of the Prælectors were appointed yearly by the Master and paid out of the rents of rooms.<sup>5</sup> Their salaries varied from ten shillings to thirteen and eightpence a term. There was a catechetical lecture, giving "the sum and founda-

<sup>1</sup> *Statutes* (cap. 8). But the Wightwicke Fellows were not required to be graduates to begin with. For the differences between the drafts of 1624 and 1628, which in their case were material, see Maclean (*Hist.* 191-2).

<sup>2</sup> "Commensales seu comminarii" (*Stats.* cap. 12). Their predominance at Pembroke was always marked. In 1851 out of 73 undergraduates 70 were Commoners (Maclean, *Pemb.* 100).

<sup>3</sup> *Statutes* (cap. 24).

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* (cap. 15).

<sup>5</sup> But the Catechetical Lecturer was paid by fees, 6d. a term from each Fellow, Scholar and Commoner (*Ib.* cap. 15).

tion of the Christian religion." There were lectures in College for undergraduates on Natural Philosophy, Logic, Rhetoric and Greek. There were arrangements for tuition,<sup>1</sup> disputations and declamations in Hall. The old rule against introducing strangers without leave was repeated. And the Chancellor of the University was made Visitor of the College. Possibly the Society had expectations from the great noble, "munificent and childless," who had given it his name.<sup>2</sup>

Lord Pembroke died suddenly on the 10th April 1630, as Thomas Allen the astrologer of Gloucester Hall had foretold. He left no will, only enormous debts, and he gave nothing but a "great piece of plate" to the College. Archbishop Abbot, Tesdale's chief trustee, who, it may be, had suggested to him the original bequest, lived only three years longer. But before his death he did something to atone to the Master and Fellows of Balliol for the loss they had suffered under his administration of the trust. The Pembroke Fellows went so far as to sue for the repayment of the three hundred pounds advanced to Balliol from the Tesdale fund. The Lord Keeper Coventry, an old Balliol man himself, apparently allowed the plea. Abbot, comforting the Balliol Fellows with the assurance that Jehovah Jireh would provide, made himself responsible for the repayment of the money—to which the recipients of his generosity may well have thought they had an unanswerable claim. But the Fellows of the new Foundation needed all they could secure. Dr. Clayton, the first Master, was a man of resource. Already for four years Principal of Broadgates, he was also Regius Professor of Medicine, and had previously been Professor of Music in Gresham College. As a physician he is said to have cared for the souls as well as the bodies of his patients. As a linguist he was one to whom even "great Avicenne might speak and be understood." Clayton immediately set to work to raise a building fund and to create a College. Several Doctors in his own Faculty were induced to subscribe. His sister collected money from merchants on London Bridge. Spencers and Andersons and other friends<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> With a curious reservation of freedom in their studies for the "Commoners of Bachelors and Masters in Arts" (*Ib.* cap. 15).

<sup>2</sup> The name was already borne by a College founded at Cambridge by the widow of an earlier Pembroke, Aymer de Valence. Laud amended the Statutes more than once by Injunctions which dealt with questions of leave, the admission, seniority and payment of Fellows, the date of taking Orders, etc. It is satisfactory to find the Visitor speaking of a possible surplus in 1634 (*Ib.* pp. 28-31).

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Macleane finds an ancestress of Washington in this group of friends (*Pemb.* 104). See the names preserved in the interesting duodecimo in the Library, presented to the College, to whom it properly belonged, in 1795.



contributed. John Pym gave forty-four shillings. James and Rouse, both Bodley Librarians, helped. The old Refectory was enlarged into the new Hall of the College.<sup>1</sup> A stone quadrangle with a tower was planned. Some of the old buildings "southward next to Slaying Lane" were swept away. In a short time the West and South sides of a new quadrangle and a part of the East side were built. To the North of the Hall Cambey's Place, which had belonged to Principal Summaster and had passed later to John Rouse of the Bodleian, was bought for the Master's Lodgings. Before 1630, it seems, all the buildings to the North-West fronting on Beef Lane were acquired.<sup>2</sup> The old Library over Docklington's aisle in St. Aldate's, once the Civil Law School, was refurnished. And there for a time the scheme of expansion stopped.

But though the building plans were interrupted, the new College found other friends. Benefactions flowed in for Scholarships and Fellowships, beginning with grants for two poor Scholars in 1629. Charles I founded a Fellowship at Pembroke, as he did at Exeter and Jesus, for natives of Guernsey and Jersey. It was part of a plan, suggested by Laud, to introduce sound Anglican doctrines among the misguided clergy of the Channel Isles. The holder of it claimed the right to wear a silver tassel on his cap. King Charles also gave the College the advowson of St. Aldate's. Bishop Morley after the Restoration founded five Channel Island Scholarships at Pembroke, also intended to further Anglican ideas. Francis Rous, who had very different opinions, founded three Scholarships under the Commonwealth for his own kindred and for Eton boys. Bennet Scholarships and Townsend Scholarships were added later, and two Bennet Fellowships<sup>3</sup> as well. About the year 1670 a gift from Mr. James Hoare, helped by the energy of Dr. Hall the Master, gave a fresh impulse to building in the College. The East side of the quadrangle was finished. The old tenements along the South side of St. Aldate's Churchyard were in part demolished, and the North side of the quadrangle was begun. In 1675 Loggan published prematurely an engraving showing the quadrangle completed, with a Gateway tower in the middle of the North

<sup>1</sup> It is now the Library.

<sup>2</sup> That is, either bought or leased. For the old Halls on this site and South of it—Mine Hall, Beef Hall, Dunstan Hall and others—see Mr. Maclean's plan (*Pemb.* 115). One cannot be certain about the history of these old Halls, or say positively when they were first occupied by students or when they disappeared. We know, however, that some rooms in Beef Hall were used in the 17th century by Pembroke men (*Ib.* 120).

<sup>3</sup> Tenable for 7 years, and for 7 years more in the event of re-election. The holders were not bound to take Orders. The 8 Townsend Grammar Scholarships were a Gloucestershire foundation of 1683 (*Ib.* 155-9).







front. This tower, though contemplated, no doubt, was never built. Before Loggan's picture appeared the work was stopped for lack of funds, and in 1691, when the North front was finished, Loggan's tower formed no part of the design. But in 1694 a tower was added at the West corner, and in the following year a new Master's house replaced the old. Dr. Hall contributed generously to these improvements,<sup>1</sup> and his bequest of books in the eighteenth century required a new Library to be built above the Hall. Pembroke had to wait till that century for a Chapel, and till a later century for other changes and additions which swept too many of its old features away. The seventeenth-century College was still a small quadrangle, with the Master's quarters extending to the North. To the North-West two or three old buildings in Beef Lane survived, known as the Back Lodgings in later days. Behind these the College gardens ran Southwards to the City wall.<sup>2</sup> On the other side, towards St. Aldate's Street, a strip of ground parted the College from the ancient corner site, where Segrims once perhaps had dwelt, and where "the great child of honour, Cardinal Wolsey" built or rebuilt a Hospital to bear his name.<sup>3</sup>

Clayton's long Mastership was destined to see great events. He was one of Laud's delegates for the reform of the University in 1633. He trained his scholars for service in the War. Pembroke, says Wood, supplied fifty officers for the Royal army.<sup>4</sup> Clayton and his colleagues contributed their money, if not their plate,<sup>5</sup> to the Royal coffers. Old members disappeared, but strangers took their places. Twenty-three women and five children found quarters in the College, and among other visitors Sir Edward Nicholas, King Charles' Secretary of State. But the

<sup>1</sup> The expenditure on building from 1670 to 1699 was £2,261, of which the College contributed some £600 (Macleane, *Hist.* 274).

<sup>2</sup> There were 3 gardens, one for Fellows, on the West, one for the Master, and one for Commoners (up to 1732). Loggan's print which is not quite exact, should be compared with Michael Burghers' copper-plate of 1700.

<sup>3</sup> For the history of this famous almshouse, which is still in part obscure, see Macleane (*Hist.* 435-9). Skelton thought it a fifteenth-century building, and his plate (*Oxonia*, II, 148) shows the South portion as ruinous.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Macleane prints Wood's list (*Hist.* 235-7). But Wood omits Sir Thomas Littleton, M.P. for Worcestershire, an old Broadgates man.

<sup>5</sup> Pembroke is cited (*Fourth Report, Hist. MSS. Comm.* 467) among Colleges which possibly did not give their plate to the King, and the College historian finds a "suspicious entry" of 8s. for mending College plate in the Bursar's accounts for 1655 (*Pemb.* 127). Still something may have gone to the Mint—Wood thought so. There was probably not very much, and Pembroke has no plate now given earlier than 1655. At any rate the College preserves the King's letter asking for it.

members of Pym's College were clearly not all upon the Royal side, and Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, who succeeded Laud as Chancellor, stood high in the favour of the Parliament. On the City's surrender in 1646 a party of Preaching Ministers—two fools, two knaves and two madmen, said the Royalists—were sent down to prepare for the Parliamentary Visitation. Among them was Henry Langley, the son of an Abingdon shoemaker and a Pembroke man, who was soon to sit in the Master's seat. In July 1647 before more evils overtook him, Clayton died, and the Fellows, in defiance of Parliament, elected Henry Wightwicke to succeed him. Six weeks later Parliament appointed Langley instead. In vain Wightwicke protested. The majority of the College proved ready to submit. Others, perhaps a dozen in all, including four Fellows, the butler and the cook, were expelled.<sup>1</sup> The butler, "honest Will Collier," a hard-drinking Bedel of the Restoration, formed a plot to seize the garrison, Visitors and all, and only saved his neck by escaping through a window. A certain number of new Fellows and Scholars were appointed. And under Langley's government the College settled down to serious ways. Numbers increased. In 1651 we hear of a hundred and sixty-nine students.<sup>2</sup> One Gentleman Commoner, a child of Belial who had undergone conversion, noted the sermons in Hall, the godliness of the Master, the "Three or Four hopeful *religious* Lads" who after supper would come to his chamber to pray.<sup>3</sup> Langley had travelled far since the days when he was a choir-boy in Magdalen Chapel. He fell with his party on the Restoration, and retired to take pupils at his house in Bagley Wood.

Henry Wightwicke came back as Master in Langley's place. He too had changed since the days, nearly half a century earlier, when he had headed the Regents' revolt on the great issue of wearing caps in Convocation. But he had not learned moderation in exile. He reviled the Puritan Chaplain and shocked serious minds by reading the Prayer-book in Chapel as if he were running a race. He proved "testy, peevish and silly." He

<sup>1</sup> One cannot be quite sure of the figures. Prof. Burrows (*Reg.* 539-41) gives names of 11 who, he thinks, were certainly expelled, of 21, besides the new Master Langley, who submitted, and of 9 Fellows and Scholars whom the Visitors appointed. Mr. Maclean's estimates are slightly different (*Hist.* 227 sq. and *Pemb.* 132-3). Walker's statement, quoted by Mr. Maclean, and the list given by Burrows (176) suggest that the new appointments were more numerous, and possibly the expulsions also. (See also Burrows, 40-1, for the answers given by members of the College, and 110, 113, 163, 166 and 190).

<sup>2</sup> This is Langbaine's figure (*Found. of Universitie*).

<sup>3</sup> See *The Life of the Reverend Mr. Geo. Trosse*, written by himself (81). Mr. Maclean has a note on him (*History*, 250).

smoked and drank with young Bachelors and Masters. His preaching, we are told, was ridiculous; in person he was more like a monkey than a Christian. Levity, high-handedness and, it may be, worse offences, led to his removal by Clarendon in 1664. He was succeeded by John Hall, afterwards Bishop of Bristol, who held the Mastership for forty-six years and the living of St. Aldate's for forty-three. Hall owed his Fellowship to the Visitors of the Commonwealth. But "malapert presbyterian" as he had been, he became a Royal Chaplain, and Divinity Professor in 1676, and was ranked high among the Whig Low Churchmen of a later day. Hall must have had solid qualities to account for his success. Under his administration the College fully held its own. Its buildings were improved. Its internal differences were kept within limits<sup>1</sup>—though the manciple was allowed to preach in conventicles, an irregularity which some High Churchmen found it hard to overlook. But Hall's wide-mindedness may have had its foundation in wisdom. At any rate he proved a generous friend to the College in which, regardless of his Bishopric, he spent his life.

Broadgates Hall laid claim to many names of high distinction, and Pembroke, though a poor College,<sup>2</sup> did its best to keep the old tradition up. Sir Thomas Browne, so rich in knowledge, in imagination and in language delicately wrought, took part as a lad of eighteen in the inauguration of the College, no doubt with his "natural habitual blush." A valuable manuscript of the *Religio Medici* is in the College Library to-day. Sir Anthony Hungerford, who matriculated with Browne, and who during the War was imprisoned and fined, had a house where his name lingers yet, by Charing Cross. Thomas Jackson, afterwards President of Corpus, loved for his universal charity and considered "the ornament of the University in his time," was one of the first Divinity teachers at Pembroke. George Hughes of Corpus, the "bright star" of Nonconformity in Devonshire, was one of the earliest tutors. Sir Thomas Clayton, who succeeded his father as Professor, and was afterwards intruded as Warden at Merton, has been called a "poore-spirited fellow" who generally preferred the winning side. John Humphreys, on the other hand, one of several divines bred in the College who contended on one side or other in the great seventeenth-century debates, found himself always upholding a lost cause. Thomas and Edmund Hall, uncles of the Master, were both Puritan preachers, the latter a Captain for the Parliament too. Coysh and Quarter-

<sup>1</sup> The Master's claim to a veto on the election of Bennet Fellows and Scholars caused trouble in 1690 (Maclean, *Hist.* 263 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> In 1681 it was rated, with Balliol, University, Jesus and Wadham, at £100 (Maclean, *Pemb.* 159).



man were notable physicians. Scroggs, Chief Justice in 1678—he had migrated from Oriel to Pembroke nearly forty years before—was the most notorious of a group of lawyers which included a Wallop and a Yorke. His enemies said that his father was a one-eyed butcher and that his mother had an ale-wife's face. Francis Rous, who founded Scholarships, theologian, mystic, politician, pamphleteer, became Provost of Eton, Speaker of the Little Parliament and a member of Cromwell's House of Lords. Clarendon thought him "thoroughly engaged in the guilt of the times," but it has been suggested that his metrical version of the Psalms was possibly his worst offence.<sup>1</sup> Simon Harcourt, the lawyer who defended Dr. Sacheverell, the friend of Bolingbroke and Pope and Swift,<sup>2</sup> brought to Pembroke perhaps the political opinions which made him a high Tory leader in the last years of Queen Anne. A later world has found the finest flower of Whig traditions in the descendants who inherited his name. Harcourt and Rous are commemorated in the Hall by portraits, in the company of the two Founders and of King Charles I.

Pembroke perpetuates one of the most successful of the early Halls of Oxford. But the history of those venerable institutions can never be completely written now. They were for long one of the most distinctive and interesting features of Oxford life. Their number, like the numbers of the mediæval University, has

<sup>1</sup> *Pembroke* (140). Mr. Maclean has gathered in his two volumes many valuable details about old Pembroke men. The larger one is a storehouse of information, on which every later sketch of the College history must be founded. But I have to thank the Master and the Bursar for their kindness in allowing me to consult the College archives. There seem to be no original charters there, and no regular College Register beyond the Register of Admissions beginning in 1678. There is a *Liber Benefactorum* of about the same date, but the contributors to the buildings in 1620 are recorded in the duodecimo in the Library already referred to. Under the title *Registrum Matriculatorum* there are several small collections of papers, running not quite continuously from 1564, and containing extracts from the University Matriculation Books. A solidly bound folio volume contains copies of various documents, including the Statutes of 1628. The original Statutes of 1624 and of 1628 are there, as well as copies of them. There is a Plate Book with a recent list of plate. From one book of Bursars' accounts under the Commonwealth Mr. Maclean has quoted some interesting details (*Hist.* 278–80): and in regard to the eighteenth century we have more information. But the records preserved of the earlier history of the College are rather meagre. Boxes in the muniment-room contain some early deeds. And one box of semi-private letters, relating largely to Mr. Barnes' resignation of his Fellowship in 1673, contains signatures by Obadiah Walker. Mr. Maclean has collected MS. materials for a real Register of the College.

<sup>2</sup> But Swift's comments were bitter afterwards, when he thought Harcourt meant to trim.

been often over-stated.<sup>1</sup> Their names were often repeated and changed. It is far from certain that all those claimed as academical Halls were used by students. It is not possible to give an exact account of them at any given period, or to follow in detail their rise and fall. But the references to them in Oxford documents, when pieced together, show how far back into antiquity their story runs. The Halls generally began as private houses. Many took their names from ancient Oxford families like the Kepeharms, the Segrims, the Peckwethers and others. Mauger Hall, where Walter de Merton is said to have been a student, may recall the thirteenth-century owner of a Hall near by.<sup>2</sup> Coventry Hall, which stood perhaps on the site of the Roebuck Inn, bore the name of an Oxford citizen of the early fifteenth century. Berford Hall, which made way for All Souls, took its title from a Mayor who figured stormily in earlier days. Tingewick's Hall, close by, was given to the University by Nicholas de Tingewick in 1322.<sup>3</sup> Ape Hall, Wood suggests, was named from the owner, a burgess called Torald l'Ape.<sup>4</sup> Perilous Hall was mentioned by the Abbess of Godstow about 1290.<sup>5</sup> Saints' names are found also, but they are not very numerous. Five Halls in Wood's long list were called after St. George and five after St. Thomas. Six bore in one form or another the name of Mary, and five more the diminutive of Maryol.<sup>6</sup> The Nun Halls were once the property of Convents. Jacob's Hall and Moyses Hall obviously belonged to Jews, but it is by no means so clear that they ever belonged to students.<sup>7</sup> Spicer's Hall and Drapery Hall told their own origin—a spicer was an apothecary: Wood gives the name to four. Swan Halls and Eagle Halls were, no doubt, named from the signs over their doorways. Glassen Hall and Staple Hall, Chimney Hall and Corner Hall may, or may not, sufficiently explain themselves. There are five Corner Halls and seven Staple Halls in Wood's list, besides one in which the "Stapul" was evidently of lead.<sup>8</sup> There may have been

<sup>1</sup> The traditional "300 or more" (Peshall, *Antient and Present State of Oxford*, 29) has no authority.

<sup>2</sup> See Hurst (*Oxf. Topog.* 62). Wood (*City*, I, 77) thinks the Maugers or Malgers were an ancient Oxford family of note.

<sup>3</sup> Salter (*Med. Arch.* I, 279).

<sup>4</sup> Wood (*City*, I, 510). I find it hard to believe that Torald l'Ape was Adam Fetteplace.

<sup>5</sup> See her lease of the site of Durham College (*Oxford Charters*, 205).

<sup>6</sup> From Mariola.

<sup>7</sup> Hurst (*Oxf. Topog.* 56).

<sup>8</sup> "Stapull-ledyn-halle" (Hurst, 139). Mr. Hurst derives Staple from steeple, Wood from the staple to the door. Others have confused it with stable. In an early 14th century charter "Stapeled Hall" is named (*Oseney Ch.* 516).

inconveniences mingled with the simplicity and picturesqueness which appeal so strongly from those vanished times.

The older names were naturally the most popular. Some of the simpler ones constantly recur. We have traditions of five Elm Halls, five Vine Halls, six Deep Halls: and seven or eight Shield Halls can be traced.<sup>1</sup> Wood speaks of seven Black Halls. Wycliffe is stated to have lodged or taught at one. Great Black Hall was in Cat Street, and there was a well-known Black Hall in St. Giles'. Wood also gives details of nine White Halls.<sup>2</sup> Two at least, a Great and a Little, were swallowed up in Jesus College. One, a fifteenth-century house in Castle Street, still remains.<sup>3</sup> And of one other, annexed in the fifteenth century to Edmund Hall, we have some interesting little details from the records of taxation in 1381.

"In the first place, the principall's chamber at the end of the hall or refectory was taxed at 7s.; the chamber over the buttry, 5s.; the lower chamber next to the buttry, 3s. 4d.; the upper chamber next to the refectory, 6s.; the lower chamber under it, 3s. 8d.; and the lower chamber next to the kitchin, 4s. 4d.; etc.'; besides other smaller places in this hall which though they were used as sleping places yet they did not come under the accompt."<sup>4</sup>

We have particulars also of eight Halls called Broadgates. One of these Wood places in Grandpont, two in St. Aldate's, two in High Street, two in Shidyerd Street, and one near St. Peter-le-Bailey. The Broadgates Hall, on the North of the High Street, in All Saints' Parish, belonged in the thirteenth century to the Hospital of St. John. Tradition said it had once been a sanctuary, but no tradition saved it from being pulled down in 1661.

Other names were more distinctive. Drowda Hall, the old home of William of Drogheda in the High Street, and one of the first purchases made with William of Durham's bequest, reappears with much bewildering terminology as Droozedayesehalle, Drowedes, Doghtur, Drokedda, Drosda, Dugtha and Tredagh.<sup>5</sup> Godknav Hall has more than one derivation: Wood's is the most poetical, the Hall of the servant of God.<sup>6</sup> Salesurry is a term which has puzzled antiquarians who are not content to

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hurst thinks there were at least 8 (*Oxf. Top.* 158).

<sup>2</sup> He assigns two to Ship Street, one "supra muros" and one "sub muris," which had the same Principal in 1450 (*City*, I, 257-8). One wonders whether they were really different.

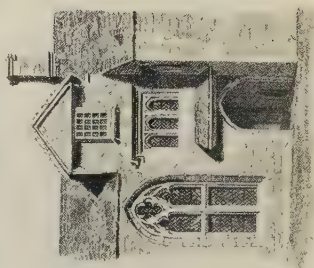
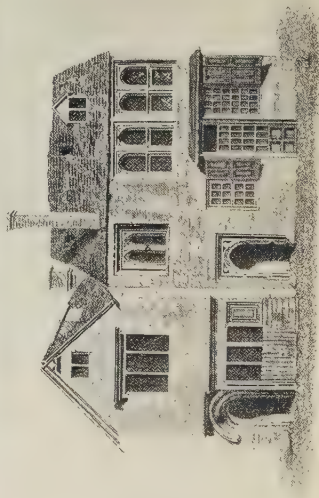
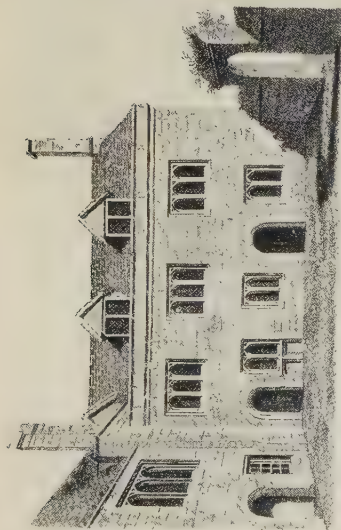
<sup>3</sup> No. 12 (Hurst, 84).

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Wood (*City*, I, 102), with some modifications, from Twyne (*XXI*, 717-18).

<sup>5</sup> Hurst (182). Drawda is another spelling.

<sup>6</sup> Mr. Hurst suggests (166) Good knave Hall. Another suggestion is Codeknav, "servus librorum vel codicum" (Wood, *City*, I, 96).





TYPES OF OLD OXFORD HALLS  
From Skelton's *Oxonia*



call it Salisbury Hall.<sup>1</sup> Fragnon Hall became part of the inheritance of Exeter. Bedel Hall was annexed to St. Mary's.<sup>2</sup> Bos-tar Hall and Hare Hall were bought up by Waynflete. Portmannimote Hall or its site beside St. Martin's was perhaps a meeting-place for townsmen long before students ruffled in the streets. Billyng Hall, opposite the church of St. Peter-le-Bailey, was once the scene of a memorable interview between the Devil and a too curious clerk. The Evil One was routed by a passing priest who carried the body of our Lord.<sup>3</sup> Bulkeley Hall, once Tackley's Inn, in High Street became the home of Garbrand Herks, the Dutch bookseller, during the Reformation, and a meeting-place for Oxford Protestants in Mary's reign. Its noble cellars could hide fugitives yet. Cokewoldes Hall, of uncertain site, may or may not have had something to do with the Abingdon cooks.<sup>4</sup> Filomene and Philomela are scholars' synonyms for Nightingale, and Passerina for the simpler Sparrow Hall. Other names, Beef, Veale and Mutton, may not be so simple as they seem.<sup>5</sup> But Wood's catalogue of six hundred and sixty-nine names is full of duplicates. Only a small proportion of them can be placed upon the map. And probably little more than a tenth of them were ever flourishing at any one time as academic Halls.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *ante* (p. 4, n.).

<sup>2</sup> See Salter (*Med. Arch.* I, 302).

<sup>3</sup> See *Speculum Laicorum* (54).

<sup>4</sup> Wood (*City*, I, 515).

<sup>5</sup> Beef Hall, derived by some from an ox-sign over the door, probably drew its name from the family of Bellafago, Beaufo, Beefo (Salter, *Med. Arch.* I, 276). Viel also may have been an old Oxford name. Mutton was perhaps a nickname, given by Miles Windsor to St. Michael's Hall close by. See Wood (*City*, I, 211 and 565-6) and Maclean (*Hist. of Pembroke*, 38 and 43).

<sup>6</sup> In the map of Oxford about 1440, which forms the frontispiece to my first volume, I have tried, with Mr. Salter's skilled help, to assign sites to 91 Halls, of which 84 are named by Dr. Clark (Wood, *City*, II, vii-viii). This map, while corresponding generally with Mr. Hurst's at the beginning of vol. II of Wood's *City*, owes much to a plan drawn by Mr. Salter. It corrects Mr. Hurst's in some details and it shows the courts or gardens of the Halls. Even in regard to these 91 Halls there are many elements of doubt; and it is not of course possible to accept as exact the much larger number introduced into the map given by Dr. Clark at the end of vol. I of Wood's *City*, and reproduced by Dr. Rashdall (*Universities*, II, 542-3), or Dr. Clark's long list in the Topical Index to that volume. Detailed references to the old Halls are given in Wood's *City* (vol. I, Chaps. vii, viii, ix, x, xvi, xvii, xviii and xix). In Chap. xxviii Wood gives three draft lists of Halls whose sites he cannot identify, the longest of which contains 98 names besides various unnamed ones. And in App. B to this volume he gives the Principals of some 130 Halls, going back to 1426. The MS. material on the subject in the Bodleian, collected by Twyne and Wood and others, is considerable if rather fragmentary. Twyne, for instance, has an important list of Halls in his twenty-second volume (242-63). Wood D. 7 (1) has lists of Principals of Vine Hall, Urban



The earliest Halls of Oxford must have had a character and freedom of their own. The picture of boys of about sixteen or younger combining for purposes of study and companionship, and renting rooms or houses together, is a picture of independence which may well rouse envy in the shepherded public-school boy of our day. These little democratic societies, with their rules, their rivalries, their intense vitality, were for generations the academic homes of the majority of Oxford men. They were scattered over the town. They spread into the suburbs. But their number at any given time is difficult to fix. It would be unwise to put it higher than seventy,<sup>1</sup> with an average possibly of ten students in each. Some Halls, no doubt, were larger, but some were very small. Some Principals were successful; others failed. As time went on, the need of more discipline and supervision was acknowledged. Principals and students alike were brought under University control. The regulations of the fifteenth century encouraged Students to be attached to Halls or Colleges. They insisted on a higher standard of education in the Principals. They called on them to attend more closely to their duties, to be more particular as to the character of the students they took in.<sup>2</sup> And the customs which had long regulated their societies were revised.

The Aularian Statutes of the fifteenth century<sup>3</sup> were issued at a date when the Halls themselves were rapidly declining, and they mark a definite step in the process of applying collegiate

Hall and several others. *Wood F.* 28 has notes on the Principals of Vine Hall, Broadgates and New Inn taken from the New College accounts (ff. 124-5), on Edmund Hall (266 sq. and 306), and on Hart Hall (256 and 260-4). There are Hart Hall Charters in the *Oxfordshire Rolls* (No. 26), references to Vine Hall, Beam Hall and Staple Hall—to quote only a few examples—in the *Oseney Charters* (492, 494<sup>b</sup> and 516), and many other notes in the Tanner and Rawlinson MSS. and elsewhere. But these references are best studied in Mr. Madan's *Rough List of Manuscript Materials for Oxford History* and in the *Calendar of Charters* which he quotes. Of this calendar it is well to use, if possible, the annotated and corrected copy kept at the Bodleian. It may be added that Twyne, and therefore Wood, drew largely on the collection made by Nicholas Bishop, an Oxford brewer and antiquarian of the fifteenth century.

<sup>1</sup> There may sometimes have been less. But there seem to have been over 60 in 1462 (*Mun. Ac.* 687 sq.: see also *ante*, vol. I, p. 336). The phrase "Principalis inhabitator . . . tam Aularum quam Camerarum" (*Mun. Ac.* 93) suggests that some of the small hostels may have been little more than a set of rooms.

<sup>2</sup> See *ante* (vol. I, p. 335).

<sup>3</sup> An ordinance of Mar. 5, 1490 (not 1489) required these Statutes to be read in public by the Principals at least three times a year (*Mun. Ac.* 358-9). Dr. Rashdall printed this code from the MS. in the Bodleian (*Rawl. Stats.* 34) in Appendix XXX to his second volume, and it will be found at the end of Mr. Gibson's volume of Statutes.

discipline to non-collegiate students. In theory the Principal was still elected by his boys, but he had become responsible to the University rather than to them. Before long he was destined to become the Chancellor's nominee.<sup>1</sup> But the students retained the right to appoint an "Impositor" weekly, to enforce the Statutes and to levy fines for their breach,<sup>2</sup> and the community's authority, as well as the Principal's, was still needed to expel offenders. Every member of a Hall was required to pay honour to his Principal, under pain of being expelled and denounced to the Chancellor as a rebel. Rules were laid down for religious observances, for masses, sermons, bible-reading, grace at meals. No one must maintain a heresy which the Principal condemned. Rules also were imposed for good behaviour. Un-honest games were disallowed. So were evil gossip, bad language, solitary walks, brawls and fisticuffs, dogs and falcons, noctivagations and the bearing of arms, breaking into other men's rooms and lying in other men's beds. There were rules to save the Hall precincts from defacement and from dirty habits. There were rules for study, lectures, disputations, Latin talk.<sup>3</sup> There were rules for meals, for servants, and for paying dues. There were rules for fines and in some cases for "corporal correction," to be inflicted publicly on Saturday nights. But whippings were reserved for boys still under the care of a Master or Tutor—a privilege which probably only the richer boys enjoyed. The easy independence of the thirteenth century had wholly disappeared. If these rules were kept, it could hardly be contended that the students of the fifteenth-century Halls in Oxford had much more freedom than the Colleges allowed.

It may be a question how far the democratic system of the earlier Halls had answered. The growth of the Colleges must have strengthened the movement towards discipline, and as the Halls declined in numbers, the resemblance between the survivors and the Colleges, no doubt, increased. But it was in the ancient Halls of Oxford, self-governed, unendowed and unincorporated, that the mediæval University found its strength. The Colleges were at first small and privileged communities, separated by their Founders' bounty from the rest. It was only by degrees that they found accommodation for the undergraduate Com-

<sup>1</sup> In Leicester's days. But the form of election was preserved.

<sup>2</sup> Rashdall (II, 778). But compare Sect. VI. of the *Aularian Statutes* appended to the Laudian code.

<sup>3</sup> Dean Rashdall mentions (II, 627) the German system of appointing "lupi," wolves or spies, to report to the Masters about offenders who used their mother-tongue ("vulgarisantes"). There is no evidence of this in any Oxford Hall or College Statutes, but Dr. Rashdall has detected it in the Founder's regulations at Harrow. (See *Harrow School Tercentenary*, xxvii-viii).

moners who overflow their courts to-day. It was not till the fifteenth century was over that the Colleges became the undergraduates' natural home. But they played of course a large part in the destruction of their predecessors. Their Founders bought up the old Halls. Their new buildings inevitably displaced them. University absorbed a group of older dwellings in the High Street. Merton absorbed not only houses but a Parish church. Balliol and Exeter accounted for others just outside and inside the North Wall. William of Wykeham made a clearance for his great quadrangle. All Souls and Brasenose obtained possession of several old Halls in the heart of the town. Wolsey swept away relics of the past without reluctance. Corpus, Jesus and Pembroke carried the tradition of absorption on. Changes in Schools Street displaced a considerable number.<sup>1</sup> Before Queen Elizabeth died all idea of founding new Halls seems to have been abandoned. After the foundation of Pembroke only seven remained. And when, some quarter of a century later, the Royalist City found herself at the mercy of the Parliament, only two showed signs of popularity and strength.

Broadgates before its elevation into a College was one of the flourishing Halls of Oxford. But others also in the days of Elizabeth, Hart Hall and Magdalen Hall, St. Alban's and St. Mary's, were well filled. The lists in the first Matriculation Register claim no less than ninety-four members for St. Alban Hall.<sup>2</sup> Hart Hall may have had almost as many. Gloucester Hall claimed seventy-three, Magdalen Hall fifty-nine and St. Mary's forty-six. But these figures differ widely from the figures of the Commoners on the butlers' books, given in days when religious tests became more rigorous by the Principals to the Vice-Chancellor in 1579. St. Alban's and Hart Hall are credited then with only fifty-eight and fifty-four, while the numbers at St. Mary's have risen to sixty-eight and those at Gloucester Hall have dropped to six. There were evidently large fluctuations,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hurst estimates (*Oxf. Topog.* 164) that there were some 19 Halls in the 14th century. "mainly on the site of Bodley's Schools"—a figure perhaps to be taken with reserve.

<sup>2</sup> The list includes servants. It is dated about 1572. Mr. Boase (*Reg.* I, xxi-xxv) quotes from *Register GG* the figures given for certain Halls in Aug. 1552. Dr. Clark (*Reg.* II, ii, 9-44) quotes from *Register P* matriculation lists from 1565 to 1573. For Hart Hall three lists are given. In his earlier volume (*Reg.* II, i, 156) Dr. Clark quotes the figures given to the Vice-Chancellor in 1579; and the application of religious tests (against Romanists), no doubt, accounts for the fall in numbers, especially at Gloucester Hall. See also the lists given by Dr. Clark for various dates between 1546 and 1624 (*Reg.* II, i, 282-294). The more one compares the statements preserved about numbers, the less confident about them one feels.



if the figures preserved are correct. At New Inn Hall we hear of forty-nine members in 1552. But twenty years later they have fallen to twelve. In 1609, when a Principal had to be elected, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Leonard Hutten, was told that there were no Commoners left, and had been none for some years past. He admitted some half-dozen new ones to go through the form of electing the Chancellor's nominee.<sup>1</sup> In 1621 twenty-three members of St. Alban's joined in a Principal's election: three years later on a similar occasion only thirteen appeared. On the other hand the matriculations under James I show that Magdalen Hall was then exceptionally popular, and that the numbers at St. Alban's, St. Mary's and St. Edmund's were apparently well maintained.<sup>2</sup> In the Civil War circumstances altered. Numbers must have dropped away. Two Halls indeed were conspicuous in welcoming the Parliamentary Visitation. Magdalen Hall presented fifty-five submissions and New Inn Hall a list of forty-one. But Hart Hall offered only four, Edmund Hall two and Gloucester Hall one. St. Alban's and St. Mary's are not mentioned.<sup>3</sup> The Royalist element must have disappeared. Royalists, no doubt, returned after the Restoration and probably some years before that. But before the end of the seventeenth century the best days of the Halls had passed away.

The records of most of these old societies have vanished. Their buildings have been to a large extent destroyed. Even Wood confesses that for lack of material he must "stand silent" in regard to the worthies whom they trained. But the seven Halls which survived Charles I's accession continued to play a part in University life. The Chancellor now nominated the Principals, save where the long-established claim of a College intervened. The Vice-Chancellor admitted them with the time-honoured ceremony of handing them their keys and Statutes. But the old form of independent election by the Commoners was maintained. And the old traditions were remembered, except where time had rendered them obscure. St. Alban Hall, or "Alburne Hall," had from very early days been an adjunct of Merton. Its premises, now the East wing of the College and once leased from the Nuns of Littlemore, had become Merton

<sup>1</sup> Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 289).

<sup>2</sup> And at Gloucester Hall also, if the figures for 1612 given by Twyne (XXI, 515) and printed in Wood's *Life* (IV, 151) are correct. The average number of matriculations annually for the years 1603-1621, swelled by the exceptional year 1621, was, according to Dr. Clark's tables (*Reg.* II, ii, 412-13), about 23 for Magdalen Hall, 11 for Hart Hall, 6 or 7 for St. Edmunds, St. Mary's and St. Alban's, and something over 3 for Gloucester Hall. But New Inn Hall has only 6 matriculations in the 19 years.

<sup>3</sup> Burrows (*Register of Visitors*, 564-71).

property shortly after the Dissolution. Its Principals—Wood gives a list from 1437—had for generations been Merton students. The most important of them, Richard Fitzjames,<sup>1</sup> afterwards Warden of the College, is credited with the main buildings of the Hall.<sup>2</sup> But about the end of the sixteenth century the front on the street had to be renewed, and Benedict Barnham, a London Alderman and an old member of the Hall, supplied the means. His arms, says Wood, were “engraven in stone over the common Gate.” Three-quarters of a century later Loggan shows a well-built front with an imposing doorway, with two floors of chambers and a line of attics broken by chimneys up above, with a well-treed garden to the East and the gable of a Chapel disappearing on the West.

Of the early Principals of St. Alban Hall one, we are told, lived to be physician to Queen Elizabeth and another to serve on her Privy Council. In that great reign the number of students, with Massinger among them, reached high-water mark. Richard Zouch, a Civilian of distinction appointed in 1625, survived all changes till the Restoration.<sup>3</sup> He was perhaps more prominent at Doctors Commons, but he was very well known in University affairs. His successor, Dr. Sweit, was often absent: “the hall ran to ruine” under his rule. Thomas Lamplugh of Queen’s followed. He had a wife, Wood comments succinctly, looked after preferment, neglected the Hall.<sup>4</sup> He had accepted the Covenant though he retained his attachment to the Church. He won the favour of the Royalists, passed on to a Bishopric, and showed himself there indulgent to Dissenters. He approved the courage of the Seven Bishops in 1688, but was quick to offer his devotion to the King. He was made Archbishop of York by James, but was one of the first to swear allegiance to William. Wood thought him “a forward man, allwaies sneaking”: and if the judgment was prejudiced, it was not without excuse. The Hall did better under his successor, who enjoyed three Archbishoprics in later days.<sup>5</sup> Narcissus Marsh had been an undergraduate at Magdalen Hall, where he claimed to have fasted regularly from Thursday night to Saturday morning. He had been a

<sup>1</sup> Wood makes him Principal about 1480. John Hooper, Principal in 1514, must not be identified with the famous Bishop, even on the authority of Dr. Ingram.

<sup>2</sup> On the early buildings see Hurst (*Oxford Topography*, 204), Wood (*Colleges*, 654–9), and Ingram (*Memorials*, vol. II).

<sup>3</sup> On Zouch see Wood’s sketch (*Athenæ*, III, 510 sq.). The average number of matriculations about 1638–9 is put by Prof. Burrows at 8 (*Reg. cxxx*).

<sup>4</sup> On Dr. Sweit and Dr. Lamplugh Wood has memoranda (*Life*, I, 365 and 402, and II, 19).

<sup>5</sup> All Irish, Cashel, Dublin and Armagh.

Fellow of Exeter afterwards and ordained by the Bishop of Oxford when below the canonical age. "The Lord forgive us both," he comments, "but then I knew no better." When he moved to St. Alban's in 1673, Marsh made the Hall flourish. He restored its discipline. He encouraged its music. He, no doubt, stimulated its mathematics and its science. He passed on to be Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and "was quickly weary of 340 young men and boys in this lewd, debauch'd town."<sup>1</sup> For all his activities in Ireland, he looked back regretfully always to the "dearly beloved studies" of Oxford which he had left behind. Under his successor the Hall again "decayed." But it was still sufficiently loyal to light a bonfire for the "breeding" of the Queen in 1688.<sup>2</sup>

St. Mary Hall lay in the shadow of Oriel, as St. Alban's in the shadow of Merton and St. Edmund's in the shadow of Queen's. It had grown up in St. Mary's Parsonage, when the scholars of Oriel found quarters elsewhere. Wood speaks of a court with an ancient Refectory on the North side of it and chambers on the East. He tells us that "the forefront" next to Shidyerd Street was pulled down in 1447 and rebuilt soon after, and that other buildings were erected further South.<sup>3</sup> John Carpenter of Oriel contributed to the new buildings, and acquired Bedel Hall, another ancient Hall close by, for which Oriel often supplied a Principal. The seventeenth century saw a new dining-hall with a Chapel above it added. But the eighteenth century found the quadrangle too irregular or too ruinous, and a great part of it had to be replaced. Wood gives a list of Principals of St. Mary Hall from 1436.<sup>4</sup> One of the earliest of these, Henry Sampson, passed on to be Provost of Oriel. Richard Dudley, a benefactor of the College, was made Principal in 1502. Morgan Phillips, who disputed against Peter Martyr, was admitted in 1547. William Allen, afterwards a Cardinal, succeeded nine years later. Elizabethan changes separated the Hall from the College. Numbers leaped up. St. Mary's was apparently the most popular Hall in 1579, or at any rate the one with most students willing to accept the necessary tests. But the old, close connection with Oriel still remained. Ralph Braddyll, who reigned from 1591 to 1632, is credited with

<sup>1</sup> Marsh's Diary was printed in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* of 1848-9 (vol. V, pp. 51-54, and in subsequent numbers). See also *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> Wood (*Life*, III, 255).

<sup>3</sup> On the site of Bedel Hall, says Wood (*Colls.* 674). But Bedel Hall survived for some time. Mr. Hurst adds that Bedel Hall was on the site of the present Oriel Library (*Oxf. Topog.* 195-6). Ingram (*Memorials*, vol. II) has not much that is material to add to Wood.

<sup>4</sup> See *Colleges* (671-3), and for a list of Principals of Bedel Hall from 1438 to 1529 *City* (I, 589).



building the first Principal's Lodgings. John Saunders, his successor, passed on to be Provost of Oriel in very difficult times. Nicholas Brooks is said to have done the University some service by treating with the Commissioners of Parliament. But the Parliament brought no special prosperity to the Hall.<sup>1</sup> Thomas Cole, a Student of Christ Church, tutor once to John Locke and later on to Samuel Wesley, was, contrary to precedent, admitted in 1656, and ejected, also contrary to precedent, on the Restoration.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Crowther of St. John's, who succeeded later, was suspected of being a Papist, and died in 1689 a prisoner in the Fleet. It did not answer to break the old tradition of choosing only Oriel men.

Links as strong perhaps, and also ancient, bound Edmund Hall to Queen's. From Edmund the townsman, not Edmund the Saint, who gave it its name under Henry III,<sup>3</sup> the old house by St. Peter's Church had passed to the Abbey of Oseney, and had been let by the monks for the use of students. Queen's did not, apparently, acquire the property till 1557, but the College may have had a lease of it at an earlier date.<sup>4</sup> Queen's men repeatedly presided over the Hall. The numbers seem to have been only nine in 1552. But they rose to thirty in 1579.<sup>5</sup> Under James I they kept up well. Twyne estimates them at forty-seven in 1612.<sup>6</sup> But the end of the Civil War found the Hall almost deserted, if the two members who are recorded as submitting represented its condition then.<sup>7</sup> After the Rebellion it seems to have recovered quickly. But Protestant opinions flourished still. In 1678 the Pope was burned in effigy on Guy Fawkes' day.<sup>8</sup> We hear of a good many matriculations, of upper Commoners, semi-Commoners<sup>9</sup> and servitors. We hear that

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Burrows (*Reg.* cxxx) estimates that there were about 6 matriculations in 1638-9 and in 1650-1, and about 4 in 1663-4. But these figures must be received with caution.

<sup>2</sup> Wood suggests (*Colls.* 672) that every Principal before Cole, with one exception, was an Oriel man. On Cole and Crowther see Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* (vol. I).

<sup>3</sup> Wood (*Colls.* 660). St. Edmund's is a common, though scarcely an accurate name. Wood mentions also Little St. Edmund's Hall and the Hall of the Four Sons of Edmund (*City*, I, 85 and 104).

<sup>4</sup> Compare Wood (*Colls.* 664) and Magrath (*The Queen's College*, I, 178 sq.).

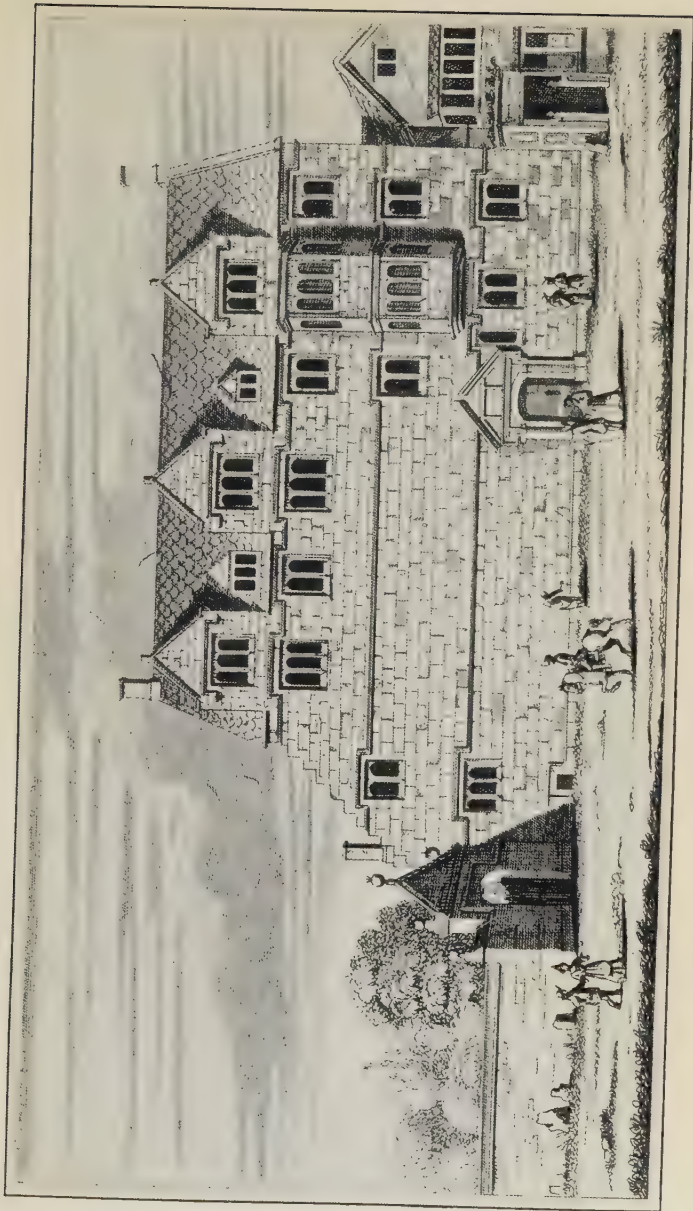
<sup>5</sup> For the numbers, compare Boase (*Reg.* I, xxiv) and Clark (*Reg.* II, ii, 41, and II, i, 156).

<sup>6</sup> *MS.* (XXI, 515).

<sup>7</sup> Burrows (*Register*, 570). Principal Airay is not mentioned here. Burrows puts the average of matriculations at 5 in 1638-9, at 0 in 1650-1, and at 19 in 1663-4 (*Ib.* cxxx).

<sup>8</sup> Wood (*Life*, II, 422).

<sup>9</sup> A variant for battelers, Dr. Clark suggests (*Ib.* IV, 169). But Wood speaks of battelers also at the Hall (*Ib.* II, 521 and 534).



EDMUND HALL  
From Skelton's *Oxon*





more accommodation was needed : rooms had been let to citizens instead.<sup>1</sup> We hear too of some distinguished names, of Thomas Littleton, a seventeenth-century Speaker, of John Oldham, satirist and poet, and later of Thomas Hearne, who was to bury his disappointments there for many years.

Wood carries the list of Principals of Edmund Hall back to 1317. Peter Payne, the famous Wycliffite, ruled there in 1410. He ruled over White Hall close by as well. Ralph Rudd, we are told, under Henry VIII, after a stormy career at Queen's which had led to his expulsion, made himself "principal of a hall called Edmund Hall, wherein neither learning nor lesson is frequented."<sup>2</sup> Henry Robinson, elected in 1576, was afterwards a well-known Provost of Queen's College. Adam Airay, who carried the Hall through the Rebellion—Wood bought some of his books after his death—showed himself a sturdy Calvinist: he shared and perhaps exaggerated Henry Airay's opinions. Stephen Penton, elected in 1676, contributed generously to the Hall buildings. Queen's claimed the right to nominate the Principals, and established its claim against both Chancellor and students in 1600 and again in 1636.<sup>3</sup> The gateway of Queen's from a very early date overlooked the little premises across the way. Some of the fifteenth-century buildings, with the old Refectory and chambers, were pulled down, it seems, in the seventeenth century. A new dining-hall, with chambers over it, was raised to the North of the entrance about 1659.<sup>4</sup> A Chapel and Library were built after the Restoration. The Chapel was consecrated in 1682. The Library above it is the smallest College Library in Oxford,<sup>5</sup> and with its narrow and difficult approaches by no means one of the least picturesque.

Gloucester Hall and Hart Hall have now grown into Colleges. Both had a long and varied history of their own. The House which John Giffard founded in 1283, and which for many generations lay amid its streams and meadows well outside the town,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the records of the Hearth Tax of 1665 (Rogers, *Oxf. City Docts.* 77). But the rooms so let may have been in the building which Wood describes as "erected by an inhabitant of Oxford for to be let out to Scholars," which was bought by the Hall about 1672 (*Colleges*, 668).

<sup>2</sup> See Magrath (*The Queen's College*, I, 177).

<sup>3</sup> See Wood (*Colls.* 662-3) and Magrath (I, 228-9 and 253-4).

<sup>4</sup> In *Rawl MS. C 865* in the Bodleian there is an account of the subscriptions raised for this purpose.

<sup>5</sup> Wood speaks of it as begun in 1680 (*Life*, II, 485). Mr. Gibson has a note upon it (*Some Oxford Libraries*, 107). In *Wood F.* 28 there are several notes on Edmund Hall men (ff. 266 sq.), benefactors and plate (306).

<sup>6</sup> A student absent in 1619, when his Grace was asked, pleaded that "ob distantiam loci" he could not hear the bell (Clark, *Reg.* II, i, 33).

was a conspicuous Benedictine College. It was not till after the Dissolution that it descended to a lower place. Henry VIII assigned it to the new Bishop, and as late as the seventeenth century the Bishop of Oxford, whose rights had been strangely disregarded by Elizabeth, made claims to it which he could not enforce. Bishop Corbet in 1629 reopened the old quarrel in a characteristic letter. He knew his rights, but he knew also the poisonous ways of lawyers.<sup>1</sup> The matter was not finally settled till Bishop Bancroft built Cuddesdon Palace. In 1560 the old buildings remaining were purchased by the Founder of St. John's, who organised afresh a Hall for students under the patronage of his new College, and proposed to call it by St. John's name.<sup>2</sup> Soon after the installation of the Principal and Scholars the dead body of Lady Robert Dudley, better known as Amy Robsart, was "secretly brought by night" to the Hall before the burial service at St. Mary's. But Leicester's opinions found little favour among its occupants, and in the early years of Elizabeth Gloucester Hall became, more than any other, a resort of Oxford men who adhered to the old Faith. William Stocke or Stocks, its first Principal, *in animo Catholicus*, became President of St. John's. But he resigned that dignity, for fear of deprivation, and returned to his former position. Christopher Bagshaw, another early Principal, nominated by Leicester as a Protestant, became a Roman priest. It was as a refuge for Catholics that Gloucester Hall was so well filled in 1572.<sup>3</sup> But the numbers then were swelled by lodgers, including, it seems, fourteen knights and one Archdeacon, who could have had little in common with the undergraduate world. Distinguished Romanists found shelter in the Hall. Sir William Catesby, father of the conspirator, who was himself a member of the Hall, was living there with his wife in 1577. Lady Catesby had a daughter born in the Principal's lodgings. Other ladies occupied apartments. Two widows died there in 1616.<sup>4</sup> It was no wonder if suspicious Protestants cavilled at the doings in the Hall,<sup>5</sup> and if active

<sup>1</sup> The letter is quoted in the history of *Worcester College* (94).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Clark (*Wood's Life*, IV, 159) cites from Wood (*Colls.* p. 639) a reference to "*Statuta Aulae Glocestriensis, facta (ut videtur) 1560: Twyne, XXI, 206.*" But Twyne's note is only a very brief account of the foundation: and I do not find the reference in Wood's *Colleges* at p. 639.

<sup>3</sup> The Matriculation list gives 73 members (Clark, *Reg.* II, ii, 34-5).

<sup>4</sup> For these details and others I am indebted to the interesting account of the Hall given in the history of *Worcester College* by Mr. Daniel and Mr. Barker, and especially to Chaps. V and VI.

<sup>5</sup> Corrano was lecturing there in 1579, but there were worse tales of "Horrible Papists."

measures taken against Romanists immediately affected its numbers.<sup>1</sup>

But even at Gloucester Hall there were Protestants, and perhaps zealous Protestants, among the younger students.<sup>2</sup> After 1579 numbers rose rapidly again. Principal Delabere was exceptionally popular. But under his successor the Hall may have declined once more.<sup>3</sup> It certainly came near to being refounded as Wadham College. Degory Wheare, a friend of Thomas Allen the astrologer, was already Camden Professor of History when he was appointed Principal in 1626. Esteemed by some "a learned and genteel man, by others a Calvinist"—his Latin treatise on the study of history long survived the worries of his life—Wheare proved for a time a successful ruler. He took in hand the College buildings.<sup>4</sup> He finished the new Chapel; John Pym gave twenty shillings towards it; his son was apparently a member of the Hall. A new Library was collected also. Wood was "credibly informed" that a hundred students gathered round the Principal, and it seems that the matriculations steadily went up. Some of the students were "persons of qualitie: 10 or 12 went in their doublets of cloth of silver and gold."<sup>5</sup> Some of these fine gentlemen, no doubt, supplied soldiers for the King. But Wheare must have seen his numbers fall sadly before he died in 1647. Tobias Garbrand, "alias Herks," appointed Principal after Wheare's death,<sup>6</sup> is the only member of the Hall recorded as submitting to the Parliamentary Commission. He came of stout Nonconformist ancestry—his great-grandfather, the Dutch bookseller in Oxford, had been a friend of Jewel and the early Reformers—but he found few Nonconformists there to rule. His successor, a medical man like himself, collected a few undergraduates round him,

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the extraordinary reduction in 1579. (Clark, *Reg.* II, i, 156). Dr. Clark's tables of Matriculations give 34 at Gloucester Hall in 1578 and none in 1579 or 1580 (*Reg.* II, ii, 412). Then they begin again.

<sup>2</sup> Such as Philip Stubbs, the author of the *Anatomie of Abuses*, whom Wood "conceived" to be at Gloucester Hall. But the evidence is far from strong.

<sup>3</sup> *Worcester College* (103). But Clark's tables (*Reg.* II, ii, 412) do not altogether bear out Mr. Daniel and Mr. Barker's view: and Twyne gives the high figure of 62 members at Gloucester Hall in 1612 (XXI, 515).

<sup>4</sup> There is an interesting description of the College property taken over in 1560. It includes a Hall (60 ft. × 30) with a building adjoining, seven chambers (each 16 ft. × 12), several small groups of buildings or lodgings, a base court (80 ft. × 60), "the soil of the late church" (40 ft. × 20), the site of other lodgings "lately wasted and fallen down," and parcels of garden, orchard and meadow land (*Worc. Coll.* 91-2).

<sup>5</sup> Wood (*Life*, II, 398).

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Maplett was appointed first, but soon turned out. He came back on the Restoration.



and produced a play in honour of the Restoration. But his reign was short. Numbers increased again for a time under Principal Eaton, Archdeacon of Stow, though Wood says he never knew many members in the Hall.<sup>1</sup> But the buildings were falling into disrepair. In 1676 Dr. Prideaux notes that there are no scholars left. Wood adds that "onlie the principall and his family and two or three more families . . . live there in some part to keep it from ruin." The paths in 1678 were grown up with grass. The way into the Hall and Chapel was "nailed up with bords."<sup>2</sup> But that did not prevent burglars from breaking in in 1687, stealing the Principal's plate and his daughters' "petticoates" and jewels, and drinking the young ladies' healths before they carried off their spoil.<sup>3</sup> Loggan has preserved a picture of the buildings in the days of their decline.

Hart Hall, *Aula Cervina* in academic Latin, also had a picturesque career before it attained the dignity of a College. It was one of a little group of Halls which about the end of the thirteenth century stood on the site of Hertford College, near Smith Gate and the North Wall of the town. It took its name from a certain Elias of Hertford, who seems to have bought a house in Oxford in 1283, and to have let it out to clerks as an investment. A hart's head, the device he used, suggested a sign for the Hall and arms later for the College. Hart Hall fronted Northwards on to Hammer Hall Lane, better known as New College Lane to-day. It had Black Hall to the West and Shield Hall to the East, and Arthur Hall, which soon became a part of it, behind.<sup>4</sup> Arthur Hall had an entrance upon Cat Street, and Cat Hall lay a little further to the South. From Elias' son Hart Hall passed to John Docklington, whose name is linked with Broadgates too, and from Docklington Bishop Stapledon bought it in 1312 as the first home for his scholars. It was let to other students later, and the rent paid to Exeter College. New College scholars also lived here for a time, while William of Wykeham was building his great quadrangle. New College men figure in the list of Principals: Cranley, who became Archbishop of Dublin in 1397, is conspicuous among them. And the connection with New College continued, though in the fif-

<sup>1</sup> Not above 14 since the Restoration (*Life*, II, 398). Mr. Daniel and Mr. Barker give 12 matriculations in 1667 and 14 in 1669 (*Worc. Coll.* 117), which seems high. The number must soon have fallen.

<sup>2</sup> Wood (*Life*, II, 398).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* (III, 241).

<sup>4</sup> Black Hall, long rented by Exeter College from the University, was finally brought under the same Principal as Hart Hall in 1530. Before the Dissolution Hart Hall had absorbed all its immediate neighbours. (See Mr. S. G. Hamilton's valuable little history of *Hertford College*, to which I am much indebted, Chap. I). An early account of the Hall, "ex archivis colligij Exon," is given in *Wood F.* 28 (260 sq.).

teenth and sixteenth centuries the Hall was ruled and managed chiefly by Exeter men. Exeter scholars came to it for lectures, and for several generations Exeter men found teachers there.<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Kymer,<sup>2</sup> appointed Principal about 1412, was the well-known Chancellor who turned Duke Humphrey's friendship to such good account. He was not a member of Exeter, but he may, like William of Worcester, have been a scholar of the Hall. The fifteenth century brought an endowment—Exhibitions founded by Sir John Bignell, for the maintenance of ten scholars at Hart Hall by Glastonbury Abbey.<sup>3</sup> One Principal of those days had to be specially forbidden to go hunting the King's deer. Another was killed in a brawl in the High Street in 1506. Another, Philip Rondell, Principal for nearly half a century after 1549, gave a fresh importance to the Hall. He made it, like Gloucester Hall, a refuge for adherents of the old religion. There was no Chapel to draw attention to the form of worship they preferred. Rondell restored the buildings, built a dining-hall, a buttery and chambers: Agas reproduced them in the Elizabethan age. Under Rondell the number of students increased largely. There seem to have been seventy, there may even have been ninety, in 1572.<sup>4</sup> The Hall became independent of Exeter. The Chancellor undertook to provide it with a Principal. Leicester was chiefly responsible for providing it with a Divinity Lecturer, in the person of Corrano. But the Rector and Fellows of Exeter still claimed their rights as landlords and levied a rent of thirty-three shillings and fourpence a year.

John Eveleigh, the Principal who succeeded Rondell in 1599, lived outside the Hall with a wife and a family and died of the plague in 1604. Theodore Price who came over from Jesus, breaking the Exeter tradition, was charged like Rondell with being "at heart a Papist"; but he died in an honourable position in the Church. We have an interesting note on the establishment of Hart Hall in his day.<sup>5</sup>

"We have a manciple which hath vij<sup>d</sup> weekly wages and viij<sup>d</sup> of every Commoner and batteler in our house at the end of every quarter; he hath ij<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup> a pound as he himself confesseth, but we

<sup>1</sup> *Hertford Coll.* (8).

<sup>2</sup> Wood calls him William by mistake (*Colls.* 645).

<sup>3</sup> This survived the Dissolution. (See *Hertford Coll.* 10-11.) The gift, a rather curious incident, did not of course make the Hall "a colony of the Monastery of Glastonbury," as Twyne and Wood, who follows him (*Colls.* 643), suggest. A note on the question which arose in 1664 on these Glastonbury Exhibitions will be found in *Wood F.* 28 (f. 256).

<sup>4</sup> It is difficult to estimate the exact numbers from the three matriculation lists given by Dr. Clark (*Reg.* II, ii, 29-30, 35 and 44).

<sup>5</sup> This is the answer to the eighth Article in the *Visitatio Aularum* of 1613 (*Univ. Arch.* Pyx D. 24-27, in S.W. Press 9).

heare and thinke that he hath iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup> of the baker and xij<sup>d</sup> a pound of the bruer : and in Cates he taketh what gaynes it pleaseth himself. A porter we have none, but our bible-clerke doeth supplie the porter's place. We have an vnder-manciple which serveth in the hall for the manciple, and the manciple payeth him noe wages at all ; who helpeth the butler to serve in the buttery, and for that the commoners pay him pence a piece weekly. We have a butler which hath vij<sup>d</sup> weekly wages, and iiij<sup>d</sup> of every commoner at the end of every quarter, and a j<sup>d</sup> every weeke of every Commoner in our house. We have a boy which healepeth the butler to drawe beere, whose wages the butler himself payeth. We have a Cooke, who hath vij<sup>d</sup> weekly wages, and iiij<sup>d</sup> of every Commoner at the end of every quarter besides his fees ; he hath a boy to whom he payeth wages himself. We have a bible-clearke who hath a halfpenny a weeke of every Commoner in our house."

Some thirty Commoners were summoned in 1622 to elect Dr. Iles as Price's successor.<sup>1</sup> Iles and Parsons, who followed him, were amenable to the authority of Laud, though scandal said that Iles was not "in a capacity ever to study in a morning without a cup of ale."<sup>2</sup> But the Civil War must have emptied the Hall. Only four members are recorded as making submission to the Parliament ; one of them was the cook, who had replaced the "cookesse" of whom we hear in earlier days. A Puritan Principal was admitted in 1653—appointed by patent by Oliver Cromwell, perhaps because there were no Commoners to elect. Doctor of Physic and Captain of Horse, Stephens restored the life of the Hall, and recovered for it the Glastonbury Exhibitions which had been lost. But he had to make way for a Royalist later on. Dr. Lamphire was Principal for a quarter of a century before the Revolution, a droll fellow, "much given," said gossip, "to his pleasures." He found or left discipline lax. The Hall doors, it was asserted, were open all night. Yet Lamphire was a man of some character and public spirit. He worked in certain by-ways of history, and he helped to fill up the ponds of Candich.<sup>3</sup> The seventeenth-century Principals added to the buildings. Dr. Price built Lodgings which were afterwards put to other uses. Dr. Iles built a new kitchen, with chambers over it, and a small block of chambers to the North of the passage into Cat Street. Dr. Lamphire pulled down and rebuilt Black Hall on New

<sup>1</sup> Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 293-4) : Mr. Hamilton (*Hertford Coll.* 27, n.) estimates that 27 voted. Twyne puts the Hall numbers at 71 in 1612 (XXI, 515). Prof. Burrows puts the number of matriculations at 9 in 1638-9 and at 7 in 1663-4 (*Reg. of Visitors*, cxxx). Dr. Clark quotes (from *MS. D.* 28, *Univ. Oxon. Arch.*) a statement that Anthony Morgan was elected Principal of Hart Hall in 1614 (*Reg.* II, i, 290). But this is clearly a mistake. Morgan was made Principal of Alban Hall that year. (See Foster, *Alumni Oxon.* early series, vol. III).

<sup>2</sup> Wood (*Life*, I, 154, n.).

<sup>3</sup> See Wood (*Life*, I, 475 and II, 56) and Hamilton (*Hertford College*, 34-5).



College Street, which had been leased to townsmen. It passed again into the occupation of members of Hart Hall, together with the flimsy "paper-building," raised on wooden pillars, which Loggan represents. A Maypole stood in the street beyond. Loggan has left a charming little picture of the low buildings ranged about the court within.<sup>1</sup>

Magdalen Hall in the days of Tyndale had already found a place in history. It prospered under Elizabeth, and in the seventeenth century, true to its Protestant traditions, it went rapidly ahead.<sup>2</sup> The name, first bestowed on the earliest home of Waynflete's Scholars, was applied from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the Grammar Hall and the buildings about it, which grew up outside the gates of Magdalen College, and to which students in considerable numbers were attracted by the great grammarians of the College School. The College owned the site of the Hall, received its rent, and supplied most of its early rulers. But it had no jurisdiction over the Hall students. And when towards the close of the seventeenth century the Fellows tried to assert against the Chancellor a claim to nominate the Principals, the claim was defeated in a Court of Law.<sup>3</sup> The list of early Principals contains some well-known names. John Stokesley, who played a conspicuous part in the early quarrels of the Magdalen Fellows, became afterwards Bishop of London. John Longland, Bishop and Chancellor, may have been too ready an instrument of Henry VIII. Burgess and Coveney were elected Presidents of Magdalen College.<sup>4</sup> Robert Lyster's tenure covered most of the reign of Elizabeth. His successor, Dr. Hussee, must have seen Thomas Hobbes enter the Hall in 1603,<sup>5</sup> where, tradition says, he preferred the snaring of jackdaws to the educational methods of his day. Students increased. There were sixty Commoners in 1579. There were large entries in the years which followed.<sup>6</sup> In 1612, if the figures be correct,

<sup>1</sup> The gateway in Cat Street and the Library above it were built by Principal Thornton (1688-1707). The returns for the Hearth Tax of 1665 indicate that some chambers in Hart Hall were then let to non-academical tenants (Rogers, *Oxf. City Docts.* 77).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Clark estimates that 283 students matriculated at Magdalen Hall in the seven years from 1615 to 1621 (*Reg.* II, ii, 413).

<sup>3</sup> In 1694. The claim was made but not pressed in 1681.

<sup>4</sup> John Burgess, says Wood (*Colls.* 686), was President of the College first. But his election as President in 1527 was promptly set aside by Wolsey (see Wilson's *Magd. Coll.* 69-70).

<sup>5</sup> See the paragraph inserted by Wood in Aubrey's Life (*Brief Lives*, ed. Clark, I, 330).

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Clark gives 52 matriculations in 1581 (*Reg.* II, ii, 413). Twyne makes the Hall total 161 in 1612 (XXI, 515). Prof. Burrows puts the matriculations at 40 in 1638-9, at 30 in 1650-1, and at 21 in 1663-4 (*Reg. of Visitors*, cxxx).

the matriculations leaped up to a hundred and thirteen. The Hall became less dependent on the College and eclipsed it for a time in popularity. And John Wilkinson, appointed Principal in 1605, carried its fortunes to their highest point.

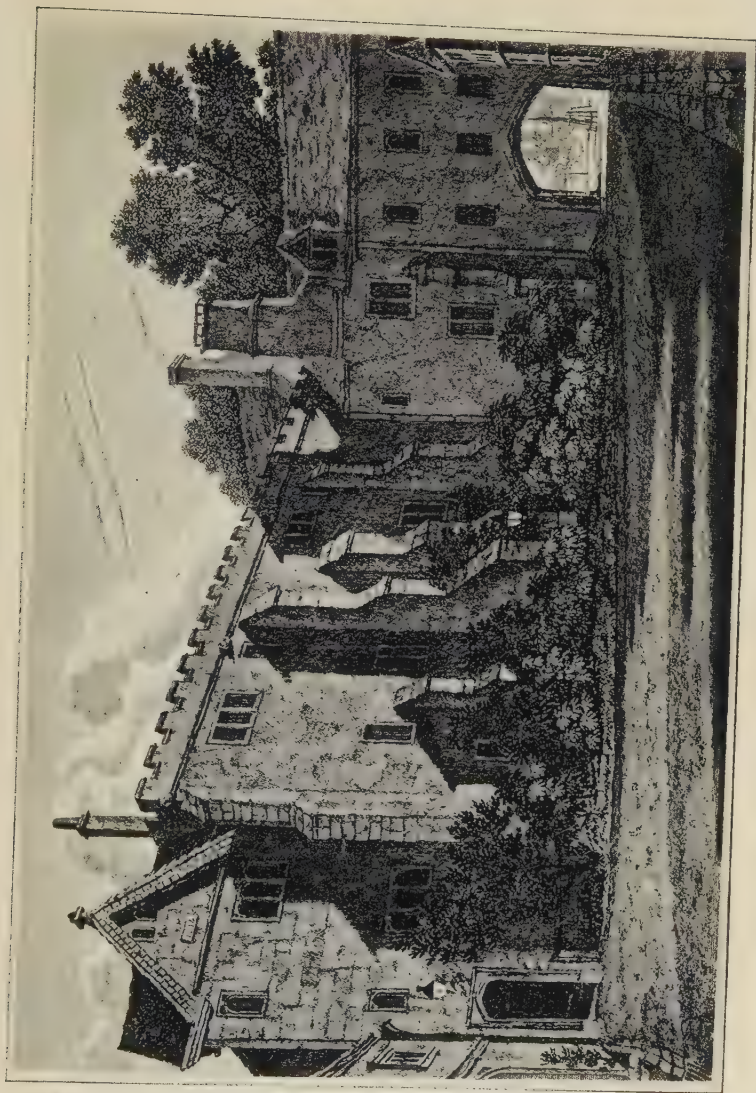
Under John Wilkinson Exhibitions for students were created. New rooms were needed. New quarters were built. Wood says that he added five blocks of chambers at a cost of three thousand pounds. But of these enterprises the picturesque little building still known as the Grammar Hall alone survives. The Hall was recognised as the head-quarters of the Puritan party, and as such played a great part in Oxford life. The tradition that three hundred students gathered round John Wilkinson—it is difficult to see where such a number could have lodged—is at least an indication of its importance and success. The Puritan Principal, who must surely at his best have been something different from the “illiterate, testy old creature” whom Wood describes, was displaced in the War by a King’s man, Dr. Read, who afterwards became a Roman priest. John Wilkinson returned after the surrender of the City, but was made President of the College in 1648. His influence may be seen perhaps in the fifty-five submissions to the Parliament received from members of the Hall. Henry Wilkinson succeeded him. “Dean Harry,” as they called him, was a man of character and breeding. But he made no secret of his views. He entertained Cromwell. He “prayed hard for the army.” He had to leave when, after the Restoration, the Act of Uniformity was passed. Clarendon visited the Hall and inconsiderately told him that he maintained “not only factious but debauched schollers”—a poor return for the Principal’s compliments of cake and cheese.<sup>1</sup> James Hyde—a significant name—replaced him, and on Hyde’s death the Magdalen Fellows claimed the right to appoint. In 1694 they raised the point again without success. The existence of a separate community on their ground but beyond their jurisdiction was for long a source of disquiet to the College. It was probably a relief to both sides when the changes of the early nineteenth century enabled the College to recover its site and the Hall students to find quarters elsewhere.

New Inn Hall was a smaller Society. But it survived with some of its venerable buildings into recent times. Writing early in the seventeenth century, Leonard Hutten described its position thus :

“From St. Ebb’s Church directly before us looking towards Bocardo, wee see on our right hand those poore Tenements, called the Seaven deadly Sinns, and the Back sides of St. Marie’s Colledge,

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<sup>1</sup> Wood (*Life*, I, 413-5).



MAGDALEN HALL  
From Skelton's *Oxonia*





and those Houses which are in the Corne Markett ; on the left, the Hall called New Inn, with poore Tenements and Gardens till you come to Bocardo." <sup>1</sup>

New Inn Hall Street has borne many names. Before the twentieth century it had two branches, one running West from the Cornmarket near St. Michael's Church,<sup>2</sup> the other running South at right angles to it. Now the South branch only keeps the title of the Hall, which stood at a corner on its Western side.<sup>3</sup> Wood traces the descent of the original Inn from the Pennards, burghers of Oxford, to the Trillecks, whose name it acquired. In the fourteenth century, Trilleck's Inn was bought by William of Wykeham, and in 1391 the Bishop granted two messuages called Trilleckynnes with three gardens adjoining, and one messuage called Rose Hall with one garden adjoining to the Warden and Scholars of New College.<sup>4</sup> We hear of repairs done to the buildings, to the Chapel and great chambers, before the century closed. We hear of the White Monks renting them or part of them soon after. We have notes of a new edifice early in the fifteenth century, and of Rose Hall ceasing to pay rent.<sup>5</sup> Wood speaks of the fabric being rebuilt about the end of Henry VI's reign and taking then the title of New Inn.<sup>6</sup> But none of these details must be too positively stated. Parts of the mediæval buildings, dating back apparently to the thirteenth century, long survived. A Tudor block may have been erected beside them : two of its windows could be traced in 1893. A " Palladian structure " was added later on.<sup>7</sup> Loggan's drawing made in Charles II's reign was recognisable for generations later. But all traces of its time-worn picturesqueness have vanished from the street to-day.

Wood gives a list of Principals beginning in 1438. Lawyers,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hurst, commenting on this passage, gives an interesting account of the site and buildings of the Hall (*Oxf. Topog.* 79 and 86-9).

<sup>2</sup> This passes the Union buildings and is now called St. Michael Street. In old days it ran from Bocardo under the North Wall and was called Bedford Lane, after a large householder, and sometimes Wood Street from the timber-yards in it.

<sup>3</sup> New Inn Hall Street or North Bailey Street, with the Little Bailey at its South end, was sometimes called the Lane of the Seven Deadly Sins. See Mr. Hurst's diagram (87), which differs a little from Dr. Clark's map at the end of vol. I of Wood's *City*, and Salter's *Historic Names of Oxford Streets* (12-13).

<sup>4</sup> See Wood (*Colls.* 676) and Hurst (88). " Trillekesynne " and " Trillock's yn " are other fourteenth-century variants.

<sup>5</sup> These notices are collected by Mr. Hurst (88) from Wood's *MS. D.2.*, but have of course no more authority than Wood's published statements.

<sup>6</sup> Wood (*Colls.* 683). He suggests here that the Chapel was " first made by the Bernardines."

<sup>7</sup> The West front of the little Tudor building is shown in the Oxford Almanac of 1750.

New College men and Welshmen figure among them. Law students and Welsh students may have been conspicuous in the Hall. Wood states that under Mary and Elizabeth the Hall was very sparsely filled. But a University Register assigns it forty-nine members in 1552,<sup>1</sup> and it seems reasonable to accept the statement that it contained twelve members twenty years later.<sup>2</sup> In 1609 the Commoners are stated to have vanished.<sup>3</sup> But in 1612 Twyne allows the Hall seventeen, with a total of thirty members.<sup>4</sup> In 1622 there were fewer again,<sup>5</sup> and there are very few matriculations recorded under James I. Sir Daniel Dunn of All Souls was at one time an Elizabethan Principal. John Budden, the civilian and the biographer of Waynflete and of Morton, elected Principal in 1609, left to be Head of Broadgates later. Christopher Rogers, appointed in 1626, a leading Puritan in the University, is said to have "fled to the Parliament Party." His students apparently deserted too, and the King established his Mint in their empty quarters. The numbers assigned to Rogers' day—twenty-four matriculations yearly about 1638—and the forty-one reputed submissions to the Parliament in 1648 show how largely the Hall had become, like Magdalen Hall, a Puritan centre.<sup>6</sup> William Durham, the biographer of Dr. Robert Harris, the Puritan President of Trinity, was perhaps a type of the students then. Rogers returned with his friends and pupils. But he had to leave again in 1662. John Lamphire ruled at New Inn Hall for a few months before passing on to Hart Hall. But he could hardly have exercised much influence over its fortunes. The numbers, however, kept up: the annual average of matriculations is stated at nine. William Stone, Lamphire's successor, was suspected of being a Papist. But he was one of the first to appreciate the value of Wood's historical work.<sup>7</sup> The old Hall thrived. It was destined to continue, and to play its part in Oxford for generations yet.

<sup>1</sup> This number (Boase, *Reg.* I, xxv) seems to need explanation.

<sup>2</sup> Including servants (Clark, *Reg.* II, ii, 39).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* (II, i, 289).

<sup>4</sup> He adds them up wrongly as 29 (*MS.* XXI, 515).

<sup>5</sup> Clark (*Reg.* II, i, 293).

<sup>6</sup> See the figures given by Prof. Burrows (*Reg. of Visitors*, cxxx and 567-71). Wood says that no scholar was left in the Hall during the war, but that after the surrender it was full again of "Seekers." He puts the numbers as high as 30 or 40 under Principal Stone (*Colleges*, 677).

<sup>7</sup> See the references in Wood's *Life* (II, 173, 346 and 421).



## CHAPTER XVII

### ARCHBISHOP LAUD AND THE CAROLINE CODE

LORD PEMBROKE'S sudden death in April 1630 startled and disappointed the academic world. It was said that the University of Oxford had hoped to be his executor and Pembroke College his heir. Few men, in spite of some notorious failings, held a greater place in the estimation of their age. A Mæcenas whom all the world of letters honoured, a patron whose generous magnificence helped, among many lesser men, Ben Jonson, Chapman and Inigo Jones, a friend whom Shakespeare may have cared for, Pembroke in his splendid youth, "swaggering it" among the men of war and wealth and pleasure, had found himself "exceedingly beloved." In politics he had independence enough to rouse King James to trepidation, courage enough to bear the enmity of Buckingham and to win the gratitude of the House of Commons. And if his later years brought some sense of disillusion, of wasted opportunities and wasted health, he never lost the fame acquired by a certain stateliness and integrity of purpose, but remained "the very picture of nobility" in the eyes of many besides Anthony Wood.

On Pembroke's death there was a contest for the Chancellorship. Laud's friends "bestirred themselves in his behalf." Juxon rallied the members of his old College. Frewen hurried back from Hampshire to support him. But Laud had enemies as well as friends in Oxford. The Calvinist tradition was not broken yet. Bishop Williams of Lincoln, one of the shrewdest ecclesiastical politicians of his day, threw all his influence against "the little meddling hocus pocus"<sup>1</sup> whom he cordially disliked. Pembroke's brother and successor, a great noble like him, was a formidable rival even to the Bishop of London. And though the scrutiny of votes declared Laud to be elected, there were not wanting partisans who insisted that Lord Pembroke and Montgomery had a larger party on his side.<sup>2</sup> God knew, said

<sup>1</sup> The phrase, which led to a vindictive sentence in the Star Chamber, was used by Osbaldeston, Master of Westminster School, in a letter found in Williams' house.

<sup>2</sup> Even Wood treats the suggestion as an open question (*Ann.* II, 368-9). An appeal to the King against the election of Laud is quoted in *Bodley MS. Tanner 82* (f. 301).

Laud, that he had little expected the honour. He treated it as an urgent call to University reform.

Times had changed since Laud and his opinions had been openly rebuked in Oxford. The Calvinists were losing their ascendancy. The King's warm support, and the Primacy which followed, made the new Chancellor's authority difficult to resist. But Laud's intellectual position was always that of a minority, even among the ministers of the Church. His views were often large, his zeal for right undoubted, his hatred of intolerance in other men sincere. But his own unbending nature, his rigorous sense of discipline, his love of power, his impatience of opponents, his genuine astonishment at the "clamours and slanders" with which he was assailed, led him into harsh and narrow courses, to enforce the uniformity and order in which he passionately believed. The rival schools were only too ready to attack each other. A statesman might have tried to reconcile them. Laud brought their quarrel to a head. Robert Abbot of Balliol and Dr. Airay of Queen's, who had been at one time his chief critics in Oxford, had both passed away. But Abbot's son-in-law, Nathaniel Brent, maintained the same tradition at Merton, though his influence was probably diminished by his frequent absence upon legal business. Dr. Prideaux of Exeter was still the leading representative of Protestant opinions, justly honoured for his character and learning, and the most popular teacher in the Oxford of his day. He could not always repress his impatience with the doctrines advocated by the newer school. But Prideaux, no doubt, wished to keep on terms with the Chancellor and to preserve the favour of the King. Other Heads of Colleges, Kettell at Trinity, Hood at Lincoln, Radcliffe and some of his Fellows at Brasenose, professed little sympathy with Laud's opinions and perhaps made no secret of their own. Wilkinson and Rogers gathered Puritans round them at Magdalen Hall and New Inn Hall. But the weight of authority in Oxford leaned more and more to the new Chancellor's side. Frewen of Magdalen and Jackson of Corpus used their great influence on his behalf. Brian Duppa enforced his views of ritual in the Cathedral church. Juxon, one of Laud's chief friends and correspondents, handed over St. John's College to Baylie, an equally reliable adherent, when he succeeded to the Bishopric of London. Mansell at Jesus was a devoted Loyalist and Churchman. Christopher Potter of Queen's, who had shed some Calvinist opinions, appeared in the same ranks. Smyth of Wadham and Clayton of Pembroke served under Laud without reluctance. Sheldon was rising to power at All Souls. Dr. Pinke of New College, "the flower of Wykeham's garden," and more than once Vice-Chancellor, was as ready as Duppa or

Baylie or Frewen to use that position to promote the Chancellor's ideas.

One of Laud's first measures was to ask the Vice-Chancellor for a weekly report on events in Oxford. He knew that the Statutes, which "had lain in a confused heap for some ages," badly needed revision. He found that "formalities, which are in a sort the outward and visible face of the university," were neglected alike in the Schools, in Convocation and in the streets. He found some of the sermons preached little to his liking. He found order and reformation very much required. He was anxious not to be "too sour" at the beginning.<sup>1</sup> But the sermons soon became a source of trouble. An Exeter man had preached against obeisance and reverence in churches. An Oriel man had laid an aspersion upon the Synod of Dort. Doctrines which the King had forbidden his subjects to discuss were openly debated. Imputations of "apostacy and backsliding" were fastened on eminent persons, whose identity it was impossible to doubt. A movement of insubordination, supported, it was said, by Dr. Prideaux and the Proctors, "stirs not of an ordinary nature" which struck at the very root of government, startled the party in power. Thomas Ford of Magdalen Hall, Giles Thorne of Balliol and William Hodges of Exeter denied the Vice-Chancellor's right to act as censor of their sermons. Ford, when ordered to prison, refused to go. The matter was carried to the King at Woodstock in August 1631, and Charles and Laud gave six hours to its consideration. The Proctors were made to resign for "countenancing all manner of disobedience." The three offending preachers were expelled. Prideaux and Wilkinson were sharply reprimanded. Richard Hill of Brasenose and Francis Hyde of Christ Church, ex-Proctors who were said to have encouraged the mutineers, were forced to apologise for their "damned spirit of opposition" against "authority and the breath of heaven." Hodges, when pardoned, hoped the world would forget him when he forgot to be grateful to Laud.<sup>2</sup> In the meantime he married Prideaux's daughter. Satirical verses, supposed to emanate from Jesus College, mocked at "the Academicall Army of Epidemical Arminians." But the new Chancellor's authority was thenceforth secure.

Prideaux may have accepted the warning. But he found the

<sup>1</sup> See his letter of 7 May 1630. His History of his Chancellorship in vol. V of Parker's edition of his *Works*, 1853, is an authority of the first importance.

<sup>2</sup> Ford refused to submit and became afterwards a Puritan divine. Thorne, Wood says, submitted but was not restored. (See *Ann.* II, 379, and Laud's *Works*, V, 70, n.). William Hobbes of Trinity was brought before the Vice-Chancellor for a sermon at St. Mary's and compelled to recant his errors soon after: and there were other cases.



old Adam hard to resist. At the Vespers in July 1633 one of the disputants raised questions on the authority of the Church, and tempted Prideaux to intervene with propositions which, perhaps indiscreetly stated, gave his enemies a chance. The Professor of Divinity was reported as saying that the Church was a mere chimæra which taught and determined nothing, that all controversies were better referred to the University, and that learned academicians could determine them even without the intervention of Bishops.<sup>1</sup> Prideaux was also said to have broken out fiercely, and to have declared that his mouth was shut by authority, or he would have maintained the truth against any man alive—"which fetched a great hum from the country ministers that were there." King and Chancellor conceived themselves bound to ask for explanations. Prideaux had to dispose of a damaging report. He protested that the passages quoted, "imperfectly caught at by the informer," were obviously no positions of his. He regarded them as "impious and ridiculous." They were merely theories stated for refutation in debate. He pleaded, with a force and sincerity which confounded his accusers, that he had rendered as much as any man faithful service and reverence to the Church. For eighteen years as Professor in Oxford he had constantly defended its discipline and doctrine. He would maintain them always, under his Majesty's protection, against Papists and Puritans alike. He asked that his sons, the students whom he nurtured, might not be encouraged to "vilify and vex" him in his declining days. And he concluded with an assurance of his loyalty to the King, his only master, to the Bishops, the State and his Majesty's affairs, which perhaps convinced the Chancellor that, for all his independence, the Rector of Exeter could be and ought to be treated as a friend.

Matters of ecclesiastical controversy were rarely wanting in those troubled years. University sermons were often a cause of complaint. One preached by Richard Kilby of Lincoln in 1638 was defended by the preacher with the ingenious argument that he had preached it in St. Mary's sixteen years before and that it had then met with general approval. One day a too zealous Puritan tutor, John Oxenbridge of Magdalen Hall, was found guilty of a "superstitious way of dealing with his scholars." Another day Henry Birkhead of Trinity College was "seduced by a jesuit" and carried to St. Omer. But Laud recovered the truant and made him a Fellow of All Souls. The Chancellor was equally successful in rescuing his godson William Chillingworth, an Oxford boy, "the readiest and nimblest disputant in the university," who had been drawn into the Roman com-

<sup>1</sup> "Etiam sepositis episcopis" (see Laud's *Works*, V, 87 sq.).

munion by his longing for an infallible Church. Laud's letters to Chillingworth at Douai, and, no doubt, the fallibility of the system which he found there, induced the convert to return to Oxford, and to seek for truth again outside the Roman Church. It is a sign of Laud's respect for Prideaux that in 1637 he asked the Rector of Exeter to revise Chillingworth's famous book.<sup>1</sup> At another time the Chancellor is found anxiously inquiring whether any Jesuits were "hankering up and down" at Oxford. The Vice-Chancellor immediately set a scholar to spy upon one gentleman concerned. In 1639 Laud again warned the authorities to be very careful; "for while none of you think it, the jesuits and their instruments are busy thereabouts." A young youth of Exeter had fallen. The young organist of St. John's had "slipt away." In 1640 he reported to the Council that the Mitre had become a meeting-place for recusants. There was a suspicious back way in. He noted, on the other hand, the peevishness of Brasenose Puritans; but he advised the authorities to take no notice of them. Once we find him suggesting to the Bishop of Winchester that the excessive study of Calvin's Institutions might be the reason why New College Scholars so rarely became eminent men. In the last days of Laud's authority Henry Wilkinson of Magdalen Hall<sup>2</sup> was suspended for "a very base and factious" sermon against the Church ceremonial which the Archbishop approved.

Chillingworth had found within a short journey of Oxford friends who perhaps could help him in his difficulties better even than the head of the English Church. While Laud was sparing neither himself nor others in his strenuous quest for order and improvement, Oxford men of a different and a happier temper had formed the pleasant habit of gathering round Lord Falkland at Great Tew. Fortune and circumstance, helped by his own generous instincts, had already given to that young nobleman a special place in the society of his day. The house in the Cotswold uplands which his grandfather had bequeathed to him, and which his hospitality for years made famous, has long since disappeared.<sup>3</sup> Only the peace and beauty of its site remain, the ancient church, the ancient elms and limes, the high-walled gardens, where poets and wits from London sometimes wandered, where Edmund Waller, "nursed in parliaments" from boyhood, may possibly have listened to Ben Jonson, the

<sup>1</sup> *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way of Salvation.*

<sup>2</sup> "Long Harry," afterwards Canon of Christ Church, must be distinguished from "Dean Harry," later Principal of Magdalen Hall. The sermon was entitled "*against Lukewarmnesse in Religion.*" (See *Thomason's Tracts*, E. 204. 7).

<sup>3</sup> The present house is on a different site.

Nestor of a greater age. Jonson and Suckling and Cowley later were as ready to sing Falkland's praises as Clarendon himself. The men of fashion in Falkland's circle generally had their serious interests. George Sandys, a gentleman of King Charles' Privy Chamber, not only translated Ovid, but paraphrased the Psalms. Wenman and Godolphin had time for politics and letters. Kenelm Digby was a man of vivid if variable religion. Even Suckling wrote a tract upon Socinianism.<sup>1</sup> But it was not the finer spirits of London, so much as the finer spirits of Oxford which, in the days before the storm burst on them, gave Great Tew its peculiar character and charm. In that rare and refreshing society, which admitted "no troublesome ceremony or restraint," philosophers and scholars mingled happily with men of reputation in the world. The conversation was delightful for its breadth and freedom, its joyous gravity, its intellectual range. But it was still more delightful for the innocent and infectious humour of the guests. Oxford dons rode out to stay

"In June, or when the dog-starre reigned, to find  
Some fresher shade or softer breath of winde,  
And tast the spring, whose purer waters drill  
From the high top of some exalted hill." <sup>2</sup>

Their rooms were waiting for them "as ready as in the colleges," an open house, an invariable welcome, a library stored with the volumes which they needed, a host who seemed to know his books by heart, and above all an atmosphere of quiet, happy gaiety, which mingled with their seriousness and took possession of them all.

Falkland had the gift of inspiring affection in men as diverse as Chillingworth and Hyde. But he had something besides. He became a leader of the group or party which, disenchanted with the spiritual dogmatism in both camps, still sought for religious liberty within the English Church. "Punishing for opinions" was in itself a mark of error. Freedom of inquiry, of argument, of interpretation, a wide comprehensiveness, a charitable understanding, were to him and his companions of the essence of their faith. Chillingworth, ever seeking the true grounds of certitude, came to Falkland's house to write his book. His strong, clear intellect, his grasp, his magnanimity,

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's famous portraits—he does not mention Sandys—are admirably supplemented by Dr. Tulloch in his *Rational Theology in the Seventeenth Century*, and by Sir J. A. R. Marriott's *Life and Times of Falkland*. It must not be inferred that all those mentioned as Falkland's friends necessarily came to Great Tew.

<sup>2</sup> See Falkland's lines *On the Death of Ladie Hamilton*, quoted in a charming paper in *The Oxford Country* (232).



made him a formidable opponent, even for the Jesuits whose tenets he had once been too ready to imbibe. He hated dogmatism. "The way to Heaven is not narrower now than when Christ left it." Protestantism involved the liberty to differ in belief. He had no patience with hypocrisy. There were publicans and sinners on the one side, he told the Court of King Charles in a celebrated sermon, if there were Scribes and Pharisees upon the other. John Hales rejoiced in Chillingworth's outspokenness. For his part he would renounce the Church of England to-morrow if it obliged him to believe that any other Christian should be damned. He wrote on Schism, but he cared as little for publicity as for preferment. His deep learning, his wisdom, his unconquerable charity did not prevent him from suffering in the schisms which were soon to desolate English life. But before the war he enjoyed, as a Fellow of Eton, the companionship of another old Oxonian as attractive as himself.<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Wotton was living at Eton as Provost until his death in 1639, strained in purse but unrestrained in hospitality, dipping ever into literature and science, corresponding with Bacon and with Milton, angling with Walton, cherishing Eton lads of diligence and genius, and certainly not insensible to the charm of Falkland's friends. "Time, Travel, and Conversation" had long since made Wotton's company "one of the delights of Mankind." In his passage to the grave, he once told Hales, he had "met with most of those joys of which a discursive soul is capable." He had met also with cross-currents, storms, temptations. "Yet Almighty God hath by His grace prevented me from making shipwreck of faith and a good conscience."

Hales and Wotton had retired to Eton before Falkland inherited his property. John Earle of Merton was better known in the household at Great Tew. Endeared to his host by his strong sense of humour and religion, by his scholarship, his finished talk and his untidy dress, Earle spent with Falkland "as much time as he could make his own." George Morley of Christ Church, another Bishop of the Restoration, if sometimes quicker-tempered than John Earle, possessed as irresistible a love of fun. Laud liked neither his wit nor his opinions. But Laud's disapproval and Hampden's friendship were not necessarily disqualifications for the company in Falkland's house. Henry Hammond brought from Magdalen, and later on perhaps from Penshurst, his sweet and serious eloquence, his "graceful carriage, at once most grave, and yet as much obliging," his geniality for others, his asceticism for himself. His "Life was the best of

<sup>1</sup> Wotton had been both at New College and at Queen's. He had supplicated for his B.A. in the year of the Armada. Walton's picture of him is well-known.

sermons," cries John Fell, his biographer and faithful friend. And if Sheldon, already dividing his time between his duties at All Souls and his other preferments, convinced his fellow-guests that he was born to be Primate, his knowledge, his judgment and his "great pleasantness of conversation" stimulated the ardour of discussion. Some of the leaders of that incomparable company must have dropped out before the Rebellion. The clash of arms brought others back to Oxford, their hopes and theories scattered, their vision of peace and equity left far behind. But though their own age rejected their philosophy for the fierce alternative of war, though conflict and intolerance dispersed them, the ideals which Falkland followed did not die. The dreamers of Great Tew sleep with their forefathers and the grass grows over the place where they dwelt. But their endeavour to reconcile faith and charity continues, and their spirit has never since lost its hold upon the English people.

In Laud's day questions of this kind were rarely in abeyance. But there were many less speculative subjects to occupy the Chancellor's energy for reform. He realised the need of better endowments for University teaching. A prebend of Christ Church was bestowed on the Hebrew Reader. Another prebend was given to the University Orator. A Lecturership in Arabic was founded in 1632, and a distinguished Orientalist, Edward Pococke, appointed to it. Fellowships were founded under Royal patronage to foster sound Church feeling in the Channel Islands, while further overseas intrepid exiles established a new College of Puritan ideals.<sup>1</sup> College interests were not forgotten. The Archbishop intervened with pertinacity at Merton. He expressed his opinions freely about Lincoln. He thought the Brasenose cellar needed more control. But the ancient claim of Queen's College to appoint the Principal of Edmund Hall was admitted and confirmed.<sup>2</sup> The needs of St. John's were generously remembered. The needs of Bodley's Library were acknowledged by the gift of "many rare and exquisite manuscripts."<sup>3</sup> In 1634 the West wing of the Bodleian and the Convocation House beneath it were begun. The King had lately insisted on

<sup>1</sup> Harvard College dates from the end of 1636. Richard Mather, once of Brasenose, and John Davenport, once of Merton and of Magdalen Hall, were the only two prominent Oxford men among the early settlers in New England. (See Mullinger, *Cambridge*, III, Chap. II.)

<sup>2</sup> Admitted in 1631, and confirmed in 1636, when Queen's protested that the new Aularian Statutes had not acknowledged her rights. (See Laud's *Works*, V, 35-6, and Sect. V, subsect. 1 of the Aularian Statutes appended to the Laudian Code.)

<sup>3</sup> Laud's letter announcing the gift and the University's reply are given in *Register R* (ff. 128-9).

the reduction of fees as excessive and burdensome.<sup>1</sup> But money was needed, and in 1637 the fees for Regents had to be increased. The accounts were brought into better order. Fines for the neglect of duty were enforced. Finances improved. In 1639 the Chancellor noted that there were six hundred pounds in Bodley's Chest and almost a thousand in the University Chest at Corpus. The University's income might be "pitched upon a medium at a thousand marks *communibus annis*."<sup>2</sup> The Archbishop could rely on Royal favour, and in 1635 a new and ample Charter was granted to the University by the Crown.<sup>3</sup>

Little things were not beneath Laud's notice. He felt bound to discourage a riding-school for students. He was keenly interested in the new porch at St. Mary's and in the keeping of St. Mary's clock. The porch was finished in 1637 at the expense of Dr. Morgan Owen, the Archbishop's Chaplain.<sup>4</sup> The "very scandalous statue" of the Virgin over it became afterwards a matter of reproach. Large and difficult problems were faced with equal vigour. The Chancellor proved a good friend to the University Press. He bade the Oxford authorities take example by Cambridge. He procured for them not only the privileges of 1632 and 1633, which allowed the University three printers, each of whom might have two presses and two apprentices, but the important Charter of 1636, empowering them to print all manner of books. He advised Convocation to come to an understanding with the King's printers and stationers in London, and not to insist at first on printing bibles and service-books, grammars and almanacs, in which the London firms claimed special rights.<sup>5</sup> "Let your privilege settle a while and gather strength quietly." The Press did gather strength under Laud's encouragement. The Lichfields proved to be able men of business. Notable books like Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* and Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* were issued or re-issued. But the Archbishop's arrangements, thoughtful as they were, did not escape criticism at Oxford. "It is a hard

<sup>1</sup> In 1631. He required them to be fixed no higher than in the 11th year of Elizabeth. Laud advised compliance.

<sup>2</sup> Laud's *Works* (V, 230).

<sup>3</sup> Confirming the ancient privileges, pleas, assizes, etc. Wood gives an abstract of it (*Ann.* II, 399-402).

<sup>4</sup> The Vice-Chancellor's accounts for 1637-38, quoted by Dr. Clark (*Wood's Life*, IV, 56), recording the grant to Jackson of £22, "beyond his bargain (vizt 230 li. which summe was given by Dr. Morgan Owen for that worke)," show that Jackson was mainly responsible for the porch sometimes attributed to Nicholas Stone.

<sup>5</sup> In return for an agreement on this point the Company of Stationers bound themselves in Feb. 1637 to pay the University £200 a year. (See Laud's *Works*, V, 78-81 and 159-61.)



thing in this age to bring men to understand the good that is done them"! Reformers in all ages have found cause to echo his complaint.

The Chancellor showed himself as ready to deal with questions or controversies affecting the City. The Clerkship of the Market, of late times discontinued, was revived. A public officer was assigned once more "to look to the cleansing and keeping sweet the market place," to see to just measures for corn and grain, "that there be no fraud committed between the buyer and the seller," and "to view the pitching, paving, and cleansing of the streets."<sup>1</sup> An elaborate scheme was drawn up for setting the Oxford poor to make new stuffs. Cottages were swept away. Smith Gate was made accessible for coaches. No one foresaw the imminence of a siege. The carriers were restricted to six horses for their heavy waggons. The higher reaches of the river had been made into a highway,<sup>2</sup> and in August 1635 the first barge came up to Oxford by the Thames. Some differences with the City were brought to arbitration. But fresh troubles arose over the Night Watch,<sup>3</sup> over the growth of small houses and the licensing of taverns. In 1640 the Vice-Chancellor claimed that the University had reduced the number of ale-houses from three hundred to five score, and told Laud a tale of a "violent and drunken competition" between a brewer and a baker for the Mayoralty of Oxford, in which the brewer's hospitality inevitably prevailed. The sole right to license victualling-houses in the City was finally left in the University's hands.<sup>4</sup> But the spirit which returned the Long Parliament to Westminster roused the City of Oxford to a momentary protest on behalf of the liberties which she had lost so long. And the University in return assured the Legislature, with a venerable insolence which even the approach of Revolution could not tame, that the town of Oxford lay out of the road, was in no way useful to the public, and seemed only to be made "for the entertainment of Scholars," without whose presence and patronage it could not exist.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Laud's *Works* (V, 96-7).

<sup>2</sup> An act opening the Thames for traffic "from Burcote by Abendon to Oxford" had been passed in 1624 (Boase, *Oxford*, 137-8). See Shadwell (*Enactments in Parliament*, I, 245-51).

<sup>3</sup> The Proctors allowed the Town Watch at the gates, but would not have them walking about and examining scholars. There were differences also about court-leets and tolls and other points of jurisdiction. (See Laud's *Works*, V, *passim*.)

<sup>4</sup> See the King's letter to the City, 27th Nov. 1639 (Laud's *Works*, V, 239). The Mayor and aldermen, as justices, had acquired the power of issuing licenses under the Statute of 5-6 Edward VI, cap. xxv, where the privileges of the University were not expressly reserved (see Laud's statement, *Works*, V, 237).

<sup>5</sup> Wood (*Ann.* II, 426-7).

Laud's Vice-Chancellors could depend upon his sympathy in any effort to put down disorder. Drinking was still a serious evil. The licensed ale-houses were bad enough. But the unlicensed ones, the Archbishop thought, were a dishonour to the place and a "great mischief" to young students. He took strong measures to cut their number down. News that the University was "relapsing into a drinking humour" troubled him more than any letter he had received for many a day. He called on the Vice-Chancellor to do his duty. He made war upon the practice both inside the Colleges and outside. There was reason to fear, Dr. Baylie informed him, that students could and did debauch themselves more securely behind their College walls. "Foul suffrages," unhappily, continued. One Trinity man was sent to prison. A disorderly Student of Christ Church was expelled. Young Lord Downe, Sir Thomas Pope's descendant, had a fight with Dr. Prideaux's son, who was afterwards killed at Marston Moor. The Chancellor at last declared that, if nothing else availed to stop such misconduct, he would take the matter to the King.

Laud was not alone in his opinion that there was "extreme liberty given and taken by young noblemen and gentlemen of the better sort." Tutors in Oxford, he complained, seemed to think they had no responsibility but "only to read" to their pupils. Manners had deteriorated. Bachelors, nay boys even, did not know their places. Caps were neglected. The wide-sleeved gown was yielding to the lawyer's. Slashed doublets, garish colours, boots and spurs and love-locks and Court fashions were no longer put down. Worse offences were recorded sometimes. A boy was struck by a Christ Church Master for startling his horse as he rode down St. Aldate's. A man was disabled by a kick in a scuffle. Both boy and man subsequently died. The accused were tried before the University's under-steward: but the evidence proved insufficient to convict. An unpopular Proctor was publicly hissed for carrying out his duties, and the Chancellor scolded the authorities for not punishing such demonstrations more severely. It was not enough, he urged, to have the ringleaders whipped. A more mature offender, William Prynne, was publicly degraded, and his sentence fixed on St. Mary's church-door. No Oxford man must publish attacks reflecting even indirectly on the Court. Tumults accompanied the disputations. "Coursing between one college and another is the great mother of all disorder." One week, in 1638, Christ Church and Exeter men were so unruly—"the masters interposing and wrangling in the schools, and their boys fighting out of school"—that disputations between the two Colleges had to be forbidden. Order, no doubt, required to be enforced. Seats

were allotted to examiners and candidates at examinations. The Masters in Convocation were enjoined to remain sitting and not to crowd round the Vice-Chancellor when he made a speech.

Meanwhile in the churches and chapels of Oxford new signs of ceremonial appeared. The Archbishop's injunction to the Merton Fellows to bow towards the altar was remembered against him at his trial. But lovers of ritual were ready enough to adopt the "seemly gestures" he required. Brian Duppa was busy adorning the Cathedral, moving the ancient stalls and monuments, adding new panelling and screens and glass. Frewen at Magdalen had set up his "altar of Bethel." In the noble Chapel of New College music and colour revived. New Chapels were begun at Oriel and University. At Wadham and Lincoln they were just completed. The Van Linges were painting their glowing, jewelled windows. At St. Mary's the Communion Table was moved into the chancel. Surplices and Latin prayers had become the fashion, and Latin responses by the "Singing men." On all points of form, of conduct, of decorum, the Chancellor had unmistakable convictions. He was prepared to enforce them without fear or favour, even against the "greatest and most splendid transgressors." If he visited a College, he did not spare its failings. His visitation of Merton brought to a head the long-smouldering enmity between him and Warden Brent. If he had pressed the power of visiting the University, which he claimed as Metropolitan and which the King confirmed, he might have tried too far the loyalty even of his devoted friends.<sup>1</sup>

But Laud's greatest service to the University was the energy with which he carried through the long-delayed revision of the Statutes. He knew well how imperfect and confused they were. Revision had often been talked of. Laud had in earlier days been nominated to serve on a Delegacy for the purpose. But nothing came of the proposal until he persuaded Lord Pembroke in 1629 to insist on the task being undertaken in earnest. The Delegacy then appointed included several Heads of Colleges—Juxon, Bancroft, Prideaux, Dean Duppa and Dr. Pinke. It included also Thomas James of the Bodleian, Richard Zouch, Principal of St. Alban Hall and Regius Professor of Civil Law, Peter Turner of Merton, Professor of Geometry, and not least Brian Twyne.<sup>2</sup> When Laud succeeded Pembroke an energetic

<sup>1</sup> Laud carried his point with the King in Council (Mullinger, III, 128-131). Wood says that the University refused to lend the Chancellor "the MEMORABLES and PRIVILEGES of the University collected by Rob. Hare . . . least they should lend a hand to betray their own Privileges" (*Ann.* II, 403). But the book was afterwards produced.

<sup>2</sup> These four were the Sub-Delegacy specially charged with the work (Wood, *Ann.* II, 386). Wood suggests that James was offended because his Colleagues went beyond his collections to the original Statutes. James



start was made. As early as May 1630 the new Chancellor suggested that the next Long Vacation might see the project carried through. And though such haste proved to be impracticable, and though "factious men" in the following year imperilled the whole scheme, the vigour and firmness of the Chancellor triumphed. The King stepped in and commanded the Delegates to make all the speed they could. Duppa, as Vice-Chancellor, urged by letters from his chief, kept the revisers closely at their task. Zouch and Twyne threw themselves into it bravely. Peter Turner helped "as often as his occasions would permit." James, who died in August 1629, left behind him valuable transcripts, which Twyne secured and worked on. Zouch and others, no doubt, contributed drafts. Darrell's volume of collections<sup>1</sup>—no mean attempt at codification—was also used. But the most indefatigable member of the Delegacy and the one most regularly engaged was Brian Twyne. Every Monday, we are told, in the chamber in the Tower<sup>2</sup> he read and propounded to his colleagues some part of the Statutes, with the changes proposed. With those colleagues he threshed out difficulties and details. The final draft was in Twyne's handwriting, and to him more than to any other man the credit of bringing the great project to accomplishment is due.<sup>3</sup>

left more than one volume of MS., the most important of which, with Twyne's additions, containing some 489 pages, is now known as Twyne XX. Others like Thomas French, at one time Registrar, helped. In a packet in the University Archives (*South Press, Pyx D, Fasc. 11*) there is a "Rough-Cast or Rude draught of the Uni<sup>vers</sup> New Statutes," made apparently by Thomas French with the help of Thomas Jacob, containing 56 pages of Titles and Sections, with other contemporary names on the back. With this are various corrections, considered in Feb. 1631 by Delegates like Kettell, Pinke, Prideaux, Juxon, Jackson, Iles, Clayton, Wilkinson, Rogers, Airay, Turner, besides a large number of loose papers, undated, of a similar kind. The same packet contains certain emendations of Statutes suggested in 1650 and 1651. See also Dr. Clark's notes (*Wood's Life*, IV, 127-31). The thin volume of 37 folios among the British Museum MSS. (*Sloane* 749), "*Academiae Oxoniensis Privilegia in vñū Corpus collecta*"—of which, I understand, Mr. W. H. Stevenson has found a copy in the President's safe at St. John's—is a brief abstract of charters and other documents drawn up, it seems, later by Dr. Zouch. It is no draft of new Statutes, but Zouch's studies in the subject may well have been of use to the Delegates.

<sup>1</sup> George Darrell of All Souls was Junior Proctor in 1604.

<sup>2</sup> The Statutes and Registers were already stored in the Tower of the New Schools. The proposal to house the University muniments in the vestry of All Souls Chapel, made in 1609, had not been carried out. Some of them were left in the Old Congregation House at St. Mary's; but in 1640 they were all collected in the Tower. (See Poole's *Lecture on Archives*, II-21.)

<sup>3</sup> Wood says (*Ann.* II, 389) that someone else, probably Peter Turner, prepared the Code for the Press. Laud confirms this (*Works*, V, 99).

The Twynes had for at least three generations produced distinguished Oxford scholars. John Twyne, a well-known master of the Grammar School at Canterbury, had taken his degree in the days of Wolsey. He had taught and grown rich—two occupations which scholars have not always found it easy to combine. He had become Mayor of Canterbury and Member for that city. He had opposed Wyatt's rebellion and rendered service to Queen Mary. He had enjoyed some reputation as an antiquarian and an author, and his three sons had inherited his love of letters. Thomas Twyne, the youngest of them, had been a Fellow of Corpus in early Elizabethan days, a student of medicine at Cambridge afterwards, and a successful practitioner at Lewes. And he had left behind him writings, including some translations from Virgil, which at least indicated literary tastes. Brian Twyne became like his father in due course a Scholar and Fellow of Corpus. He took his degree as a Master of Arts within a few months of Queen Elizabeth's death. Ten years later he was made Vicar of Rye, and he kept that living for thirty years. But he devoted his life to Oxford, and Oxford owes him an immeasurable debt.

Letters between Brian Twyne and his father, preserved in the Bodleian, reveal some of his difficulties in his early years.<sup>1</sup> The Lewes doctor, though he could sign himself "your verie lovinge and carefull father," had stringent notions of what was due from a son, and the boy had to plead hard for the money and books and clothes which he needed. Brian was charged with lingering and loitering in Oxford, with making no effort to support himself. He evidently did not share his father's views as to his career. He was told that, if he could spare time from the College, to which he was so much "addicted," he had better come home and talk over his future. But he was not to come in his worst and most tattered clothes, in the hope of having new ones supplied. He was contrasted very unfavourably with a certain contemporary Ned Campson :

"Hee mainteineth himselfe tight and trim in apparell, liueth well of himself, is a good Preacher, helpeth his poore Parentes : you are still a childe, and wilbee though you liue to bee as old as Cupide. your pride, and overualewinge yourself I know not wherfore, vndoeth you. you vaunt with the Pharasey but you are woorse than the Publicane whom hee skorned. . . . I far prefer him that with a litle

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<sup>1</sup> The letters referred to below, dated between 1596 and 1609, are from a note-book of Twyne's presented not long since to the Bodleian by Prof. Bywater. I have to thank Mr. Gibson for the transcripts. There are one or two similar letters of 1602 in the first volume of Twyne Collections among the MSS. at Corpus.

learninge getting his liuinge ; before him that with much more must still liue like an Infant. I would I had your yeeres, and you my minde."

The elder Twyne had little sympathy for his boy's tastes. The boy assures him that he does not neglect "good liberall artes." He only studies divinity on Sundays and holy days. His smattering of Hebrew is only gained by stealth, while he walks with his fellows, from a borrowed Hebrew grammar, which he takes care to have about him in an idle place. He prays for wit and dexterity in disputing, for a strong body to bear the tediousness of studying day and night. He showers Christian blessings on his parent : is there a touch perhaps of the "Pharasey" there ? But what, he asks, could be more joyous to a father than to be himself a learned Doctor of Physic while his son was a learned Doctor of Divinity ? He begs for stuff for gowns and hoods. He sends thanks for presents, a cheese, a Xenophon, a little money, which come through to him though the carriers are knavish fellows. Sometimes his letters do not reach home, and he has to bear unjust reproaches : "you object many thinges to me, of which I could easily purge myselfe." He writes a letter in Greek to the doctor and wonders why he gets no answer. He begs that his father will not grudge him the services of a poor Scholar according to the College custom : it would be intolerable, base and beggarly to make him carry wood and dust himself. He pleads at any rate for "succour" to stay it out until he wins a Fellowship. He has hopes of a place at Merton—this was before he got his Fellowship at Corpus—and he might perhaps get a kinsman into his Scholarship at Corpus. Or a gentleman wanting admission for his son might be willing to pay "some fee for gettinge the Fellowes voices." He certainly put up with hard words from home, and he bore them with dignity and good temper. His father did not hesitate to hint at "lewde courses," when he declined to fall in with a marriage proposed. Brian told him that he would answer such suggestions when there was ground for them and not before. Meanwhile he would rather have a living before he had a wife, unless the lady should happen to "bringe meate in her mouth." The younger man holds his own in his letters : there is patience and manliness in his replies. He goes on his way steadily in the honourable path he has laid out. Had his father lived a little longer, even his censorious affection would have recognised, if he really doubted, the sterling merit of his son.

Twyne was a young man still when he published his *Apologia*, his defence of the antiquity of Oxford, the first genuine history of the University that had yet appeared. It stamped the ancient legends with a new authority, but it went far beyond the little



controversial tract of Thomas Keys.<sup>1</sup> The Vicar of Rye was past middle life when he joined in the work of editing the Statutes. His services were rewarded by his appointment as first Keeper of the Archives in 1634. He lived ten years longer, saw the Civil War begin in Oxford, and wrote an account of its early days there, which found its way long after into print.<sup>2</sup> But his chief work has never been printed, except in quotations and borrowings by others. Wood, his principal debtor, was more concerned to use than to acknowledge the stores of information so industriously compiled. Over fifty volumes of laborious manuscript, bequeathed to the University and to Corpus Christi College, were gathered by Twyne from muniments and records, wherever he found materials to explore. Colleges and parish churches, University and City archives, Cathedral registers and private libraries, all alike yielded resources to him. His great collection was left unedited, a treasury for students ever since.<sup>3</sup> But not until an editor arises to pay to the elder antiquarian the service which has been rendered with loving thoroughness to his successor, will the University acquit itself of the obligations which all its historians owe to Brian Twyne.

It is, no doubt, true that the new Statutes were mainly the work of the Chancellor's friends. But when the draft was ready, towards the end of August 1633,<sup>4</sup> Convocation passed it without dissent. Laud claimed and exercised the right to revise it. In July 1634 he sent down printed copies for the University, the Colleges and Halls.<sup>5</sup> Students were to have free access to them, and an abridgment was published for their special use. "A great ledger book written out fair," the authentic copy under

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Keys' *Assertio*, presented to the Queen in 1566, which had led to the controversy with John Caius of Cambridge. See Madan's *Oxford Books* (II, 17-18 and 58-9).

<sup>2</sup> Twyne's *Account of the Musterings of the University of Oxford*, and of events from 9 Aug. 1642 to 15 July 1643, printed in 1733 as an Appendix to Hearne's edition of R. de Morins' *Chronicon de Dunstaple* (II, 737-87), is reprinted in extracts in Clark's *Life of Wood* (I, 53-103).

<sup>3</sup> For details of Twyne's Collections see Clark (*Wood's Life*, IV, 202 sq.).

<sup>4</sup> Convocation sent it to the Chancellor on the 1st September. The chief dated references in *Register R* are in Sept. 1633 (f. 69), in July 1634 (ff. 91-2), and in June 1636 (ff. 126-7). Wood (*Ann.* II, 389) takes his date August 20 from f. 67, as Dr. Poole notes (*Lect. on Archives*, 20). But the entry on f. 69, recording the unanimous assent of Convocation, and just preceding the letter of Sept. 1st, is undated. Laud in one of his letters speaks of the Act as "bearing date in August, 1633" (*Works*, 1853, V, 102), and Wood's date for it may be right.

<sup>5</sup> See the copy of 1634 in the Bodleian, which shows certain differences—changes, omissions and additions—when compared with the Authentic Code of 1636. For students Selected Statutes were published in 1638, known later as *Parecbolae sive Excerpta e Corpore Statutorum* (*Ib.* V, 190). Thomas Crosfield of Queen's was editor.

seal, was to rest in the Archives. But before this was made, the whole code was to be on probation for a year, and space was left in the printed copies for any alterations and additions which it was decided to introduce. The King expressed "extraordinary contentment." The period of probation was happily passed. On the 22nd June 1636 a solemn Convocation was held in St. Mary's for the publication of the completed Statutes. Commissioners appeared with letters from the Sovereign and the Primate. The new Code was subscribed by the Heads of Houses. Grateful speeches acknowledged the wisdom of the Chancellor and the goodness of the King. By God's blessing, cried one unprophetic orator, contrasting the felicity of Englishmen with the afflictions which had desolated neighbouring lands, they might rest at peace, secure in a good haven, watching a Shipwreck in which they had no part.

King Charles confirmed the completed Statutes as a whole. But he had already intervened in 1631 to secure the revision of the system of appeals, and he had sent down for enactment three important edicts, in regard to the weekly meetings of the Heads of Houses, the appointment of Collectors in Lent and the Proctorial cycle. These were incorporated in the new Code.<sup>1</sup> It was discovered later on that the Royal confirmation of the Statutes involved a constitutional question. Could they or could they not be varied afterwards without the Royal assent? The point was one day to become a controversial issue and to rouse keen difference of opinion. But for a century and more no one suggested any material alteration in the Laudian Code. Its framers probably never discovered that the University's power to alter and amend it was referred to in language of academic ambiguity on which more than one interpretation could be put.<sup>2</sup> The opinion generally prevailed that the University had the right to supplement the Code by explanations,<sup>3</sup> and the right also to make new Statutes on matters not covered by the

<sup>1</sup> The decrees in regard to Appeals passed by Convocation in Dec. 1631 (*Reg. R.*, 41<sup>a</sup>-42<sup>a</sup>), reappear as cap. 16 and c. 17 of *Tit. XXI* in the Laudian Code. (See also Wood, *Ann.* II, 378.) The decree of 1631 in regard to weekly meetings of Heads of Houses (*Reg. R.*, 42<sup>a</sup>) reappears as *Tit. XIII*. The decree of 1629 in regard to the nomination of Collectors (*Reg. R.*, 5<sup>a</sup>) reappears in substance in *Tit. VI*, S. ii, c. 4. The decree of Dec. 1628 in regard to the election of Proctors reappears in the Appendix to the Code. (See also *Tit. XVII*, S. iv.) The three decrees last mentioned, the *Statuta Carolina*, had in a special form the authority of the King.

<sup>2</sup> See *Tit. X* (S. ii, caps. 1, 2 and 5).

<sup>3</sup> This did not apply to the three *Statuta Carolina*, expressly made by Royal authority. The University's claim to alter the Laudian Statutes became a burning question in 1759 and again in 1836. (See Shadwell's introduction to Griffiths' edition of the Laudian Code.)

Code itself. It was not till 1759 that any serious controversy arose on the subject. And it was not till nearly a century later that all doubts were finally resolved.<sup>1</sup>

The new Code, it is broadly stated in the preface, departed no further from the ancient Statutes than necessity or the genius of the age required.<sup>2</sup> Regulations which conflicted with each other, rules long disused and disregarded—"decreta situ squalida, ἀντινομίαῖς perplexa"—might perhaps drop out. But the revisers had never forgotten their religious reverence for the forms and even the language of the past. The Code began by defining the four terms of the academic year,<sup>3</sup> and the prayers and sermons required upon their opening. It passed on to the rules for matriculation and for the admission of scholars to Colleges and Halls. All students were to matriculate before the Chancellor or his Commissary,<sup>4</sup> and to be recorded in the Register of Matriculation under the House to which they belonged. Servants as well as scholars had to be entered. Privileged persons had a separate heading in the book. Subscription to the Articles of Religion, and an oath to observe the Royal Supremacy and the customs of the University, accompanied matriculation. But boys between twelve and sixteen were excused the oath, and boys under twelve were excused subscription to the Articles as well. The superior Bedels of Theology and Law had to examine the Buttery-books of every Hall and College, to make sure that all new-comers appeared before the Vice-Chancellor for matriculation. Heads of Houses were made responsible for the appearance of their students, and fines for

<sup>1</sup> The copies printed in 1634 were the earliest form of the Laudian Statutes. The *Corpus* revised and adopted in 1636 was not printed at that time. It was published at last with some additions in 1768. Subsequently new Statutes were issued from time to time on separate sheets. A reissue of these, bound up together, was made in 1825, with the title *Addenda ad Corpus Statutorum*. Manuals (*Parecholae sive Excerpta*) were given to students on matriculation. These were superseded in 1858 by octavo volumes which included all the Statutes then in force. The changes of 1881-82 necessitated a thorough revision. In 1888 the Laudian Code, as finally revised, was printed from the authentic copy in the Archives by Dr. J. Griffiths, with an Introduction by Mr. C. L. Shadwell.

<sup>2</sup> It is still perhaps an open question how far old Statutes not adopted in the Code and not conflicting with it remain unrepealed. The Preface as printed, if based on Twyne's, is very different from his draft preserved in *MS. Bodl.* 594 (ff. 211-21).

<sup>3</sup> The first ran from Oct. 10 to Dec. 17, the second from Jan. 14 to the eve of Palm Sunday, the third from the tenth day after Easter to the Thursday before Whit-Sunday, the fourth from the Wednesday after Trinity Sunday to the Saturday after the Act (*Stats. Tit. I, S. i*). I quote from Dr. Griffiths' edition of the Laudian Statutes (1888). Mr. G. R. M. Ward translated the Statutes in 1845.

<sup>4</sup> "Intra quindenam postquam ad Universitatem accesserint" (*Tit. II, c. 3*).



neglect of these arrangements were imposed. Tutors had to testify to the rank and standing of their pupils. Privileged persons had to take the same oath as students, and had also to forswear the privileges and jurisdiction of the town. One-fourth of the matriculation fees was allotted to the Chancellor. The Bedels of Theology and Law received the rest.<sup>1</sup> Once again it was laid down that all Scholars must enter a College or a Hall<sup>2</sup>: there were penalties for all who stayed in private houses and for the citizens who took them in. All Scholars also must have tutors, graduates of character, learning and religion, whom the Heads approved, and these tutors were expected not only to inculcate the doctrines and discipline of the Church, but to see to the dress and the behaviour of their pupils. The tutorial system had become an essential part of University life. Scholars must not change their Colleges without express permission: the migratory habits of an older day were not allowed. And the Chancellor intervened to see that young gentlemen expelled from one House were not too readily admitted to another.

The fourth and fifth Titles contained the rules for Lecturers and Lectures. Certain Lectures had been fixed by special ordinances and specially endowed. But the old obligation of the Regents to give Ordinary Lectures remained; and from the Masters Regent or non-Regent Lecturers in Grammar and Rhetoric, in Logic and Metaphysics, had to be elected every two years. The appointment of these Lecturers, however, was now placed in the hands of the four Colleges who supplied the Proctors of the current and of the following year. Besides their share of fines and pay from the Proctors, they were to have divided among them fees collected by the superior Bedel in Arts.<sup>3</sup> The Praelector in Grammar was to lecture in Latin at eight in the morning twice a week. Priscian and Linacre supplied the grounding. Selected Greek and Latin authors were critically read. Scholars of all conditions in their first year were expected to attend. The Praelector in Rhetoric was to lecture twice a week to the same Scholars on Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian or Hermogenes. The Praeceptors in Dialectic and Moral Philosophy lectured to a rather older audience, men between the end of their first year and their degree of Bachelor in Arts.

<sup>1</sup> The superior Bedel in Theology took half, the superior Bedel in Law one-fourth (*Tit. II*), c. 11, the Chancellor's Commissary the rest.

<sup>2</sup> "Intra septimanam a primo ipsorum adventu ad Academiam" (*Tit. III*, c. 1). But residence in annexes to the Colleges and Halls was allowed.

<sup>3</sup> The Bedel was to collect two shillings from each Inceptor, who in old days had been bound to lecture, at the time of the *Comitia*, and sixpence at the end of each term from each auditor except "servientes" and poor Scholars—"vice Collectae quae antiquitus pendi consuevit" (*Tit. IV*, S. i, c. 1).

In Dialectic Porphyry's *Isagoge* and Aristotle's *Logic* were still indispensable. Both text and matter were to be discussed.<sup>1</sup> In Moral Philosophy the *Nicomachean Ethics* and the Master's *Politics* and *Economics* held the same place as in the mediæval world.

In Geometry and Astronomy the Lectures were regulated by the Savilian Statutes. The Music Lecture founded by Dr. Heather was to be given once a term or more, and the Proctors were authorised to add forty-five shillings<sup>2</sup> to the small endowment of three pounds. The electors to the Lecturership in Natural Philosophy founded by Sir William Sedley were to be, as he had indicated, the Vice-Chancellor, the President of Magdalen and the Warden of All Souls, and Aristotle's writings on the subject were still to form the Lecturer's text. Aristotle's *Metaphysics* also supplied a theme for the Lectures on that subject. Camden's Lecturer in History was allowed to treat of other historians besides Florus,<sup>3</sup> and all Bachelors of Arts and Civil Law students were required to be present. The Regius Professors of Greek and Hebrew were to pay special attention to the "grammar of the language and propriety of diction." Among Greek authors Homer, Demosthenes and Isocrates apparently stood on the same level. The Hebrew Professor was to draw on the "founts of Holy Writ." All Scholars who had completed two years from their arrival and all Bachelors until promoted to the Master's degree were to attend lectures in Greek. All Bachelors of Arts were to listen to the Hebrew Professor until a year after their Master's degree, unless previously entered as students of Medicine or Law.<sup>4</sup> The Regius Professors of Law and Medicine had all students of those subjects for their audience until they reached the Doctor's rank. The lectures on the Civil Code were to have some bearing upon English custom. The lectures on Medicine still included only Hippocrates and Galen. But a Lecture in Anatomy had now been founded and was regulated by ordinances of its own. The Lady Margaret Praelector of Theology was no longer asked to lecture on every "legible" day. The distinction of legible days had been abolished,<sup>5</sup> and every day of term except Sundays and Feast Days was available if required. He was to lecture like other Readers twice a week, to all Bachelors of Divinity and Scholars in Holy Orders until they completed the time for

<sup>1</sup> The former "dilucide ac breviter," the latter "succincte ac nervose" (*Tit.* IV, S. i, c. 4).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* (c. 8).

<sup>3</sup> "Aut alios quosvis antiquioris et melioris notae Historicos" (*Ib.* c. 11).

<sup>4</sup> See *Tit.* IV (S. i, caps. 12 and 13).

<sup>5</sup> "Ut scilicet variis Lecturis, eosdem Auditores poscentibus, distincti dies assignarentur" (*Ib.* c. 17).

the Doctor's degree. And the Regius Professor of Theology, whose duty "to expound some part of Holy Scripture" was defined in exactly the same terms, had for his audience all Masters in Arts after a year from their Inception, except those dedicated to Medicine or to Law.<sup>1</sup>

All these public lectures were to last three-quarters of an hour. They were to be given in person, not by deputy, and Professors or Readers who failed to give them had to pay five or ten shillings as a fine.<sup>2</sup> Nothing must be taught contrary to the Catholic faith or to good morals. Any suspicion of heresy in the audience must be rebuked or reported. Lecturers in philosophy led to speak of God or immortality must remember the old maxim to follow those teachers who dissented least from Christian truth. In delivery lectures must not be hurried: students must have time for taking notes. Lecturers must wait, when their lectures were over, and reply with kindness to any doubts or questions raised. All students arriving in the University must be assigned to certain Schools and attend the lectures in them. Those who lived in the same College or Hall as their Professor must escort him to and from his lectures, "as of old the custom was," or pay a fine of two pence if they failed. All the audience at a lecture must be seated, at least so far as the seats would go round, and must keep still and listen in modesty and silence. All must study in private the subject of the lecture, and all below the degree of Master must take the lecture down. Fines were imposed for absence or disorder. They rose to six pence when a student overlooked the lecture of a Regius Professor in Medicine, Theology or Law.<sup>3</sup>

An important group of clauses<sup>4</sup> was devoted to the rules for disputations and degrees. These were still elaborate and exacting. The old forms had now become stereotyped by practice. Four years were still required to become a Bachelor of Arts.<sup>5</sup> Every candidate must after two years in the University respond and oppose *pro forma* at disputations in the parvise.<sup>6</sup> The names of the respondents and the questions in grammar or logic must be previously approved by the Master of the Schools. All scholars had to attend these disputations from the end of their

<sup>1</sup> Until they too completed the time for the D.D.

<sup>2</sup> But the Lady Margaret Professor paid 6s. 8d., a special fine of his own (*Tit.* IV, S. ii, c. 1).

<sup>3</sup> See *Title* V.

<sup>4</sup> *Titles* VI, VII and VIII.

<sup>5</sup> Peers' sons and the eldest sons of Baronets and Knights could do it in three (*Tit.* VI, S. i, c. 1).

<sup>6</sup> "Quas etiam alio nomine Variationes olim dictas fuisse constat" (*Ib.* c. 3). They were now held in the Arts Schools three times a week in full term.



first year till they completed the period for the Bachelor's degree, and four Regents, nominated by the Proctors, had to be present to supervise the proceedings. After the disputations the scholars responding *pro forma* met in the Natural Philosophy School and were created General Sophisters. One of the four Regents made a short speech on the study of letters and the merits of Aristotle's logic, and hung round the candidate's neck a simple hood, neither lined with wool nor edged with fur.<sup>1</sup> Every term afterwards till his degree the General Sophister had to dispute at least once in the parvise. Besides the disputations in the parvise every scholar, after four terms spent in logic, had to respond twice *pro forma* under a Determining Bachelor in Lent, on the same questions as the Bachelor undertook to defend.<sup>2</sup>

For the degree of Master of Arts three years' further study were required, as of old, twelve more terms of lectures and of disputations. A Bachelor of Arts, after taking his degree, must determine formally in Lent,<sup>3</sup> must respond in the *Quodlibet* Disputations, must respond or oppose in Austins, and must read six formal lectures before receiving the Master's degree. Two Determining Bachelors, acting as Collectors, divided the others into classes and assigned them Schools. Elaborate rules for their disputations were laid down. For four days they defended propositions in logic according to Aristotle, "whose authority was supreme." On Fridays problems of Grammar, Rhetoric, Politics and Morals were discussed. Disputations in Austins followed, when Determination was completed, and were held in the Natural Philosophy School. Two Masters of Arts presided, two Bachelors acted as Collectors; the Proctors appointed both. After Determination also every candidate for the Mastership had to respond once to some Regent Master at the *Quodlibet* Disputations. And he had, moreover, to deliver six lectures, three on Natural and three on Moral Philosophy, in the Public Schools.<sup>4</sup> The Masters of the Schools and the

<sup>1</sup> "Neque pellibus lanatis subsutum, neque fimbria pellita praetextum" (*Ib.* c. 4).

<sup>2</sup> For an hour and a half each time, unless the Congregation of Regents commuted one turn of responding under the Bachelor for another turn of responding in the Parvise (*Ib.* c. 6). Mr. Brodrick is surely incautious in saying (*Univ. of Oxford*, 115) that disputations, which had long fallen into discredit, were superseded by examinations now. But the belief in the value of the old disputations was probably declining and the importance of examinations becoming better understood. (See later, p. 327.)

<sup>3</sup> "Solenniter."

<sup>4</sup> In place of the old cursory lectures on certain prescribed books (*Tit.* VI, S. ii, c. 13). In 1652 two declamations were substituted for these new lectures, which had not proved a success, and in 1662 this order was repeated. (See *Addenda to Statutes*, Griffiths' edition, 299-303.)

Necessary Regents helped the Proctors to keep order, to restrain the "unbridled license" which brought crowds to the Schools to lounge and fight and quarrel rather than dispute.

The regulations for the different Faculties were set out in the same detail. For the Bachelorship in Music seven years must be spent in study and a canticle of five parts composed and publicly performed. For the Doctorate five more years of study and a canticle of six or eight parts were required. To become a Bachelor of Civil Law a student had to attend Law lectures for three years, if he were a Master of Arts already,<sup>1</sup> and to take part in juridical disputations. The Doctorate needed four more years of attending Law lectures, and the delivery of certain lectures—they might be Cursory lectures on the Code or Digests—by the candidate himself. Bachelors of Medicine must be Masters in Arts, must attend three years of Medical lectures, and must take part in the necessary disputations: Doctors had to go to lectures four years longer, and to lecture—on Galen—themselves. There is no visible advance in medical science here. Theology of course required still the longest course of study—seven years for a Bachelor and eleven for a Doctor after taking the Arts degree. The Bachelor had his exercises to perform: the questions, in this case as in others, were to be fixed on the gates of the Schools and on the walls of Oriel and All Souls. He had also to preach a Latin sermon at St. Mary's. The Doctor might, like other candidates for Doctorates, give "solemn"<sup>2</sup> lectures, but he must choose some part of Holy Writ. No students could qualify unless they resided for a month in Michaelmas and Hilary, for three weeks in Easter, and two weeks in Trinity, term.<sup>3</sup>

The seventh Title of the Statutes was devoted to the venerable ceremonies for the *Vesperiae* and the Act. It recalled the establishment of a General Inception for all Faculties once a year under the name of the *Comitia*.<sup>4</sup> It recited the old customs—the Saturday ritual and lectures, the procession of Professors from St. Mary's to the Schools, with the Bedels of Arts at their head, the morning visits of Inceptors and Bedels to the different lecture-rooms to invite the Lecturers to attend the *Vesperiae* and *Comitia*, the blessings bestowed by Professors in Theology,

<sup>1</sup> And for 5 years if he were not an M.A. (*Tit.* VI, S. iv, c. 1). Two years also must be given to logic, moral philosophy, politics and other humane letters before the 5 years' law-study began.

<sup>2</sup> In Latin (*Tit.* VI, S. vi, c. 4).

<sup>3</sup> But by old custom the first day of the term in which a man took a degree, and the last day of the term in which he matriculated, was in each case allowed to count as a full term (*Tit.* VI, S. vii).

<sup>4</sup> The Act, the *Comitia*, was fixed for the Monday next following July 7th, and the *Vesperiae* for the Saturday before it (*Tit.* VII, S. i, c. 1).

Medicine and Law. It recalled the elaborate disputations by Inceptors in the several Faculties from one to five in the afternoon, the oath to observe the University's liberties and customs—even the ancient oath repudiating Henry Simeon was retained—the supper given by the senior Inceptors in the superior Faculties,<sup>1</sup> the sermons on the Sunday between the *Vesperiae* and the Act. It rehearsed the ceremonies of the final day, the ringing of the little bell about nine on the Monday morning, the gathering of Inceptors, escorted by the Bedels from their Colleges and Halls, in the East Chapel of St. Mary's Church, the prayers offered, the oblations made at the holy table of the Eucharist, the disputations at the Act, the creation of Masters, the immemorial ritual of the book, the cap, the ring, the kiss.<sup>2</sup> When the exercises of the Artists were concluded the Musical Inceptors had their turn, gave their musical pieces and were created by the Savilian Professors. After the musicians came the Inceptors in Medicine, then those in Law, and then those in Theology last. It was the special duty of the Regius Professor of Divinity to be sure that the Inceptors in Theology wore boots. The Vice-Chancellor wound up the proceedings by a speech on the chief events of the year. The great bell tolled. The Regents of the previous year assembled in the House of Congregation, and there, on the supplication of the newly-created Doctors and Masters, the putting off of boots and socks and sandals, to which they were bound at the time of Inception, was excused. A Latin sermon on the Tuesday morning ended the formalities connected with the Act.

The mediæval forms survived with curious tenacity. But a few variations had crept in. The "multitude" of Inceptors in Arts had made it necessary to empower the Proctors to select the disputants in Philosophy.<sup>3</sup> The "lust for innovation" made it desirable to submit all theses chosen for discussion to the approval of Congregation first. Slander and illiberal jokes were forbidden. But the license of the *Terrae Filius* had a standard of its own. Dress was closely regulated. Inceptors in Music had "white wavy damask capes." Inceptors in Medicine and Law had hoods of scarlet "turned up with silk of any intermediate

<sup>1</sup> In 1670 the heavy expense which this old custom imposed on the Senior Inceptors was divided among them all. (See *Addenda to Statutes*, Griffiths' edition, 307-8.)

<sup>2</sup> The act of creation in Arts was performed by the Senior Proctor—"qui, quoad Inceptores in Artibus, Comitiorum Pater habetur"—and the ring was omitted (*Tit.* VII, S. i, c. 13). In Medicine, Law and Theology it was performed by the Regius Professors, in Music by the Savilian Professors.

<sup>3</sup> "Actores in Vesperiiis et Comitiiis Philosophiae" (*Tit.* VII, S. ii, c. 1). The *Terrae Filius* was conspicuous among them.



colour.”<sup>1</sup> The eighth Title of the Code dealt with Ordinary Disputations. They were to be held in Theology ten times, in Law and Medicine only twice a year. Oxford was still primarily the home of clerks. In place of the disputations in Arts which the old Statutes had imposed on all Inceptors every disputation day for forty days after Inception, *Quodlibet* Disputations were now prescribed for every disputation day in full term.<sup>2</sup> The Proctors or their deputies were expected to attend them. But the Vice-Chancellor had to be present at the ordinary disputations in Theology, Medicine and Law.

Other ordinances also touched on the granting of degrees. Four Titles, certainly not less important,<sup>3</sup> defined the governing bodies of the University, their duties and their powers. The Congregation of Regent Masters was summoned, as of old, at the beginning of each term.<sup>4</sup> It dealt with Graces and admitted to degrees. It granted dispensations in cases where the Statutes gave it a dispensing power. It incorporated distinguished members of other Universities. It included necessary and optional Regents.<sup>5</sup> All Doctors and Masters, on the day of their creation, supplicated to be admitted to the House and to their necessary Regency. They took the oath administered by the Senior Proctor, and the Vice-Chancellor admitted them to Congregation and to Convocation too. The Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor and Proctors<sup>6</sup> had a veto on the resolutions of the Venerable House. The ancient right of examining candidates was still vested in the Regents; and now that the belief in the adequacy of the old disputations was slowly giving way, rules for a system of examination were laid down with a definiteness unknown before. For degrees in the higher Faculties indeed it was still generally thought to be unnecessary to ask for more than the testimony of deponents, who “must be deemed to have instituted a sufficient examination” first.<sup>7</sup> But candidates seeking degrees in Arts, or in Law before incepting in Arts, must undergo examination by the Regent Masters. The Natural

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* (c. 5).

<sup>2</sup> On which Congregations of Regents were not held (*Tit.* VIII, c. 4). Two Regents on each day were to act as Moderators and Opponents.

<sup>3</sup> *Titles* IX, X, XI and XII.

<sup>4</sup> It was continued from day to day at the discretion of the Vice-Chancellor, and dissolved on the last day of term (*Tit.* IX, S. i, c. 1).

<sup>5</sup> Optional Regents—“ad placitum”—were Regents who were no longer “necessary,” Professors, Heads of Colleges and other resident Doctors and Masters (*Ib.* c. 6). The second year of necessary Regency was generally dispensed with now (c. 4).

<sup>6</sup> Or their deputies. And no motion passed unless assented to by the majority of Masters present, of whom the number must not be less than nine (*Ib.* c. 3).

<sup>7</sup> *Tit.* IX (S. ii, c. 4).

Philosophy School was the place. The Senior Proctor fixed the time. Only six candidates could be examined on one day, and their examiners must not belong to the same College as they. The examinations were conducted *viva voce*. The subjects were those on which the candidates were bound by Statute to hear lectures.<sup>1</sup> Philology took its place beside Philosophy, "the narrow learning of an earlier age." A principal object was to ascertain the candidate's power of expressing his thoughts in Latin. The old right of Regents to examine was not to be abridged. But the Senior Proctor was to nominate in rotation three Regents at a time to conduct the new examinations. Testimonials were awarded afterwards, which had to be read aloud in the House of Congregation before the candidate's Grace was proposed.<sup>2</sup> The Vice-Chancellor and Proctors were expected to be present,<sup>3</sup> and to see that the regulations were duly carried out. There were probably some difficulties in establishing the new system.<sup>4</sup> But Wood suggests that the new arrangements proved a great success.

A series of elaborate precautions still guarded the grant of Graces for degrees. The proposal had to be made in the House of Congregation by a member of the candidate's College or Hall, with evidence of his examiners' approval, openly and distinctly and with true intent. The Proctors collected the votes in whispers, compared notes on the scrutiny, and declared results. The Grace or dispensation was read out, if granted. The Proctors were silent if it were refused, except that on the third refusal the cause of objection had to be made known.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile the candidate waited outside in the Proscholium, in the requisite dress and with uncovered head. Each degree and each Faculty had its proper form of supplication.<sup>6</sup> The Inceptor in Arts recited that he had spent twelve terms in the study of Philosophy

<sup>1</sup> "Reiectis prorsus neotericis quibuscunque Authoribus" (*Ib.* c. 1).

<sup>2</sup> *Tit.* IX (S. iii, c. 1).

<sup>3</sup> The Vice-Chancellor twice a term, the Proctors four times, at least (*Tit.* IX, S. ii, c. 3).

<sup>4</sup> The Statute did not take effect for four years. In 1638 the Heads of Houses—on a suggestion from the Chancellor that the Statutes for examination "of the younger sort" needed amendment—ordered that all Regents should examine in turn, and that every candidate repulsed by them as "insufficient" should not be examined again for 6 months. Laud advised a reference to Convocation (*Works*, V, 204). See also Wood (*Ann.* II, 417-18).

<sup>5</sup> A Grace might if necessary be sought four times in four successive Congregations. But there was a check on the old unlimited veto of the Regents. If the objection seemed unreasonable, the Grace would generally be granted on the fourth proposal (*Tit.* IX, S. iii, c. 7). See also c. 5, and Ayliffe (II, 142 sq.).

<sup>6</sup> See *Tit.* IX (S. iii, c. 4).

and the Arts—besides his terms of study as a Bachelor—that he had attended the necessary lectures and disputations, had responded in *Quodlibets*, had either responded or opposed in Austins, and had delivered six formal lectures. The Bachelor of Music asked for a Grace to lecture on Boethius: the tradition of a thousand years still held. The Bachelor of Medicine still asked for leave to lecture on Hippocrates, the Bachelor of Law on the Imperial Institutions, the Bachelor of Theology on the Epistles of St. Paul.

The grant of dispensations also was a part of Congregation's work—dispensations for non-compliance with various formalities, for omissions in matters of residence, lectures, ceremonial, necessary for the smooth working of a system which declined to surrender the ritual of the past. So were the formal presentations of new graduates in the House, after visits to the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors,<sup>1</sup> and the payment of the caution-money required. The picturesque processions to the Apodyterium—the Bedel going before, the Presenter and Head of the College following behind<sup>2</sup>—the subscription to the Articles, not forgetting the three articles contained in the thirty-sixth canon of 1604, the introduction of each candidate in turn to the “most remarkable Vice-Chancellor and egregious Proctors,” the depositions of Bachelors or Masters in the Faculties which the new graduate desired to join,<sup>3</sup> still survived as part of the observances which Regents in Congregation were expected to enforce.<sup>4</sup> When his presentation was completed, the new graduate took the necessary oaths, to keep the University's customs, to maintain the peace, to recognise no English Universities save Oxford and Cambridge, to frame his mind to modesty and silence whenever he entered the Public Library, to procure a habit suitable for his degree. He heard the Statutes that concerned him, with their rules for study, read aloud, and swore that he had observed them in the past. He took the oath to the Royal Supremacy, and was then ready to receive the license on his knees. The

<sup>1</sup> The “*Praesentandus cumulatus*” paid these visits in pomp, and the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors had to escort him home (*Tit. IX*, S. v, c. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Medical men, according to old custom, turned out in force to accompany their candidates to the Apodyterium, and received gloves in return (*Ib.* c. 2).

<sup>3</sup> “*Praeter Testimonium quod a Praesentatore perhibetur.*” B.As. and M.As. required 9 deponents to their fitness, Bachelors in Medicine and Theology, and Doctors in Music, Medicine, Law and Theology only 3. (See *Tit. IX*, S. v, c. 7 in Griffiths' ed. of the Statutes.) They gave their testimony in a low voice.

<sup>4</sup> *Tit. IX* (S. v, c. 4) recites the old custom “*Nemo Scit*,” which Inceptors in Civil Law still kept up. They passed over to the Civil Law School for the purpose, and then returned to the House of Congregation (see *ante*, p. 131).



Vice-Chancellor whispered in his ear to ask him whether he could spend forty pounds a year, or, failing that, five shillings a year, of his own. If he admitted the latter impeachment he was asked to pay for wine. The ancient forms of admission to read or to incept were solemnly repeated. The candidates presented rose and kissed the Vice-Chancellor, their Presenters and the Proctors each in turn. They left the House and put on their new gowns, returned and bowed and finally departed.<sup>1</sup> The authors of the new Code had done little to diminish the venerable solemnities which the Middle Ages had imposed.

The rules for incorporation followed. The rules for licensing preachers, physicians and surgeons came next. No Oxford man taking a degree abroad could be admitted to the same degree at Oxford without completing the time required by the Statutes, nor without the express consent of the Vice-Chancellor and others.<sup>2</sup> Licenses "to preach the word of God through the whole of England" could only be obtained by Masters of Arts and Bachelors of Law and of Theology, who had studied divinity in the University for seven years. Doctors of Medicine might practise it in all its branches. But no one else might practise medicine publicly in Oxford, unless he were a Master of Arts and a Bachelor of Medicine admitted by the Chancellor and Congregation in the usual way. No surgeon might practise in University precincts without the Chancellor's license. No student of surgery might practise throughout England until he had exercised himself in the art for seven years, had performed two Anatomies and achieved at least three cures. Academic legislators allowed that the surgeon at any rate needed something more than theory for his stock in trade. All licenses were granted for "the glory of God and the salvation of the brethren." Surgeons were also required to cure four poor men without charge, to keep within the bounds of their own art, and not to ask too much for fees.

The tenth Title dealt with the Great Congregation or Convocation of Regents and Non-Regents.<sup>3</sup> The Bedels, at the command of the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor, on any day assigned in term or vacation, were to give notice at every College and Hall, summoning all Doctors and Masters, Regent and non-

<sup>1</sup> In a different order: the senior led on their departure, the junior when they arrived. Those presented as B.As. went to the Schools, had questions propounded to them, and promised that Aristotle should answer for them next Lent (*Tit. IX, S. 7*).

<sup>2</sup> Including the Proctors and the Professor and three Doctors of the same Faculty, or the majority of them (*Tit. IX, S. viii, c. 2*).

<sup>3</sup> In 1760, after a vehement controversy, a new Section defining the persons who composed Convocation, was prefixed to *Title X*. (See Griffiths, xvi sq. and 310-12, and Ward's earlier translation, 131-3.)

Regent, then present in the University to repair to Convocation "after the ringing of the little bell." All summoned would then make their way to the House, dressed as was fitting, take the seats assigned to them, and deliberate on the business set forth by the Vice-Chancellor. They were to vote by scrutiny or by open voice, in the Proctor's ear or by dividing the House.<sup>1</sup> No decree could pass<sup>2</sup> which was negatived by the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor, by both Proctors or their deputies, or by the majority of Regents and non-Regents. The Great Congregation was still the supreme governing body. All things which touched the University's dignity and safety fell within the province of this Assembly—the making of Statutes, the election of officers, the appointment of delegates for special purposes, the grant of lawful dispensations, the presentation to benefices, the letting of lands and keeping of accounts, the sending of letters to the Crown and to great personages, the removal of discredits,<sup>3</sup> the deprivation of degrees. But before new Statutes were passed, they must first be considered by the Heads of Houses. When passed, they must be entered in the Register by the Registrar within a week.<sup>4</sup> Apart from the Register five copies of the Statutes must be kept. One, the Authentic Book, fortified by the Chancellor's seal, was to be stored in the same chest as the seal of the University. Another was to lie in the archives of the Public Library. The other three were to remain in the Vice-Chancellor's and Proctors' hands.

Dispensations could be granted to temper the rigour of the Statutes as readily in the seventeenth century as in earlier days. Fellows and Scholars of Colleges were allowed as a matter of right<sup>5</sup> to dispense with any Statutes which conflicted with their own. But the power of dispensation was limited in various ways.<sup>6</sup> Statutes framed by Royal authority, and the wills and ordinances of University benefactors even Convocation must not set aside. As regards elections to offices, Readerships and benefices, these were made by scrutiny in writing.<sup>7</sup> Oaths had

<sup>1</sup> "Vel scriptis per scrutinium, vel viva voce, vel in aurem Procuratoris, vel denique per secessionem ad alteram partem Domus" (*Tit. X*, S. i).

<sup>2</sup> Except in elections, which the majority decided.

<sup>3</sup> "De amovendis Academiae dehoneſtamentis" (S. ii, c. 1).

<sup>4</sup> They must then be read aloud in the next Congregation, and if accurate signed by the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors. The Registrar must then within a fortnight transcribe them in the Authentic Book and in the other four copies of the Statutes. But on this transcription there was apparently no check (*Ib.* c. 3).

<sup>5</sup> "Ipso jure," and without any further supplication or petition (c. 4).

<sup>6</sup> See *Tit. X* (S. ii, c. 5).

<sup>7</sup> But the elections of Burgesses for Parliament were settled, if a question arose, "viva voce aut pedibus eundo in sententiam" (c. 6).

to be taken and careful formalities observed. If voters failed, the superior Bedel of Arts summoned the Masters loudly three times to do their duty. The papers containing the votes were afterwards committed to the flames. The appointment, again, of delegates for special purposes was an important part of Convocation's work. The reports of these delegates might be acted on with merely formal confirmation; or they might require to be approved by a fresh vote of the House.<sup>1</sup> A standing Delegacy was nominated to deal with questions of account. But Convocation's gravest duty was to deprive a heinous sinner of his degree. The Vice-Chancellor with his severest aspect unveiled to the offender "the atrocity of his crime," and one of the inferior Bedels, after stripping him of cap and hood and cape and gown, drove him forth from the House of Assembly, "despoiled and naked of academical distinctions," into the world of outer darkness where such glories were unknown.<sup>2</sup>

The general Statutes concerning Congregations and Convocations<sup>3</sup> laid down rules for attendance and for seats. Necessary Regents were expected to attend Congregation closely, and were subject to fine or punishment if they failed. All Doctors and Masters, Regent and non-Regent, were under obligation to attend Convocation, unless good reasons for their absence could be given. The twelfth Title recalled the old name of "Simile-primo," and the Vice-Chancellor's customary right to summon, in vacation as well as in term, meetings of Regents and non-Regents<sup>4</sup> to deal with certain small matters of business. Letters to great persons, for example, and testimonials in regard to licenses, approved by Convocation or Congregation, might be sealed at these meetings.<sup>5</sup> But no presentations might be made, no Graces, licenses or dispensations proposed.<sup>6</sup> Nor could anything else be attempted for which one of the greater Assemblies was required.

One Title, the thirteenth, recalling a Royal ordinance of Charles I, confirmed the important change in the government of the University which the sixteenth century had introduced.

<sup>1</sup> The distinction was between matters delegated "*cum nuda relatione ad Domum*" and those delegated "*cum relatione ad Domum et approbatione eiusdem*" (c. 7).

<sup>2</sup> If the offender absented himself, the authorities had to be content with setting forth his sins in a public instrument, stripping him of his degrees, and affixing the sentence to the "Valves of the Great Gate of the Schools" (c. 8).

<sup>3</sup> See *Title XI*.

<sup>4</sup> As many as wished to be present. But there must not be less than 9.

<sup>5</sup> It may have been at one of these meetings in vacation that the famous letter approving Wycliffe's doctrines was sealed (see *ante*, vol. I, p. 237).

<sup>6</sup> "*Excepto Simile-primo habendo in die Vesperiarum.*"



The old democratic traditions were passing away. The Proctors were no longer the nominees of the whole body of Masters. The Heads of Houses had secured the chief control of academic business, and the formal establishment of the Hebdomadal Council gave shape and permanence to the rights they had acquired. On Monday in every week throughout the year, both in term and in vacation,<sup>1</sup> a meeting was to be held by the Vice-Chancellor, the Proctors and the Heads of Colleges and Halls, to deliberate and take counsel together for the defence of the University's privileges and the maintenance of its laws. Any question which touched the University's administration, its proficiency, its character, its interests, might be considered at these meetings. Proposals based on their deliberations would then have to be made in the House of Congregation, and finally Convocation would be invited to embody their decisions in decrees.

Side by side, however, with this silent revolution, the old and strict traditions in regard to less important matters still survived. Several sections of the Laudian Statutes were devoted to rehearsing rules for dress and rules for conduct, which seem disproportionately rigid and minute.<sup>2</sup> Clerks must dress as became clerks. Only sons of barons might break out in bright colours. The absurd and arrogant custom of walking publicly in boots must be eschewed. Elaborate and immoderate hair must never be encouraged. New and unusual fashions in clothes must be repressed. Gowns, hoods, capes and caps, suitable to each Faculty and order, were to be settled by the Hebdomadal Council, and patterns of them regularly kept.<sup>3</sup> Tailors were to be punished by the Vice-Chancellor if they departed, "even by a nail's breadth," from the authorised design. In behaviour juniors must show reverence to seniors, yield their places to them and unbare their heads. Mature offenders might be fined or imprisoned, immature ones whipped.<sup>4</sup> The Black Book of the Proctors kept a record of their sins. The temptations of the City, of the streets, the market, the Assizes, were singled out for warning. Scholars must not loiter about Carfax, or frequent the homes of townsmen or houses of ill-fame. Heads of Houses<sup>5</sup> might

<sup>1</sup> Unless the Vice-Chancellor dispensed with the meeting or solemn feast-days intervened.

<sup>2</sup> See *Titles* XIV and XV.

<sup>3</sup> The patterns were drawings. They were to be deposited in "Praelum sive Abacum huic usui destinatum." Dr. R. L. Poole points out that these engravings were kept not in the Archives but in the Convocation House (*Lect. on Hist. of Archives*, 5-6).

<sup>4</sup> They might also be made to lose a term (*Tit. XV*, c. 1).

<sup>5</sup> "In subsidium Vice-Cancellarii et Procuratorum" (*Tit. XV*, c. 4).

insist on searching private dwellings for their students. Scholars of all conditions must avoid all places in the City or University precincts where wine or other drink or the Nicotian herb Tobacco<sup>1</sup> could be bought. Fines, imprisonment and whippings were the penalties for students who disobeyed. Tutors offending were disqualified or expelled. Night-wandering was still a serious offence. Since experience proved that the diligence of magistrates was no match for the ingenious iniquity of tavern-keepers, all sellers of drink were compelled to keep their back walls in repair, and to "close those mazy, winding walks in their back courts and gardens, through the labyrinths of which night-rakes so often steal away."<sup>2</sup>

Games and gambling were controlled with equal strictness. Dice and cards for money were forbidden. Hounds and hawks and even football were illegitimate as they had been in mediæval times. So were sword-players, cudgel-players, rope-dancers and actors, "who for gain's sake go upon the stage." So were slander and evil-speaking, and all acts of violence and brawling. To butt another man with head and shoulders or to spoil his clothes meant a fine of four shillings. A blow with the open fist cost five. Drawing sword or dagger involved not a fine only but imprisonment and loss of terms. Maiming or endangering life was punishable by banishment. Offenders had to make amends to the injured party too. Historical troubles were recalled by the rule against quarrels due to nationality, more recent differences by the law against conventicles irreconcilable with the doctrines of the Church. Interference with the Vice-Chancellor's or Proctors' jurisdiction was equivalent to disturbance of the peace. And any student rising to such a pitch of audacity as to lay violent hands on the University's officials was to be expelled for ever from its bounds.

The sixteenth Title prescribed the course of sermons and the order in which the representatives of the Colleges were to preach. Ordinary and extraordinary sermons were provided for, anniversary sermons in College Chapels, sermons both in Latin and in English. For an English sermon six weeks', for a Latin sermon three months', notice was required. The preachers must be of a certain standing. Not only residents were liable, but all qualified persons entered in the Buttery-books of Colleges or Halls. Prayers to commemorate University benefactors were not to be forgotten. Nothing contrary to Church discipline or doctrine was permitted. Seditious words, if the Vice-Chancellor so considered them, were liable to punishment. All Doctors, Masters, graduates and scholars were expected to attend.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Tit.* XV, c. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* (c. 6).

<sup>3</sup> Sermons and English Church Services too (*Tit.* XVI, c. 10).

The seventeenth and the three following Titles dealt with the officers and servants of the University, with their fees, with their Treasury, their charters and their buildings. The Chancellor's position and powers were defined. The Vice-Chancellor, the High Steward and his deputy, and one of the Clerks of the Market were his nominees.<sup>1</sup> The University Courts were his Courts. The punishment of offenders was a part of his prerogative. The "thunderbolt of Discommoning" was his weapon. Congregation and Convocation met at his instance and could decide nothing without his or his deputy's consent. The government of Halls, the incorporation of artisans within University precincts, the licensing of wine-shops, the general supervision of the town were his concern. Not only was the University his peculiar. He shared with the Mayor the guardianship of the City and suburbs of Oxford,<sup>2</sup> and could bind the townsmen with his laws. Of these large powers the Vice-Chancellor had now become the representative. He could not, when nominated, refuse the office. He was usually appointed for a year, but the Chancellor could reappoint him, or another Head of a College in his place. It was his duty to reside in the University, to enforce its Statutes and to keep its peace, to maintain its rights, its Courts, its Charters, to encourage faith and learning, to discourage heresy and schism. The salary of this laborious position was ten pounds a year. The High Steward drew a smaller fee, only five pounds, from the University: but his functions could be summed up briefly. The clauses on the appointment of Proctors were more important. They referred to the Caroline Statute. The King's "healing hand" had swept the old and inconvenient election by scrutiny away. It had substituted the more peaceful method of election by the Colleges in turn. The two Proctors, duly installed and sworn, were to nominate four deputies, one of whose duties it was to range the streets and taverns during sermon hours, when the younger men were specially apt to roam abroad "with security and license," dressed in such iniquities as boots and hats. The Proctors were still, as of old, the business men of the University. They were responsible for the administration of its laws, for the up-keep of its exercises, its property, its customs, for the enforcement of discipline and the chastisement of wrong. The Proctors' servants must be kept to their duties, and summarily punished for negligence or for taking bribes. The Proctors' accounts must be strictly audited when their year of office came to an

<sup>1</sup> The other Clerk was nominated by the Vice-Chancellor (*Tit. XVII, S. viii*).

<sup>2</sup> "Communem cum Praetore urbano Custodiam obtineat" (*Tit. XVII, S. i, c. 2*).



end. Their stipend was six pounds, thirteen shillings and fourpence, divided between them. They must not spend more than ten pounds in entertaining Cambridge men and strangers in a single year.

The two Masters of the Schools were appointed by the Proctors immediately after their own admission. They presided at the Austin disputations. They were in general charge of the disputations in the parvise and of those of the Determining Bachelors in Lent. Masters of the Streets also, responsible for cleanliness and order, were appointed by the Proctors from among the Regents every year. The Public Orator was appointed by scrutiny on the Vice-Chancellor's initiative, the Clerks of the Market, one by the Vice-Chancellor and the other by the Chancellor himself. The Keeper of the Archives, a new functionary, was to be the nominee of Convocation, to collect and dispose the University muniments and charters,<sup>1</sup> and to produce them, when needed, without delay. Forty pounds at least was to be paid to him as stipend, out of a fund to which all members of the University contributed a shilling a year.<sup>2</sup> The Registrar was bound to attend Convocation, which elected him, to record its decisions, to act as secretary, and to make entries in the Registers as the rules required. He had also to collect the University's rents,<sup>3</sup> to give an account of the receipts, and to enrol other officers' statements of accounts.

The rules for the six Bedels, superior and inferior, esquires and yeomen, were inherited, like so much else, from ancient days. Two, one of each rank, were apportioned to Theology; two were allotted to Law, and two were shared between Medicine and Arts. They were elected in the same way as the Chancellor. Their appointment was renewed yearly, but was generally assumed to be for life. They acted as escorts, as heralds, as police.<sup>4</sup> They kept the Register of Matriculation. They collected fines. In the presence of the Sovereign they bore their

<sup>1</sup> He kept the ancient Registers also, and if the Registrar took them out, he had to deposit a bond of £100 for each in the chest where they were kept (*Tit.* XVIII, S. i).

<sup>2</sup> To defend the privileges of the University, "si qui forte litem moveant" (*Tit.* XVII, S. ix). "Servientes" or poor Scholars did not contribute to the fund.

<sup>3</sup> "Reditus" (*Tit.* XVIII, S. i). The Laudian Statute, following the rule of the fifteenth century, required the Registrar to be not only a Master of Arts or Bachelor of Laws but also a Public Notary. In 1660 this was modified, and a Registrar was allowed to be elected if he were fit to be a Public Notary, on condition that he became one as soon as possible (Griffiths' edition, 302).

<sup>4</sup> They must arrest and imprison at the Vice-Chancellor's command (*Tit.* XVIII, S. ii, c. 2).

staves with the obtuse part raised. In the presence of the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor they raised the pointed end. The University Stationer or Verger—one officer only now in theory, as for a long time past it had been only one in fact—replaced the four Stationers of older days. He was elected like the Bedels, and appeared on ceremonial occasions with a silver mace. He figured in the processions of Compounders. On the death or departure of a Scholar he helped to make an inventory of his goods.<sup>1</sup> The University Clerk<sup>2</sup> and the Tintinnabulary or Bellman were nominated by the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor. The Clerk himself was a bell-ringer, who summoned meetings, and saw that the meeting-places, schools, churches, chairs, were clean. He posted notices. He opened gates. He looked after the clock. He administered whippings. The Tintinnabulary, who acted as crier and proclaimed the Chancellor's edicts in the streets, also performed more melancholy duties. He rang his hand-bell round the town for academic funerals, and enjoyed the privilege of dressing the bodies of the dead.

Decrees more modern in their origin provided for the Printer and Bailiff of the University. King Charles' generosity to the Press was not to be perverted for the private profit of sordid and illiberal artisans, who cared little for calligraphy or for the beauty of their craft. All University printers must on admission accept the Statutes on the subject. The Chief Printer, the head of the Press, was to be a person instructed in Greek and Latin and of great experience in philological studies. He must see that the University paper and presses were the choicest of their kind. He must take all possible care to produce good work. Besides his duties and profits as a printer he was to hold the comparatively light office of Superior Bedel in Civil Law. The University Bailiff was a new officer, to be appointed by the Chancellor for life. Experience had shown that a permanent guardian of University property was needed. The maintenance of buildings, the up-keep of farms, the supervision of new works, the enforcement of the University's claims to the goods of felons, these and similar tasks were duties which it was clear that the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors could not find adequate time to discharge.

University fees were "various and multiple." It was to the interest of all that they should be known and understood. The fees payable to the University, its officers and servants were, after strict examination, to be placarded in tables in the Apodyterium for all to see. The fees set out in the original copy of

<sup>1</sup> "Cum altero Bedello" (S. iii).

<sup>2</sup> "Clericus sive Aedituus Universitatis, qui et Campanarum pulsator dicitur" (S. iv).

the tables, sealed with the Chancellor-Archbishop's seal, and kept with the authentic copy of the Statutes, were on no pretext to be exceeded. And no proposal to increase them could be made unless the Chancellor had first taken the opinion of the Heads upon the subject. Laud was as determined as his master to prevent abuses on this score. The great Chest of Five Keys, kept at Corpus, was to hold the University revenues, its jewels and plate.<sup>1</sup> The charters and muniments were to be kept in presses<sup>2</sup>: the Keeper of the Archives made inventories of them: the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors had the keys. The Common Seal of the Chancellor and Masters, the special seal of Convocation,<sup>3</sup> was placed in the same keeping. The University had three seals for different uses, differing in size. One clause of the twentieth Title recited that the cost of the new Schools had rendered necessary certain temporary charges for degrees, dispensations and admissions, in place of the entertainments and expenses formerly allowed,<sup>4</sup> and added that these charges must in future be made permanent, to provide for the repair of the fabric which was badly built. Any money left over was to go to maintain the Press, and to bring to light manuscripts buried in the Public Library, which ill deserved to be for ever wrestling with the moths and worms. Another clause provided a sand-glass for the Bodleian: the hours of admission had been shortened by the "unequal going of the Clock."<sup>5</sup> And a final clause of the same Title arranged for the better keeping of the streets. Their condition was sometimes indecorous and unhealthy. There were places stuffed with dirt and refuse, places without any paving at all. Every individual was required in future to lay down a level stone pavement in front of his door. He was forbidden to take advantage of wet weather to empty his rubbish into the road. The University must appoint a Scavenger, and all householders must contribute to pay him. Every house and

<sup>1</sup> The keys were held by the President of Magdalen, the Warden of Merton, the Dean of Christ Church, the President of Corpus, and the Warden of New College.

<sup>2</sup> Arranged in "Pyxes" and locked up in an "Abacus." (See the details given in *Tit. XX*, c. 2.)

<sup>3</sup> But Congregation might use it to seal Letters Testimonial (*Tit. XX*, c. 3).

<sup>4</sup> See the details set out (c. 4). The extra charges were appreciable. Among others, entertainments due from Inceptors had been commuted for fixed payments, a fee of £10 substituted for the gloves presented by Doctors at the Act, new fees imposed for dispensations, and new payments (2s. 6d. from a Plebeian's son, 5s. from a Gentleman's son, &c.) required from students on their admission to Colleges or Halls.

<sup>5</sup> Twyne's prejudice against the first Librarian ought perhaps to be borne in mind. There are one or two other provisions about the Bodleian (c. 5).



Hall and College must hang out a lamp over its door, from six to nine on winter nights, from the Feast of All Souls to the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin. The rigid Calvinists of an older generation, rather than accept such a marking of the Calendar, might have preferred to "grope blindly in the dark."

The last, the twenty-first, Title of the Statutes was devoted to the procedure of the University Courts, whose right to determine all suits concerning Scholars and other Privileged Persons,<sup>1</sup> "stretched back beyond the memory of man." To despatch causes of greater moment, the Vice-Chancellor's Court was held every Friday in the North Chapel of St. Mary's.<sup>2</sup> The rules for business were laid down.<sup>3</sup> Lighter causes—matters of twenty shillings or less, injuries which hurt neither body nor reputation—were distinguished from those of more importance. But even in light causes the procedure occupied three days.<sup>4</sup> The right of purgation still remained in theory for suspected persons where evidence was wanting, and, if ever resorted to, failure in it would presumably be held equivalent to conviction.<sup>5</sup> An offender who fled before authority, conscious of guilt, or who failed to submit to summons or sentence, was to be forthwith pronounced a banished man. A boycott was still a strong weapon against townsmen, who were generally foes.<sup>6</sup> Disturbers of the peace and persons guilty of certain other serious offences, libel, assault, night-wandering, drunkenness, adultery, seditious sermons—the climax of them all<sup>7</sup>—were refused the right of appeal. Appeals, when allowed, lay from the Chancellor or his deputy first to Congregation, then to Convocation,<sup>8</sup> and finally to the Crown.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Except in cases of Freehold, Mayhem, Felony and Treason (c. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Or in some other place assigned. The Vice-Chancellor or his deputy presided, the Proctors if they thought fit assisted; and after hearing the Proctors for Suits ("ad Lites"), the Court proceeded according to custom, and decided "quae ad Causas ordinandas et determinandas conducent" (c. 2). The Vice-Chancellor could deal with many questions, e.g. small criminal cases, in his own lodgings (c. 10).

<sup>3</sup> They included the duties of the Assessor, the Registrar of the Court, and the Proctors for causes, in all of whom legal knowledge was required (caps. 3, 4 and 5).

<sup>4</sup> Cap. 8.

<sup>5</sup> But on the actual practice of the Chancellor's Court in the early eighteenth century see Ayliffe (Pt. III, Chap. vi).

<sup>6</sup> "Plerumque infesti et adversi" (c. 15).

<sup>7</sup> For other offences in the list see c. 16. Where the right of appeal was doubtful, certain Doctors or Masters were nominated, including the Regius Professor of Law, to decide whether an appeal should be allowed (c. 17).

<sup>8</sup> For Appeals the Proctors nominated yearly 7 Judges Delegate in Congregation and 9 in Convocation, representing Theology, Law, Medicine and Arts. Their decision by a majority was sufficient (c. 20). Appeals could proceed in vacation as well as in term (c. 22).

<sup>9</sup> Unless the first three judgments all agreed.

The Appendix to the Laudian Statutes included special edicts of importance, supplementing the more ancient code. It included the ordinance establishing the Lady Margaret Reader of Theology in 1502. It included the Bodleian Statutes of 1610, and ordinances by the Library Curators issued in 1613, 1615 and 1621. It included also the special ordinances for the Savilian Professorships, and for the Lectures founded by Sir William Sedley, Dr. White, Richard Tomlins and Dr. Heather. It recited the Caroline Statute which instituted the Proctorial Cycle in 1628. And it set out in a valuable document the seventeenth-century regulations for the government of the Halls.<sup>1</sup>

The Aularian Statutes of Laud's day differ more in form than in spirit from the fifteenth-century code. The whole system was more regularly organised. The rules had become more definite and complete. No-one, Commoner, batteler or any other, was to be admitted to a Hall, before he arrived in the University with his furniture and books to stay. He must find quarters in the building or its annexes. No student once admitted must lodge in the town after completing his twelfth year.<sup>2</sup> On admission, oaths were taken,<sup>3</sup> caution-money paid over, tutors assigned. Prayers, sermons, graces at meals were provided for; during dinner a chapter of Holy Scripture was to be read by a Bible Clerk. A Catechist instructed all undergraduates once a fortnight. Lectures in logic and philosophy, repetitions, disputations and declamations were arranged. Every member, before seeking his Grace for a degree, must submit to public examination by the Principal or his Deputy. The rules for conduct still recalled the discipline of mediæval days. Unhonest games, inordinate hair, solitary walks, disreputable gossip, knives and dogs and noise and brawling were as unpopular with the authorities as ever, and perhaps as popular

<sup>1</sup> These *Statuta Aularia* (Griffiths' *Laudian Statutes*, 267-85) should be compared with the older Hall Statutes printed by Dean Rashdall (*Universities*, II, 767-80). They are followed in Griffiths' edition by the *Epinomis* or additional clause explaining the obligation of the oaths involved, by the confirmatory Letters of Chancellor and King, and by various *Addenda*, both to the Corpus and to the Appendix (pp. 297 sq.), which show how few changes the 17th century made. The Addenda to the Appendix include the rules of 1640 for Laud's Arabic Lecturership, and similar ordinances of later date. The Addenda to the Corpus contain regulations of 1652, 1661 and 1662, requiring two declamations before Inception; provisions made after the Restoration for "censuring and damning" Acts committed in the Interregnum; regulations for the Sheldonian Theatre, to which the *Vesperiae* and *Comitia* were transferred in 1669; and provisions in regard to the cost of Vespertial suppers, caution-money for Determining Bachelors, and the qualifications of Registrars.

<sup>2</sup> Sect. I (c. 6). Except for health or other special reasons.

<sup>3</sup> Provided the student were 15 (S. I, c. 3).

with the boys themselves. No-one must sleep out of his own bed. No-one, under penalty of a penny fine, might bring an unsheathed knife to table. No member except the Steward must go into the beer-cellar, or challenge another to drink deeper or faster than he. Latin was still the only language allowed within the precincts, except for persons over fifty years of age.<sup>1</sup> Dogmas disapproved of by the Church were punished by expulsion. Extravagant expenditure was to be restrained by the Principal, to whom all honour and deference were due.

As regards Principals the Code assumed that the old irregularities were over. Heads of Halls must now be men of mature years and solid character, at least Masters of Arts or Bachelors of Law or Medicine. They were elected by the members on the nomination of the Chancellor, and admitted by the Vice-Chancellor. They must never in future buy or sell their posts.<sup>2</sup> They must reside in the Halls, govern their conduct and enforce their rules. The Principals alone appointed the Hall servants—manciple, butler, cook, porter and the rest. Servitors had to help at meals. The Principals were responsible for the common goods. They disposed of rooms, but the rents were fixed by the Vice-Chancellor.<sup>3</sup> They enforced the payments due at the end of every quarter for lectures and rent, and they might also, with the consent of the Commoners, levy a rate if expenses required. The Impositor, now definitely the Principal's nominee,<sup>4</sup> reported to him regularly breaches of the Statutes, and the Steward, another member of the Hall, appointed also every week, supervised the food and drink supplied. Copies of the Statutes were to be kept in all Halls and read out every term to the members. No-one must presume to hold them cheap. Corporal chastisement might in suitable cases take the place of fines for offences. But offenders who resisted punishment or conspired against authority must be expelled and denounced as rebels.

The year which saw the ratification of the Statutes was rendered memorable also by a visit from the King. On Monday, the 29th August 1636, the Chancellor rode out in a coach along the Woodstock Road to meet him. Juxon, now Lord Treasurer, and three other Bishops came too. The Vice-Chancellor was there, with an eloquent oration. The Doctors and Masters on

<sup>1</sup> Strangers and illiterates might be addressed in the vulgar tongue.

<sup>2</sup> They could not be Principals of two Halls at the same time, nor could they retain College Fellowships for more than 6 months after their election (S. V, c. 3).

<sup>3</sup> Sect. IX (c. 3). And the Principal must make no charge for admission.

<sup>4</sup> The Impositor was an undergraduate (S. VI, c. 1). The language of the old Hall Statutes (Rashdall, II, 778) suggests that in earlier days he was more independent of the Principal.



horseback were preceded by Bedels. They waited till the King and Queen appeared, in a coach with the two young Princes from the Palatinate, and knelt while the Vice-Chancellor discharged his speech. A bowshot nearer the City, the Mayor and Aldermen were ready, with another speech and another mace to be surrendered and restored. The townsmen, we are told, wore satin doublets and cloth breeches. The Mayor and Aldermen rivalled the Doctors with their scarlet-gowns.<sup>1</sup> The procession marched to St. John's, where a third address was forthcoming, and on, past the companies of craftsmen ranged outside Bocardo, through the North Gate, down the streets to Christ Church by the usual route. But Wood notes, if his report may be relied on, that, though the ways were lined with people, neither scholars nor citizens "made any expressions of joy." At Christ Church the Public Orator offered his welcome. The King was presented with a Bible "of Edinburgh print worth 80<sup>li</sup>," the Queen with Camden's *Elizabeth*.<sup>2</sup> The disinherited Elector received a copy of Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, and Prince Rupert a translation of Cæsar's *Commentaries*, which he perhaps preferred. The King accompanied the Queen to her lodgings, and then entered the Cathedral for prayer. But at the door<sup>3</sup> he knelt, and "lifting up his hands and eyes, with his long left lock . . . shelving over his shoulder, did his private devotions to his Maker." Charles was lodged at the Deanery, and that night after supper he saw a play acted in Christ Church Hall, William Strode's tragi-comedy, *The Floating Island*, which, it seems, the King and the University liked better than the courtiers.<sup>4</sup> Lord Carnarvon thought it one of the worst plays that he had ever seen. The scenery, however, exceeded all expectation. There was a large stage with elaborate "parti-

<sup>1</sup> See Thomas Crosfield's *Diary* (f. 77<sup>b</sup>). This *Diary*, beginning in 1626, gives some interesting details in regard to contemporary history at Oxford and elsewhere. It is preserved in the Library of Queen's College, with an admirable transcript made by the Provost. I have to thank Mr. Allen, the College Librarian, for allowing me to consult it. I have borrowed points here from Crosfield, from Laud's own account (*Works*, V, 148 sq.), from Wood (*Ann.* II, 407 sq.), and from Twyne (*MS.* XVII, 187-203).

<sup>2</sup> See Crosfield (*Diary*, 77<sup>b</sup>). Other accounts say a pair of gloves.

<sup>3</sup> The large South door, says Wood; but Laud, with more probability, says the West door. Dr. Morris, Professor of Hebrew, there made another speech.

<sup>4</sup> Strode, the Public Orator, was a not inconsiderable poet (see *D.N.B.*). Crosfield's account of the play, which he calls "Prudentius w<sup>th</sup> intellectus agens and ye rebellious passions" (f. 77<sup>b</sup>), is not very clear. "Prudentius, the King depos'd," and "Intellectus Agens, his Counsellor," are characters in it. The play, when published in 1655, was called *The Floating Island*. A line in the Epilogue, "The Isle is settled, rage of Passions laid," explains the other titles sometimes given it.

tions." There was the "perfect resemblance of the billows of the Sea rolling, and an artificial Island, with Churches and Houses waving up and down." There were also rocks and trees and peeps of landscape, and a Chair which came gliding on to the stage "without any visible help." Wood boldly claims that the scenery of the London play-houses of the Restoration had its origin in the inventiveness of Oxford scholars. Laud had taken pains to see that the necessary means were forthcoming, and that not only Christ Church but the whole University bore its fair share of the cost.<sup>1</sup>

Next day, Tuesday, the King heard service at eight in the Cathedral and "an excellent sermon" from one of the Proctors, demonstrating the Royal authority over Anabaptists, Puritans and Papists alike. It is significant perhaps of the Sovereign's taste and of the change in academic fashion that Charles listened to no disputations, took no part in that ancient custom at St. Mary's like Elizabeth and James. At nine the young Princes and others attended Convocation, and were made Masters of Arts. Sir Nathaniel Brent presented them. The Chancellor and Dr. Baylie the Vice-Chancellor made speeches in Latin. The Princes then visited "some of the fairest Colleges" and returned to Christ Church to wait upon the King. The Queen, however, was not ready, so Charles and his retinue walked to Cat Street with the Archbishop, and went over the Bodleian and the new Schools. The King inspected the "new building westward," sat down by the great window of the Library, examined the manuscripts "in the closet," ascended into the gallery to see the coins. Laud apparently acted as showman, and Lord Pembroke and Montgomery's son made "a very neat speech." Presently the Queen arrived in a coach and carried the King to St. John's for dinner. More buildings were inspected—the Chancellor's generous gift. A banquet was served in the new Library, with baked meats dressed up as Bishops and Doctors by the humour of the cook. And a play,<sup>2</sup> relieved by

<sup>1</sup> Laud insisted on the appointment of a Committee to supervise the expenditure on plays. The stage properties were to be stored up for future use, and to be lent to Colleges or Halls which wished to use them. The Vice-Chancellor was to keep one key and the Dean of Christ Church the other (Laud's *Works*, V, 144-7). The Orders for the King's entertainment provided that the University should pay £200. The older Colleges were rated according to the Elizabethan valuation; the three latest Colleges were specially rated, and a poll-tax was levied on Commoners as well. Ordinary Commoners and Masters of Arts paid 5s. each, an Earl's son as much as 33s. 4d., a batteler as little as 3s. 4d., and "poore schollars nothing," if Crosfield be correct (*Diary*, 77<sup>a</sup>). In the quotation from Crosfield in Laud's *Works* (V, 145 n.) the contribution for Earls' sons is wrongly given as 23s. 4d.

<sup>2</sup> *Love's Hospital*, by George Wilde.

another short banquet in the middle, was acted by St. John's men. The Hall had been darkened, lit by candles and kept fresh and cool. Laud was at his best in serving his College and entertaining his friends. "I thank God," he writes, "I had that happiness, that all things were in very good order, and that no man went out at the gates, courtier or other, but content."<sup>1</sup>

That night the King and Queen supped privately and then were present at another play in Christ Church Hall. The author, William Cartwright, was a well-known Christ Church man, and the play, *The Royal Slave*, a Persian story, gave great opportunities for stage effect. A shining sun, a curious temple, delightful forests, and villages with men "visibly appearing in them" afforded another triumph for the scenic art of Inigo Jones. Queen Mary<sup>2</sup> was so delighted that she borrowed all the properties for a repetition of the piece at Hampton Court, and wrote to say that she took it very kindly when they were sent. She would never allow them "to bee prostituted vpon any Mercenary Stage." But the Queen's players, in the Archbishop's opinion, were not as good actors as the University men. Early on the Wednesday morning the King and Queen left Oxford, much pleased with their entertainment. In the afternoon there was another Convocation, at which degrees were conferred. At night the Archbishop gave a dinner at St. John's to Heads of Houses, Proctors, Doctors and other friends. He sat with them at table, and they were all very merry and glad. In Oxford and outside it Laud had attained the summit of his reputation. By the end of the week he was back at Croydon, with his retinue of forty or fifty horse. Men recalled the power and magnificence of Wolsey, and there was a noble generosity in the Archbishop's dealings with the University he loved. But it was the generosity of a prudent man. Of all the plate brought or borrowed for the proceedings at Oxford, the King's, the Lord Chamberlain's, the goldsmiths' and his own, he rejoiced to find that only two spoons had been lost.

The silence of the crowds at Oxford may or may not have been significant. But difficulties were gathering in the Arch-

<sup>1</sup> *Works* (V, 152). Wood mentions (*Athen.* III, 756) a humorous account by E. Gayton, of the "Banquet presented to the best of Kings by the best of Prelates." In the new Library the King, Queen and Palsgrave dined at the upper table, Prince Rupert and the lords and ladies at another. There were 13 other tables, Laud adds, prepared in other rooms. The Elector and Prince Rupert were entered on the books both at St. John's and at Christ Church. Verses on the Royal visit to Oxford will be found in *Bodley MS. Ashmole* 36 (pp. 259 and 316).

<sup>2</sup> This was Henrietta Maria's usual designation in England. Her letter of Dec. 6, 1636, quoted above, was reproduced recently in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record* (II, 151-2).



bishop's path. He could still occupy himself with questions of University discipline and order, for the "faction" of his opponents was growing stronger daily. Oxford men crowded to hear the new examinations. Frewen declared that they had a most stimulating effect.<sup>1</sup> But some found the requirements of the new Statutes too exacting, and began "slipping aside" to Cambridge and getting degrees there. Laud bade the Vice-Chancellor make strong representations on this point at Cambridge, and these were very graciously received. Meanwhile he rebuked abuses as sternly as ever, especially the "foul abuse" of men taking College livings and staying on in Oxford regardless of their cures. He was resolved to purge the University of non-residents like that. He scolded Dr. Fell of Christ Church sharply for showing disrespect to the Proctor. "You have carried this business like a sudden, hasty, and weak man." He repeated his scolding when Fell slighted the University examinations by having the Christ Church men examined afresh. He liked to be kept informed of what was going on in Oxford—to hear of the "outlandish workmen" sent down for the new Physick Garden, of the tavern keepers "snarling" over licenses, of a dunce of New Inn who could not distinguish *quisquis* from *quisque*, of rebellious chandlers who would not sell candles at the price the Vice-Chancellor fixed. He was deeply interested in the repair of St. Mary's steeple, shocked at the defective timber-work discovered in the new Schools. But graver troubles were to absorb him soon. There is a curious echo of them in an indignant letter written from Lambeth on the 7th June 1638. "I pray instantly call a congregation and change the first question of the three appointed for the act." Busy fools, inconsiderate, bold young men had proposed to discuss in disputations the changes made in the Scottish Liturgy.<sup>2</sup> What had the Vice-Chancellor, what had Congregation, been about to allow such a proposal to pass? The Archbishop's worst enemy could not have found a more cunning way to wound him in the house of his friends.

But there was no suppressing such awkward questions, either at Oxford or elsewhere. Scotland indeed was already in a flame. It was vain for the "Pope of Canterbury" to talk of a few milkmaids scolding at the Bishops. It was vain for Wentworth to throw his strength and his genius into a failing cause. The Covenanters gathered their forces. The Short Parliament met and was dissolved. When Parliament had separated, Laud

<sup>1</sup> But Frewen was a little afraid of collusion between examiners and candidates (see Laud's *Works*, V, 235 and 290).

<sup>2</sup> "An addita et alterata in Liturgia Scoticana, justam præbeant scandali materiam" (see Wood, *Ann.* II, 417).

carried through Convocation new Canons asserting the Divine Right of the King, and calling on all members of the Universities to swear to maintain the government of the Church by Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, etcetera. Men mocked at the etcetera oath. Even in Oxford "troubles and tokens of approaching ruin" appeared. Old rivalries with the City revived. Twice in the early winter nights of 1641, the great bell of St. Martin's was rung, to summon the citizens to battle in the streets. The Puritans grew bolder. A caricature of a Roundhead, "a godly gentleman, a manciple of one of the Colleges," was set up on a Maypole in Holywell, and students from New Inn and Magdalen Hall, it was asserted, turned out in arms and plucked it down.<sup>1</sup> The Long Parliament was already in session at Westminster—the University had sent up John Selden and Sir Thomas Roe<sup>2</sup>—and within a few weeks of its meeting Laud's and Strafford's system had been levelled with the dust. Charges soon accumulated against the Archbishop—grave charges of Popish practices, of tyranny and treason. In December 1640 the Heads of Houses intervened, in loyalty to their Chancellor, to repudiate at any rate the first. "We neither know, nor can probably suspect any member of our University to be a papist, or popishly addicted."<sup>3</sup> A few days later the Archbishop was impeached. The House of Commons had already taken the Oxford Puritans under its protection. Henry Wilkinson's suspension was cancelled. The Vice-Chancellor was summoned to Westminster and examined. The Statutes and Registers of the University were sent for, probably to serve as evidence against its Chancellor, and possibly with a view to University reform.

Oxford, with its memories of the Reformation, could not view unmoved attacks upon the Church. On the 24th April 1641 a crowded Convocation appealed to Parliament to protect the Bishops and Cathedral endowments.<sup>4</sup> The House of Commons gave little heed to the protest, but the King assured the petitioners that he would never allow the Church to be destroyed

<sup>1</sup> In Wood's *Life* (I, 49) a different version of this incident is given, taken from *Vicars' Looking-Glasse for Malignants* (1643, p. 13).

<sup>2</sup> Wood says that some would have preferred Sir Nathaniel Brent to Selden (*Ann.* II, 424).

<sup>3</sup> See Laud's *Works* (V, 298). Wood says (*Ann.* II, 425) that all the Heads except Rogers of New Inn signed it. But the 25 signatures do not include those of the Warden of New College or the Dean of Christ Church. They do include the Warden of Merton's.

<sup>4</sup> Incidentally it was thought worth while to remind a seventeenth-century House of Commons that the Church provided competent portions for many younger sons (*Ib.* 430). The petition is found in *Bodley MS. Wood F. 27* (Art. 2), and in the *Thomason Tracts* (E. 156, 22).

or robbed. Other petitions and counter-petitions flowed in. A new Committee for the University was appointed. Some demands for subscription were dispensed with. The Commons ordained that graduates and students should no longer be required to bow towards the altar or to subscribe to the three articles of 1604. They insisted that the altars at the East end of College Chapels, the images and crucifixes and candlesticks should be removed. But they also demanded a new oath to defend the Protestant religion against Popery. The demand produced a fresh crop of objections, and old Dr. Kettell, who had taken oaths enough in his lifetime, waved it aside. Powerful voices called for the purging of the Universities, "the two famous fountains of our Kingdom," and claimed that ecclesiastics should no longer meddle with secular affairs. Manchester petitioned for a new University in the North. Milton declared that the gentry of England, fed with "scragged and thorny lectures of monkish and miserable sophistry,"<sup>1</sup> were being trained for the service of "Prelaty" instead of the service of God.

Worse trials were in store for loyal churchmen, who could not separate their loyalty from obedience to the King. Laud in the Tower awaited his trial, forgotten for the time, it seemed, even by the unsleeping enmity of Prynne. He prayed for patience in adversity. He found comfort in prayer, in studying the Psalms. "Blessed is the man whom Thou chastenest, O Lord, and teachest him in Thy law." His letter resigning the office of Chancellor, written to the University on June 25, 1641, within a few weeks of Strafford's execution, had a touch of dignity and pathos which even his enemies would not have denied. His spirit was not broken. "I had no reason to desert my Selfe, and occasion the World to think me guilty."<sup>2</sup> His tender thought of Oxford, his "ferventnesse and zeale to the publique good and happiness of that Place," were unshaken as ever. But he felt that he could be "no farther usefull," and that his resignation ought not to be longer delayed. He prayed for

<sup>1</sup> See the Conclusion of *The Reason of Church-government urg'd against Prelaty*, which Prof. Masson dates 1642 (*Life of Milton*, II, 361, n.).

<sup>2</sup> I quote from *The True Copie* of his letter printed at Oxford in 1641, and "published by occasion of a base Libell and Forgery that runs under this title." The "base Libell and Forgery," dated 28 June, 1641—a date which even Prof. Gardiner accepted (*D.N.B.*)—and printed in that year, is known in more than one version. It is reprinted in Laud's *Works* (1853, V, 298 sq.)—where the *True Copie* is also printed—from the *Second volume of Laud's Remains* (1700, p. 217). It is more pathetic than the genuine letter, but less assured in tone. Mr. Madan has valuable notes on the subject (*Oxford Books*, II, 152), which remind us of Wood's explanation why the letter was not inserted in the University Register at the time.



an honourable successor and for a blessing on "that whole Body" which he loved.

Laud failed. He must have known his failure. He had grave faults of temper and of judgment, which it was difficult for others to forgive. It was better for freedom, better for religion, that his methods of government should not prevail. But he triumphed in death over the rancours which assailed him. The elements of truth in the lost cause for which he suffered were destined to survive its loss. And, whatever may be thought of his opinions, which have powerfully influenced generations since, no one will doubt his deep affection for the great University which reared him, or his claim to illustrious remembrance among the most devoted of her sons.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE GREAT REBELLION

**L**ONG before Laud's resignation reached Oxford, men were listening anxiously to the mutterings of the storm. And the Archbishop's successor in the Chancellorship was ill qualified to give the University protection. Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, had for half a century been a conspicuous figure in English life. A New College man at the age of eight,<sup>1</sup> the suitor of an heiress at the age of thirteen, a spoilt favourite of James I created an Earl at the age of twenty, he had been famed for little but the beauty of his person, his violent tongue and his passion for sport. He had something of his brother's taste and magnificence. He made his house at Wilton splendid, though he railed against "Iniquity Jones." His gardens were called the noblest in England. He collected, says Aubrey, more Vandycks than anyone else in the world. But Pembroke's morals had from boyhood been the morals of the Jacobean Court. His oaths were as notorious as his bad temper. He was always quarrelling, and with men of all conditions. His political views seem to have been dictated largely by personal pique. He chose the side of the Parliament, but was ready enough to negotiate with the King. He denounced Laud in his day of trial as a rascal and a villain. He described his own Parliamentary colleagues as a pack of knaves. Royalist satirists mocked at him freely. They professed to chronicle his speeches "Word for Word, and Oath for Oath." They suggested that he would make an excellent Chancellor, if only the University could be turned into a Kennel. When Oxford fell and Pembroke appeared with the Parliamentary Visitors in triumph, Royalist lampoons were merciless in attacking his character, his actions and the "Gowne Seekers" in his train.<sup>2</sup>

A very different representative of Oxford, born in the same year but bred in different ways, chose like Pembroke the popular side, but won through life the respect of his opponents. John

<sup>1</sup> He matriculated, it seems, in March 1593 (Clark, *Reg.* II, ii, 195). The date of his birth is generally given as October 1584.

<sup>2</sup> See the well-known pamphlets of 1648, e.g. *Newes from Pembroke and Montgomery, Lord have Mercy upon us, Pegasus, An Owle at Athens*, etc. (Thomason Collection, E. 437-7, 9, 20 and 22).

Selden left Hart Hall while Elizabeth was still reigning, to become one of the most famous jurists of the succeeding age. His study of tithes made him a critic of the Church. His study of the constitution brought him into conflict with the Crown. His study of law made him an authority on public right in Europe. He was one of the first Englishmen to plead, with Coke and Eliot, for legality and freedom. The University elected him to the Long Parliament, and few men played in it a franker, saner, more honourable part. No more impressive advocate of precedent and principle raised his voice among those warring counsels. No University Member had more care for his constituents, though he remained with the Roundheads at Westminster while his constituency became a camp of Cavaliers. Selden's heart was in the things which Oxford loved. He was a life-long student, ambitious of all kinds of knowledge. The books which he bequeathed to the Bodleian bespoke his many-sidedness. His memory was proverbial. His learning was universally admitted. His Table Talk, not published till long after, was an indication of strong intellect and trenchant speech. Ben Jonson, Clarendon and Whitelocke all bore witness to his range of understanding. Laud valued his friendship. Charles would gladly have brought him into office. But Selden preferred to follow his own course. As the years passed, his distaste for political extremes perhaps weakened his effectiveness in politics. He was less and less inclined to leave his studies, except to speak out on rare occasions against what seemed to him treachery or baseness, or to protect the University, his "declining, undon mother," when the Vice-Chancellor appealed to him in affliction and defeat.<sup>1</sup>

The preparations for Civil War soon found an echo at Oxford. In June 1642 the King sent the Vice-Chancellor a proclamation to publish,<sup>2</sup> and invited the University to print his manifestoes.

<sup>1</sup> See Samuel Fell's letter of 1646 in *Bodleian MS. Wood F. 35* (f. 15).

<sup>2</sup> *HIS MAIESTIES ANSVVER* to the Remonstrance of Parliament was printed by L. Lichfield in Oxford. (See Madan's note, *Oxford Books*, II, 160). Mr. Madan's well-known work is an invaluable guide to the literature and history of the Civil War: and the great chronological collection of tracts, etc., from the beginning of the war made by George Thomason, the London bookseller who counted John Milton and Thomas Barlow among his friends, housed now in the British Museum, and finely indexed by Mr. G. K. Fortescue whose numbering I quote, is in itself a library on the subject. Thomason's Tracts, the publications described by Mr. Madan, the collection of Civil War Pamphlets at Worcester College, which I have been allowed to consult, the contemporary Registers of Congregation and Convocation, the most important of which is *Sb* (the *Acta Convocationis* of 1641-47), the Clarendon State Papers in the Bodleian and the great store of MSS. there by Wood, Twyne and others—*Wood F. 35* and *E Museo 77* (printed by Burrows) are of special value for the



On July 11 Dr. Prideaux<sup>1</sup> produced in Convocation a letter from Charles, denouncing the "false and scandalous pretence" that he intended to make war upon his Parliament, but intimating that he would appreciate a loan of any moneys which the University could spare. The claim, grounded on the Sovereign's perpetual care for "such nurseries of Learning," was accepted apparently without demur. The contents of the University Chests were placed at the Royal disposal. Eight hundred and sixty pounds were handed to the King's messenger, and Charles promptly acknowledged an "action so full of Loyaltie and Allegiance."<sup>2</sup> Other contributions followed. The Colleges joined in. On July 20, 1642 Nicholas wrote that the University had "voluntarily sent [in 10,000*l.*]"<sup>3</sup> Parliament naturally thought these proceedings "wicked and unlawful," and ordered the arrest of Prideaux and Frewen, of Dean Fell and Dr. Potter of Queen's. The King bade his representatives see to the safety of Oxford. His proclamation for suppressing the rebellion was published in the market on August 13. Dr. Pinke of New College, acting for Prideaux, who had withdrawn to avoid complications, began to take measures for the University's defence. The privileged men were summoned to the Schools for a view of arms,<sup>4</sup> and a great many scholars appeared among them. On the 18th August University volunteers, some three hundred and thirty strong, marched to Christ Church, and were drilled in the quadrangle. Two days later they met at the Schools and marched to New Park. Two squads of musketeers, one of pikes and one of halberds, were put through their "postures" and "skirmished together in a very decent manner." Graduates and undergraduates, Masters and scholars, even divines, turned

Parliamentary Visitation—Mr. Madan's *Rough List of Manuscript Materials*, and the innumerable printed documents, memoirs and histories, headed by the work of Dr. Gardiner and Sir C. H. Firth, offer a wealth of material to which it is difficult in this chapter to do justice, though I have drawn on it as freely as I could. Of the Civil War I have attempted no description except in so far as it touches University history: but even on that aspect of it more than one chapter might be written.

<sup>1</sup> Prideaux was Vice-Chancellor. He had been Bishop of Worcester since December 1641, and his diocese claimed him during the War. In January 1642 he had assembled the Heads of Houses and "found a most ready and hearty concurrence in all for the King's service" (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1641-43, p. 258). Dr. Pinke was acting as Pro-Vice-Chancellor about the end of July: Dr. Tolson of Oriel followed in September.

<sup>2</sup> *Register Sb* (7).

<sup>3</sup> *State Papers*, 1641-43 (359). See also Wood (*Ann.* II, 438 sq.), and *Thomason Tracts* (E. 108, 36) or the copy at Worcester College. Some College plate was pawned. Clarendon says that Sheldon had already proposed to send it to the King (*Hist. of Rebellion*, ed. 1826, III, 245, n.).

<sup>4</sup> In 1639 twenty privileged men were charged with corslets and thirty with muskets (*Laud's Works*, V, 215).

out. Dr. Read of New College, soon to be Principal of Magdalen Hall, served among the pikemen. The Cooks' corporation supplied drums and colours. The road over Magdalen Bridge was blocked. Loads of stones were carried up the tower, "to flinge downe uppon the enemie at their entrance." The road through Smith Gate was made impassable for horsemen. A crooked trench was dug across the way at the end of St. John's Walks. Sentinels were set. The drilling and marching were repeated. In the grounds of New College eight or ten companies appeared. Volunteers increased in numbers, and studies went by the board. The citizens took no part in these proceedings. But the undergraduates threw themselves into the excitement, and "Mr. Wood's father foresaw that if his sons were not removed from Oxon they would be spoyl'd."

Before the end of August a small body of Royalist troopers under Sir John Byron entered Oxford at midnight by New Park, and created such a scare that some of the citizens made off to Abingdon. Dr. Pinke met the King's officers in conference. Delegates were appointed to see to the University's safety.<sup>1</sup> Fortifications were discussed, and bows and arrows bought. The scholars fraternised with the troopers and proposed to help them take up Oseney bridge. But the City train-bands, mustering at Broken Hays, intervened to prevent this. The City leaders were already applying to Parliament for support. The Parliamentary forces were dangerously near, and the University leaders thought it wise to make overtures to them. Dr. Pinke appealed to Pembroke—to be saved from having "our Libraries fired, our Colleges pillaged, and our throats cut"—an appeal which was chillingly received.<sup>2</sup> And going over to visit the Parliamentary leaders at Aylesbury, he found himself arrested and sent off to London. On the 10th September Byron left Oxford, "with as many scholars as could get horses and arms,"<sup>3</sup> and two days later a Parliamentary troop rode in. Their Colonel, Goodwin, took up his quarters at Merton. Their horses were picketed in Christ Church meadow. The troops marvelled at the "painted idolatrous windows," and at Magdalen some are alleged to have been broken. On the 14th Lord Saye, Lord-Lieutenant by the Parliament's authority, arrived and demolished the new fortifications.<sup>4</sup> Saye, "bred a scholar, and (though

<sup>1</sup> On the Delegates' proceedings early in September see *Reg. Sb* (9 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> See *Thomason Tracts* (E. 116, 38), Ellis (*Original Letters*, 2nd Ser., III, 296–301), Rushworth (*Hist. Collect.*, 1692, Pt. III, vol. 2, pp. 11–13), and Madan (*Oxf. Books*, II, 171).

<sup>3</sup> See Nicholas' letter of Sept. 15 (*St. Papers*, 1641–43, p. 389).

<sup>4</sup> For Parliamentary pamphlets on Saye's movements and on the "Magnificent valour of the Scholars" see *Thomason Tracts* (E. 118, 1, and E. 114, 31).

nobly born) a fellow of New College," treated the Colleges tenderly enough. He searched them for arms, but he spared their treasures: he was afterwards blamed for not seizing their plate. But when he found attempts made to hide College property, as at University and Christ Church, he carried it off. Dr. Pinke's study was searched. The Dean of Christ Church's trunks were carted away. Popish books and pictures were burned. A brace of bullets was fired at the Virgin's statue over St. Mary's porch. The City train-bands were reviewed and encouraged. A few arrests were made. Rash townsmen suffered for crying "A pox upon all Roundheads." There was trouble with a certain Captain Staggars "whom the schollers much distasted." There was trouble among the soldiers, who quarrelled and fought in the High Street. There was talk of garrisoning Oxford for the Parliament. Whitelocke advised it, and might have acted as Governor. But he became Governor of Henley and of his house at Phyllis Court instead. Rogers of New Inn Hall also advised it. But "Old Subtlety,"<sup>1</sup> showing perhaps less subtlety than usual, allowed the opportunity to slip. Before the end of September Saye left Oxford, though blue coats, russet coats and "dragoners" continued to march through. A month later, on the 29th October, the King rode in, preceded by the colours captured at Edgehill, and all chance of securing Oxford for the Parliament disappeared.

From that day forward Oxford became the head-quarters of the Royal army, the Court and capital of the Cavaliers. "The heart of a Prince," Charles told the University on his arrival, "is kept warme with the blood of his subjects . . . You have God for your cause, you have me for his second."<sup>2</sup> The King's foot-soldiers were billeted about it. His Horse, says Twyne, marched through to Abingdon, showing themselves four thousand strong. His "ordinance and great guns" were driven into Magdalen Grove. The Puritan element in the town realised that all possibility of resistance was over, and either submitted

<sup>1</sup> Saye's nickname. Twyne's *Musterings of the University* is our best authority for these early days in Oxford. The original, written by Twyne, is now MS. *Ballard* 68 in the Bodleian, with notes by Wood to whom it once belonged. It was copied by Hearne, while in the possession of Thomas Rawlins, and Hearne's copy is now also in the Bodleian (MS. *Rawl. B.* 225). Hearne printed it in 1733 (*Chronicon de Dunstaple*, II, 737 sq.). Wood used it freely in his *Annals* (II, 442 sq.), especially the earlier part of it. Dr. Clark reprinted it in 1891 in the first volume of his *Life of Wood* (53 sq.).

<sup>2</sup> See *Worcester Coll. Pamphlets* (BB. 8. 11. 225): there is a copy also in the Thomason Collection. The Public Orator's reply is also printed. Twyne says it was delivered not by Dr. Strode, but by his deputy Dr. Gardiner (Clark's *Life of Wood*, I, 68).



or disappeared. The Mayor met Charles at Carfax with a gift of money. The beautiful, old, slumbering city woke to new life with no ignoble passion, in defence of the Church which it loved and of the King to whom it thought its honour bound it. But the new life was not the tranquil life of learning. It was the stir and riot of a camp.

"Instead of Logicke, Physicke, School-converse," wrote an undergraduate and eye-witness, who rashly attempted a history of the Civil War in rhyme,

"I did attend the armed troops of Mars,  
Instead of Books I Sword, Horse, Pistols bought,  
And on the Field I for Degrees then fought."<sup>1</sup>

Protected on three sides by streams and marshes, held by a considerable army, and encircled by garrisons and fortified posts, Oxford offered a formidable position for defence. If sufficient food and ammunition were forthcoming, it could defy the forces brought against it. And the King lost no time in strengthening the place. The City was disarmed. Its muskets and powder were lodged in the Tower of the Schools and in the cloisters of New College. Arms were called in and distributed among the defenders.<sup>2</sup> House-holders were summoned by the University Bell-man to work on the fortifications. The approach from the East was made secure.<sup>3</sup> Works were begun in St. Clement's parish.<sup>4</sup> Trenches were dug in the New Park. "Bulworks" were set up near St. Giles' Church and St. John's College Walks—though one day in December, when the King rode out to see them, he found only twelve men working there on behalf of the City, whereas there should have been a hundred and twenty-two. Lists of University men able to take part in the defence of Oxford were drawn up. The first master of war in that age, Gustavus, had been "a great spademan," and some at least of the King's officers, Rupert among them, had learned the value of spade-work as well as of mobility in war.<sup>5</sup>

Fellows and scholars alike had to take their turn at digging.

<sup>1</sup> See An. Cooper's *Στρατολογία*. For "An." Sir C. H. Firth reads Anthony (*Cromwell's Army*, 21, n.), Sir S. Lee inclines to Andrew (*D.N.B.*).

<sup>2</sup> Twyne says that the trained men of the county also brought in their arms, which were stored "in Pecwater's Inne" (Wood, *Life*, I, 70-1).

<sup>3</sup> By a new timber gate on Magdalen Bridge, and a new earthen wall from the Bridge to the corner of the Physic Garden, defended by guns (Wood, *Life*, I, 71).

<sup>4</sup> Wood mentions (*Ann.* II, 462) Richard Rallingson or Rawlinson, a B.A. of Queen's, who took a leading part in planning the fortifications. His design is reproduced in the Latin edition of Wood's *History* (1674, pp. 262-3) and in Skelton's *Oxonia* (Pl. 112).

<sup>5</sup> On these and other important points of 17th century tactics see Professor Firth's delightful volume *Cromwell's Army*.

All members of Colleges and Halls between sixteen and sixty were required to give in their names for work one day a week. The hours were from six to eleven and from one to six.<sup>1</sup> Before the siege was over the North side of the City was defended by bulwarks regularly flanking one another. The Ditch or Trench was strongly pallisadoed, and pits dug to prevent approach. There were fortifications also raised in Christ Church meadow. But on the West and South the locks and sluices made it possible to flood the country-side.<sup>2</sup> Magdalen Tower became a point of observation, where Charles himself could watch the movement of the armies. In the Walks below trees were felled and batteries erected, and arrangements for flooding the College meadows were made. The stout old walls of New College formed a fortress. Victuals were stored in Brasenose Tower. At Oseney a powder-factory was established, at Wolvercote a "mill" for grinding swords.<sup>3</sup> Food stores were kept in the Guildhall, corn in the Law and Logic Schools, cloth for soldiers' coats in the Astronomy and Music Schools. Four or five thousand tailors, it was said, were set to cut these out. "Fatt great oxen" were swept into Christ Church quadrangle, flocks of sheep, "true pillages from his majestie's enemies," driven in by Rupert's Cavaliers. There was perpetual going to and fro, movements of troops, of colours, prisoners, trumpeters, King's men, fine gentlemen in all their bravery, drums and music, musters and processions, the whole apparel and panoply of war. Bells rang for good news. Bonfires blazed for victories.<sup>4</sup> For any conspicuous triumph a solemn anthem in the Cathedral would be sung.

From the first there were two grave preoccupations, how to raise money to pay the army, and how to secure ammunition for the guns. The Queen was in Holland, pawning the Crown jewels and collecting arms and munitions. Every one had to submit to levies: the counties round Oxford did not escape. In January 1643 a sum of three hundred pounds still remaining in the University's Treasury was granted,<sup>5</sup> and in the same month the King asked for the plate of the Colleges and Halls.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the King's Proclamations of June and July 1643—the latter included women and nobles—and of July and August 1645, which required work four days a week, cited by Mr. Madan (*Oxf. Books*, II, 267, 279 and 403).

<sup>2</sup> See the Survey of 1646 referred to by Wood (*Ann.* II, 479). Sir W. Waller bore witness to the strength of the fortifications in 1644 (*State Papers*, 1644, p. 363).

<sup>3</sup> *State Papers*, 1641-3 (p. 501).

<sup>4</sup> Sometimes even for victories not won, e.g. for Rupert's reported victory at Marston Moor.

<sup>5</sup> *Reg. Sb* (14).

<sup>6</sup> Clarendon's suggestion that most of it had been sent to the King already (*Hist. of Rebellion*, III, 246) is surely mistaken. Wood

With some reluctance but with very few exceptions the invitation was obeyed. Magdalen, All Souls and Exeter gave most. St. John's sent eight hundred pounds instead, but ultimately gave up its plate as well. One or two Colleges may have delayed over the sacrifice. Corpus is under strong suspicion of evading it. It is not impossible that some silver was hidden away. A few Founders' gifts or very precious pieces and the communion vessels of the Chapels were in most cases reserved. But the response generally made a virtue of necessity, and the Royal Mint was set up at New Inn Hall. The Puritan undergraduates must already have discovered that New Inn Hall was no longer a fit place for them. In June more money had to be raised. The King appealed to every Fellow of a College to maintain one or more foot-soldiers at four shillings a week. The army pay was often in arrear. Funds were needed for fortifications. College rents were failing in the districts where Parliament had the ascendancy. The University in old days had helped to finance Simon de Montfort; but that was not comparable to the burden of financing its legitimate King.

As the war went on embarrassments increased. Soldiers and civilians disagreed. The Court was a prey to every rumour, excited by tales of victory, depressed by tidings of defeat. The taverns for a time ran short of wine, which increased the feeling of dejection. One day camp fever broke out in the army. Another day Christ Church steeple was badly shaken by a storm. A third day a "most sad and wonderful fire" ravaged the Western quarter of the city, caused, it was said, by a soldier roasting a stolen pig.<sup>1</sup> Doubters and deserters flowed in from Westminster, till, as the tide changed, they began to

merely comments "all sent, except New Inn" (*Ann.* II, 458). The summary of the plate surrendered given in *MS. Tanner* 338, which is printed in J. Gutch's *Collectanea Curiosa* (I, 227) and commented on by Dr. Bliss (see Wood's *Life*, I, 94-5, n.) mentions 13 Colleges only as contributing, Magdalen with 296 lb., All Souls with 253 lb., and Exeter with 246 lb. giving most. Christ Church, perhaps owing to Lord Saye's action, yielded only 172 lb., less than Trinity and a good deal less than Queen's. Balliol gave least (41 lb.) of those mentioned in this list. Wadham, which is omitted, gave 123 lb. New College, also omitted, seems to have no record on the subject. It kept some fine pieces but almost certainly gave up the rest. Pembroke has some plate of 1655, but nothing earlier. Corpus still possesses a suspiciously large store. St. John's was doubly generous under pressure in the end. The Mint in New Inn Hall was at work in 1644. Ordnance was cast in the old chapel of St. Mary's College (*Oxf. Books*, II, 201). On Thomas Rawlins, the medallist, and his Oxford coins, see *D.N.B.*

<sup>1</sup> For the "morbus campestris" of 1643 and the serious fire of October 1644, which among other mischief burnt down Lichfield's printing office, see *Oxford Books* (II, 305 and 362).



flow the other way. Commissioners came to treat, great lords like Northumberland and Pembroke among them. But Pembroke could no longer be tolerated by the Royalists, and in October 1643 the Marquis of Hertford was made Chancellor in his place.<sup>1</sup> The Parliament and the Law Courts were summoned to Oxford. On the 22nd January 1644 the King addressed both Lords and Commons in Christ Church Hall.<sup>2</sup> But their meeting revealed the divisions among his friends. They showed more inclination to criticise than to help the Government, and their plea "for the ease of tender consciences" was too vague to influence events.

The great movements of the War are no part of the University annals. But every man in Oxford must have watched them with an anxious heart. They saw the King at his head-quarters at Christ Church, always dignified and graceful in appearance, entrenched in a stronghold of the Church of England, to which at any rate his attachment was sincere, his young sons with him, Prince Charles, a boy of thirteen "newly recovered of the Measells," and James, still younger, who had been so nearly captured at Edgehill.<sup>3</sup> They saw the Queen arrive in July 1643,<sup>4</sup> brought in by the King in triumph, the pageant filling the ancient streets, "the Trumpets and the loud Musick all sounding as they passed along." They saw her shining in the Lodgings which Brent had abandoned at Merton—"fair as unshaded light," the poet sang—the centre of gossip, of intrigue, of animation, sure of her husband's tender love, swaying not too wisely his unstable counsels, parting from him nine months later, unconscious, happily, that they would never meet again. They saw Rupert "like a perpetual motion" dashing hither and thither with his splendid troopers, himself in his scarlet cloak on his great black Barbary horse the most splendid of them all—riding off to encounter Hampden, to capture Bristol, to meet defeat at Marston Moor. They saw the troops of Essex and

<sup>1</sup> See *Register Sb* (40-1).

<sup>2</sup> After that they met, the Lords in the "Upper Schooles," the Commons in the "Great Convocation House." The official records of this Parliament were burned in June 1646, but some of its proceedings are preserved in Rushworth (*Hist. Coll.* Pt. III, v. 2, ch. xv). See also *Oxford Books* (II, 307).

<sup>3</sup> Charles sat in the Oxford Parliament. He left Oxford in March 1645, to represent the Royal cause in the West. James remained till the surrender.

<sup>4</sup> On her way through Stratford to Oxford, she had visited Shakespeare's daughter at New Place. The academic poets welcomed her with verses—Baylie, Hood, Clayton, Bathurst, Lamplugh, Birkenhead, etc. See *Musarum Oxoniensium ἐπιβήθια*, and Mr. Madan's note on it (*Oxf. Books*, II, 280); also *Mercurius Aulicus* for the week beginning July 9.

Waller trying to surround the Royal forces, the Parliamentary outposts at Eynsham and Islip, on Bullingdon Green, under Headington Hill.<sup>1</sup> They saw Fairfax a year later threatening the city for a fortnight on the eve of Naseby, throwing his troops across the Cherwell, while Cromwell co-operated from his camp at Wytham.<sup>2</sup> They cannot have felt—few Englishmen felt—any satisfaction in that war “without an enemy,” in its suffering, its vain negotiations, its indecisive triumphs, its long-delayed results. Even many Royalists must have felt the justice of the fine rebuke which Fairfax administered to Rupert for his acts of pillage. “Let all England judge whether the burning of its Towns, ruining its Cities, and destroying its people be a good requital from a person of your Family, which hath had the prayers, tears, purses, and blood of its Parliament and people.”<sup>3</sup>

It is easy to understand the appeal which the King's service made to high-hearted and adventurous boys. Young men of family and fashion, University men among them, were the first to flock to the Royal armies. Anthony Ashley Cooper came to Oxford to tender his uncertain help. John Evelyn served, and sent his “black menage horse” to serve in his place, when he retired abroad. There must have been undergraduates in the Auxiliary Regiment of scholars and strangers which Charles' Parliament ordered to be raised for the defence of Oxford, and there were privileged men in Colonel Knightly's Regiment of *Sagittarii*, Bowmen volunteers, for which the King asked the University to pay.<sup>4</sup> John Fell and John Dolben of Christ Church joined the Colours at eighteen, and scores of their contemporaries followed their example. The older men were often as eager as the young ones. Peter Turner of Merton, the Professor, who marched off as a volunteer with Byron, and Ancketyll of Wadham, who won fame as priest and colonel, were only two of the better known. Ten years earlier Cecil, Lord Wimbledon, had urged the King to recommend horsemanship to the Universities, with a view to training the young gentlemen of England for use as cavalry in war.<sup>5</sup> But whether trained or not the King's Volunteer Guard of Noblemen and Gentlemen made a brave

<sup>1</sup> In May and June 1644. For the King's escape by a night march to the North-west over Hanborough Bridge on June 3, see Mr. Vaughan Thomas' paper of 1850 and *The Oxford Country* edited by Mr. R. T. Gunther.

<sup>2</sup> For this attempted siege see *Mercurius Aulicus* for the end of May, 1645.

<sup>3</sup> See Sprigge's *Anglia Rediviva* (99) and Rushworth (IV, 1, 74). Rupert is often called Robert by contemporaries like Twyne. The queen was known as Queen Mary.

<sup>4</sup> *Reg. Sb* (36).

<sup>5</sup> See *Cromwell's Army* (6-7).

show, and was not intended for show only, as jealousy alleged.<sup>1</sup> The voluntary system broke down, and gave way to the system of impressment: but from this the members of the University were exempt. The New Model arose with its unconquerable discipline. Victory only waited for the side which could train and organise its forces first. Fairfax noted that the Crown could make good soldiers, but that the Parliament made good men. "In our army," the Royalists retorted, "we have the sins of men, (drinking and wenching), but in yours, you have those of devils, spirituall pride and rebellion."<sup>2</sup>

The Colleges, largely forsaken by the scholars, may not have been exempt from the sins which the Royalists allowed. Courtiers, politicians, soldiers, strangers of all sorts, women-folk of all conditions, made free with cloister and quadrangle, freer still with buttery and cellar. The University was still in being, but it was not in the nature of boyhood or of manhood to resist the distractions close at hand. At Oxford, as at Cambridge, the Schools grew daily desolate, the numbers thin, the revenues short.<sup>3</sup> There was talk of establishing a College in London until free access to the Universities could be restored.<sup>4</sup> Gowns fell under some suspicion as an excuse for avoiding military service. Lectures flagged. Those which continued were held at St. Mary's, the Schools being required for purposes of war. The Act was suspended. The number of Inceptors and Determiners dropped heavily.<sup>5</sup> The flow of freshmen practically ceased. Complimentary degrees, on the other hand, seemed to be more in fashion than ever, though the University protested against the loss of fees involved. The records of Convocation are full of recommendations from the King, the Chancellor, the Secretary of State, and other influential men. Charles asks for favours for Richard Rallingson, who has been so useful "in our fortifications," and for ten gentlemen, headed by Thomas Marshall of Lincoln, who have served for ten months in Lord Dover's Regiment. Falkland begs for the Doctorate for Mr. Stamp, who has been turned out of a good living and has spent thirty-four weeks in prison. Hertford has many nominees, including Mr. John Wilson, his Majesty's servant in ordinary,

<sup>1</sup> See Sir Philip Warwick's *Memoires* (1702, pp. 230-1).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* (252-3).

<sup>3</sup> See the Oxford petition to the King in February 1643 (*Reg. Sb.*, 21-2), and the Cambridge petition to Parliament in June (Mullinger, III, 247).

<sup>4</sup> See Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge* (III, 361-2).

<sup>5</sup> See the figures given in *Register Q* (ff. 125-6 and 196 sq.). The Determiners in Lent fell from 107 in 1642—they were over 200 in 1641—to 39 in 1644 and to 30 in 1645. The admissions of Masters in Arts fell from 112 in 1642 to 30 in 1644 and to 20 in 1645.



"a person admirably exquisite in ye Art of Musicke." Rupert pleads for a gentleman of Queen's, "of a very ancient family, grandchild to a Bishopp." Even Newcastle at York has friends to push. Whatever party triumphs, these appeals for special degrees go on, appeals which the University is hardly in a position to refuse. Fairfax, Lambert, Lenthall, Cromwell, all had their candidates later—Cromwell characteristically desiring that one of his nominees so favoured may lay himself out "for the glory of God and the good of Soules."<sup>1</sup> The Chancellor's Court continued to sit, but the entries in its Registers are brief and barren.<sup>2</sup> Disputations were still held. Humorous questions for discussion could still be set up "by some busy Coxcomb" on the North door of St. Mary's Church:

"An Ecclesia pura Scoticana debeat esse  
Moderatrix corruptæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ? Aff.  
Respondente Alexandro Hendersono Scotorum Commissario.  
Opponente, quicunque vult."

But serious study was at a discount. The life had gone out even from ecclesiastical debates.

Meanwhile the University Press was singularly busy. Royal proclamations poured from it, providing for the army, insisting upon discipline, denouncing the financial expedients of the Parliament, enforcing services and forms of prayer.<sup>3</sup> The Cavaliers might, as their opponents declared, "boast wonderfully and swear most hellishly."<sup>4</sup> But there was daily service in the Royal camp. Duelling was forbidden, not always with success. Blasphemy was punishable by a red-hot iron thrust through the offender's tongue. Even the University was reminded by the "example of the Primitive Christians" of the necessity of prayer and fasting.<sup>5</sup> Duppa, now Bishop of Salisbury, was the official prayer-writer.<sup>6</sup> Sermons were frequently preached and published. Chillingworth indeed passed in August 1643<sup>7</sup> from the pulpit to the camp, and died rather pitifully

<sup>1</sup> See *Reg. Sb* (15, 34-5, 37, 60, 75, 80-1, 126, 128) and *Reg. T* (44 and 56).

<sup>2</sup> At this period they are rarely interesting. From 1 Nov. 1647 the entries cease for nearly 2 years. There are 3 entries in the last 3 months of 1649, then a break again till August 1650. But in 1651 activity revives.

<sup>3</sup> See Madan (*Oxford Books*, II, 183, 188, 217, 224, 246, 296, 372, 409, etc.).

<sup>4</sup> See *State Papers*, 1641-3 (395-7).

<sup>5</sup> See the King's injunctions of December 1645 in *Register Sb* (96).

<sup>6</sup> *Oxford Books* (II, 349).

<sup>7</sup> Or earlier. The only sermon of Chillingworth's printed before the Restoration was published with two imprints. One states that it was preached before the King at Reading, which would date it November

some five or six months later. But Archbishop Ussher was among the preachers at Oxford. So was Jeremy Taylor, who owed his All Souls' Fellowship to Laud's kindness, and who received a Doctor's degree from the University in November 1642. He had already pleaded for Episcopacy: his plea for Liberty of Prophesying was still to come. So was Thomas Fuller, the historian of the Church, who in 1643 withdrew from Westminster and came to Lincoln College, where his stay of seventeen weeks cost him, he avowed, more than seventeen years at Cambridge. If partisans found his love of peace depressing, he became Hopton's Chaplain and won the favour of the King. And so, if the attribution to him be reliable, was John Birkenhead of All Souls.<sup>1</sup>

Other matter besides sermons found its way through Lichfield's and Hall's presses, in spite of the preoccupations of war. Hammond continued to write upon theology. Langbaine, while guarding the Archives from profanation, found time to help Archbishop Ussher with his labours and to review the Covenant himself.<sup>2</sup> An occasional classic interrupted the "eruption of Licentious Pamphlets." Astrological publications rashly foretold the triumph of the King.<sup>3</sup> Verses in Latin, English, even Greek, still gave vent to academic feelings. And political skits were of course a feature of the day. London tracts accusing the King's officers of inhumanity<sup>4</sup> produced sharp denials in the Royalist press, and *Mercurius Aulicus*, while upholding the conduct of its leaders, upheld also the spirit and the humour of the camp.<sup>5</sup> The output of weekly papers kept both Oxford and London hard at work. *Mercurius Aulicus*, the chief Royalist organ, and the chief antagonist of the Parliament's *Mercurius Britannicus*,<sup>6</sup> was edited and written by John Birkenhead,

1642. The other states that it was preached "at the publike Fast before his Majesty at Christ Church," presumably in 1643 (*Thomason Tract* E. 52, 16). The latter Mr. Madan condemns as a misdated, counterfeit London edition (*Oxf. Books*, II, 351-2). But I do not feel quite sure that the language of it always suits 1642 better than 1643.

<sup>1</sup> But this seems doubtful. See Mr. Madan's note (*Ib.* 368). There is no other reason for thinking that Birkenhead was in Orders.

<sup>2</sup> *Worc. Coll. Pamphlets* (AA. 8. 12. 20).

<sup>3</sup> Madam (394 and 497-8).

<sup>4</sup> Especially the Provost Marshal Smith in Oxford (*Ib.* 223, 273, 284-5, and *Thomason Tracts*, E. 93, 23 and E. 27, 13).

<sup>5</sup> There are complete sets in the Corpus Library at Oxford and in the British Museum. On the Royalist periodicals see *Oxford Books* (II, 491 sq. and the references in the Index) and J. B. Williams' *History of English Journalism* and article in *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.* (Vol. VII, Ch. XV).

<sup>6</sup> London also attempted a *Mercurius Aulicus* for a time, as well as a *Mercurius Civicus* and a *Mercurius Scoticus* (*Oxf. Books*, II, 496, 257 and 373), to say nothing of the *Mercurius Politicus* later.

with some help from Peter Heylyn in 1643 and 1644. It had imitators as well as opponents—copyright in title was unknown. The Royalists issued also a *Mercurius Rusticus*, a *Mercurius Anti-Britannicus*, and a *Mercurius Academicus*, while the title *Mercurius Aquaticus* was claimed for some effusions of the Water Poet.<sup>1</sup> Birkenhead takes the first place among the Royalist journalists. Wood liked him little, and his claims to a Chair of Moral Philosophy<sup>2</sup> might have been more closely scrutinised in times of peace. But his mocking wit delighted his party, and his writing had sometimes a literary quality which all his contemporaries did not share. Heylyn wrote as a rule more gravely, and enjoyed less popularity perhaps on that account. John Taylor, the Water Poet, on the other hand, rarely deviated into gravity. But his caricatures of Puritan opinions, his rough wit and irrepressible impudence kept the by-ways of controversy noisily alive. A part—a part only—of one of his interminable titles may serve as an example of his style. “Crop-Eare curried, or *Tom Nash* His Ghost, Declaring the pruning of *Prinnes* two last Parricidicall Pamphlets . . . a short Survey and Animad-versions of some of his falsities, fooleries, non-sense, blasphemies. . . . With a strange Prophecy, reported to be *Merlins*, or *Nimshag's* the *Gymnosophist*, and (by some Authours) it is said to be the famous Witch of *Endor's*. *Runton, Polimuntun Plumpizminoi Papperphandico.*”<sup>3</sup>

Other poets with methods less surprising shared or touched the life of Oxford during the war. Herrick indeed, a devoted Royalist, was buried in a Devonshire living and teaching his pig to drink out of a tankard. But Cowley, ejected from Cambridge, took refuge in Laud's College and threw himself into the service of the King and Queen. Davenant fought in the war and was knighted at the siege of Gloucester. Henry Birkhead, “an excellent Latin poet” and a “good Grecian,” as became a Fellow of All Souls, published *Poematia* which may have convinced his contemporaries of the need for a Professorship of Poetry in Oxford.<sup>4</sup> Sir John Denham, who had been imprisoned by the Parliament, devoted himself chiefly to squibs against the rebels. When George Wither, who served on the other side, was taken by the Royalist forces, Denham begged his life on the ground that none could call him the worst poet

<sup>1</sup> We hear also of a *Mercurius Davidicus*, a *Mercurius Belgicus*, a *Mercurius Diutinus*, etc. (*Ib.* 294–5, 430 and 499).

<sup>2</sup> For Charles' recommendation of him see *Reg. Sb* (24)—31 March 1643.

<sup>3</sup> For Taylor's publications see Mr. Madan's index and the bibliography in *D.N.B.* A Thames waterman by calling, Taylor kept a tavern in Oxford during the war.

<sup>4</sup> The Chair was founded from Birkhead's bequest.



in England so long as Wither lived. Richard Lovelace, another poet who found inspiration in imprisonment,<sup>1</sup> joined the King in Oxford before his armies were dispersed. Robert Mead, who won reputation by a play written while an undergraduate at Christ Church,<sup>2</sup> served with distinction during the siege. And a far greater poet than these, whose ancestors came from an Oxfordshire village and whose grandfather had been ranger of Shotover Forest, travelled down from London in the May days of 1643, indifferent to the roving horsemen of the King, to marry Mary Powell in the church at Forest Hill. A month later, when Hampden lay dying after Chalgrove Field, the young wife left her husband, and the outraged bridegroom settled down to write his angry, lofty pamphlet on divorce, and to demand a reform of the laws of marriage, which would "wipe away ten thousand tears out of the life of man."<sup>3</sup>

Men of action also, in their day far more conspicuous, moved in that memorable pageant, gathered in College chambers for discussion, paced perhaps uneasily those courts and streets. The gentlest and tenderest of Charles' counsellors found little but weariness in his Secretaryship of State. "In neglecting me," Falkland once told Rupert, "you neglect the King." But he had no power to enforce his ideals of peace and tolerance in that distracted Court. And when he rode out to his death at Newbury, clad in clean linen as one going to a banquet and fully determined to "be out of it ere night," he carried into battle a broken heart. Edward Hyde may not have sought like Falkland that ampler ether, that diviner air. But he was on the whole the most trusted of the King's advisers. Few men, among shifting and uncertain counsels, played a steadier part. None contributed more generously to the portraiture of others or drew incidentally a better portrait of himself. None from boyhood—he had gone up to Magdalen Hall at thirteen—proved himself more loyal or devoted to the University which cherishes his name. Edward Nicholas showed something of the same sagacity. He had been at Queen's as an undergraduate. He became one of Charles' principal Secretaries of State. Digby, the University's Steward, had been a well-known undergraduate at Magdalen, but was neither sagacious nor fortunate as a Minister of the Crown. Hertford, the Chancellor who had sup-

<sup>1</sup> "Stone Walls do not a Prison make" was written by Lovelace in the Gate-house at Westminster in 1642. Some of Wither's best poems were written in the Marshalsea in earlier days.

<sup>2</sup> *The Combat of Love and Friendship*, printed in 1654, after his death.

<sup>3</sup> The writer seemed to James Howell "a poor shallow-brained puppy," and his proposals Bishop Hall regarded as "woeful degeneration" (Masson's *Milton*, III, 62-3).

planted Pembroke, was another Magdalen man, with a genuine taste for scholarship, who had made a romantic and dangerous marriage with Lady Arabella Stuart in his early Oxford days. His moderation and his great position gave him weight in council, and he rendered no inconsiderable service in the field. Others too, like Hopton, the General whom Fairfax honoured above any of his party, or Littleton, the distinguished lawyer who died at Oxford during the war, or Bankes, another loyal judge who lies buried in the Cathedral near him, had been Oxford undergraduates in years gone by.<sup>1</sup> Others again had never "sacrificed to the Muses"—Colepeper, who was rather too fond of quarrelling with the soldiers, Jermyn, the Queen's favourite, "contemptible Harry, the left leg of a lord,"<sup>2</sup> Jack Ashburnham, Endymion Porter, Grooms of the Bedchamber and confidential members of the Royal household, William Dugdale, the Herald, jotting down his little diary, and finding time to search for "Antiquities" in the "Famous Bodleian Library,"<sup>3</sup> and many another who shared the King's misfortunes and played his part among the perils of the time.

Outside Court circles Royalism was almost as active as inside. Giles Widdowes, once Prynne's tutor at Oriel, showed as Rector of St. Martin's, Carfax, a fighting spirit which no layman could disdain. He headed a dance on Whit-Sunday in protest against Sabbatarian ways, and the Puritans did not fail to notice that his church was the only one to suffer in the fire of October 1644. Before the early months of the war were over the University was in the hands of the King's friends. The College Heads who had withdrawn before the forces of the Parliament were all back in Oxford in 1643, the year when John Aubrey, most lovable of gossips, went down prematurely from Trinity College. Pinke was released and found his way back to his Lodgings. Frewen at Magdalen was made a Bishop<sup>4</sup>—Prideaux and Duppa were Bishops already—but John Oliver who replaced him was equally faithful to the Royal interests. Baylie at St. John's carried on the Laudian tradition. Samuel Fell, the Dean of Christ Church, was a protagonist in the Royal cause. Sheldon at All Souls and Langbaine at Queen's<sup>5</sup> belonged to the same company. And if one or two Heads were inactive

<sup>1</sup> Hopton, it seems, had been at Lincoln, Littleton at Christ Church and Bankes at Queen's.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Character of an Oxford Incendiary* (*Harleian Miscellany*, 1810, V, 501).

<sup>3</sup> See his *Life* by E. Curll (p. 20).

<sup>4</sup> In 1643: he stayed on at Magdalen till 1644.

<sup>5</sup> Langbaine, the moving spirit in the College, was not elected Provost till March 1646.

or indifferent, if Mansell, a devoted Royalist, was away from Jesus, if Hood at Lincoln was disposed to temporise,<sup>1</sup> if Hannibal Potter, Kettell's successor at Trinity, longed chiefly for a quiet life, yet almost all the Colleges were ruled by the King's adherents. At Merton indeed the Warden was still absent and unfriendly. But in 1645 Charles installed in Brent's place one of his most distinguished supporters, who was then working at anatomy in Oxford, William Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood.

It was no easy task, however, for the strongest College ruler to hold together in those days the community he ruled. Residents at Oxford were drawn into the turmoil. Newcomers from outside inevitably failed. College rents became increasingly difficult to gather. Repairs had to be postponed, new quadrangles left unfinished. Not only were studies perpetually interrupted: the whole atmosphere of study disappeared. Christ Church was the head-quarters of a Court and an army. Merton was pervaded by the Queen's household. Oriel was the meeting-place of the little Cabinet or Junto which sat every Friday to discuss the King's affairs. Nicholas, the Secretary of State, had his lodgings at Pembroke, which contained at one time over a hundred ill-assorted guests, including twenty-three women and five children.<sup>2</sup> The Chancellor of the Exchequer had rooms at All Souls. Colepeper was quartered at the Woods' house in Merton Street. The Attorney-General's wife had two babies born at Wadham. Great ladies enjoyed and abused the hospitality of the Colleges, appropriated their chambers, assembled on their lawns, and listened perhaps with equal composure to Fuller's sermons, to Dr. Kettell's scoldings, to Davenant's or Suckling's songs. Jesus gave up its best rooms to the King's followers and servants. Brasenose, reduced to less than a dozen students, entertained lords and ladies, pastry-men and grooms. Balliol seems to have been treated little better than a tavern. St. John's was glad to find a refuge at Cambridge for its Merchant Taylors' Scholars. All Souls, shorn of its accustomed revenues, tried to satisfy its Fellows with one meal a day. In the Christ Church meadows and the groves of Trinity Cavaliers found opportunities of making love. Roysterers found opportunities for roystering. Swords were drawn and duels fought. Smoking became more popular

<sup>1</sup> The note in *Clarendon State Papers* 23 (1810) on preparations for the King's service, and the need of quickening backward Heads like Brent, Radcliffe, Clayton and Hood—a curious combination—which Mr. Madan dates 164½ (*MS. Materials for Oxford History*, 137), must, I think, refer to 1642.

<sup>2</sup> See Maclean ( *Hist. of Pembroke*, 222 ).



than ever : the white clay beds at Shotover were used for pipes. The temptations of the tap-room too often accompanied the career of arms. Young scholars, keeping company with soldiers in guard-rooms, learned to drink and game away their time. The songs of the Holly-bush<sup>1</sup> near Rewley acquired a lively notoriety. But efforts were made by sober spirits to turn the hours of garrison duty to account. Some, says Wood, even at the Holly-bush would form parties to read to the others. Some organised discourses and formal disputations, from which drunkards were turned out. In by-ways still the genius of the place persisted, and in the libraries a few indomitable students worked. Archbishop Ussher, deaf to all distractions, laboured at his edition of Ignatius, Polycarp and Barnabas, and Convocation found time to vote that his "Effigies" should be cut on a brass plate and prefixed to the edition printing at the Press.

Another Archbishop, the pride of many Oxford churchmen, had long been awaiting his trial in the Tower, restlessly dreaming that the Church was ruined and that the walls and roof of his old College were falling down. St. John's still stood, but the Bill for abolishing Episcopacy passed through Parliament. "God be merciful," wrote Laud, "to the sinking Church." Prynne was busily collecting evidence against him, filling tomes with charges difficult to prove, and at last in March 1644 his trial before the House of Lords began. The greatest Oxonian in the House of Commons had by that time passed away. But Pym's followers were in no mood to show more mercy to Laud than they had shown to Strafford. The handful of Peers who took part in the trial showed little care for justice. But they hesitated to send the Archbishop to the scaffold on the evidence produced. Witnesses from Oxford were forthcoming—some, the prisoner thought, who might have been expected to abstain.<sup>2</sup> Sir Nathaniel Brent was conspicuous among them, "knuckle-deep," said Royalist pamphleteers, in the Archbishop's blood.<sup>3</sup> Many of the charges seemed trivial enough. There may have been some ground for the plea that Laud, in his wish to be "an universal law-giver," had attempted to alter the laws of religion. But to condemn him for revising the University Statutes was absurd. There may have been truth in the accusa-

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise Holy Bush.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Mr. Grice, the son of an old Fellow of St. John's, and Mr. Beck, to whom Laud had apparently shown kindness (Laud, *Works*, IV, 48).

<sup>3</sup> See Birkenhead's attack in *The Assembly Man* (*Harl. Miscell.* V, 98). It can hardly be doubted that the allusion is to Brent. For the evidence against Laud see his *Works* (vol. IV), *State Papers*, 1641-3 (pp. 517-53), and among Prynne's writings chiefly *Hidden Workes of Darkenes and Canterburies Doome*. For Heylyn's *Relation* of his death see *Oxf. Books* (II, 377).

tion that at one time in Oxford he had been reputed "a Papist in heart." But the academic generation which accused him had almost disappeared. The superstitious practices complained of, the statue over St. Mary's porch, of which Laud had known nothing till it was set up, the crucifix in Lincoln Chapel, which he had not placed there, the bowing towards the altar, which had rankled so deeply with some Fellows of Merton, the use of copes and Latin prayers, were hardly sufficient to support a charge of treason. It was stronger ground that the Archbishop had "laboured to subvert the rights of Parliament." That was the only excuse, and even that was no justification, for the attainder which in the end swept all pretence of legality aside. On the 10th January 1645 Laud died, as Strafford had died before him, leaving an indignant sense of tyranny behind. On the scaffold he prayed with a touch of his old fierce spirit for "grace of repentance to all bloodthirsty people." He bade the world remember that he had always lived in the Protestant religion. "And in that," he said with proud composure, "I come now to die." Men have not ceased to differ, and to differ widely, as to the interpretations which the Protestantism of the English Church permits. But how many parish churches could be found in England to repudiate all Laud's views of ritual and of Churchmanship to-day?

Before Laud's fate was decided fresh negotiations had been opened at Oxford. Charles showed unusual graciousness in face of stiff demands. But in private he did not hesitate to describe his opponents as arrant rebels, whose end must be damnation, infamy and ruin. The negotiations came to nothing, but both at Oxford and at Westminster there were strong friends of peace. In February 1645 the clergy at Oxford were consulted, and they put forward a scheme of toleration which did honour to their hearts and heads. Episcopacy was to be maintained, but the Bishops' powers of coercion to be limited. And penal laws were to be suspended against Presbyterians and Independents alike.<sup>1</sup> Years of bitterness might have been avoided had any scheme so liberal prevailed. In the meantime the New Model Army was organised, while Digby entreated Goring "to beware of debauches," and Hyde complained of the strange kind of Generals who allowed themselves to sulk with the enemy at their gates. "For God's sake, let us not fall into ill humours which may cost us dear." In April Cromwell, the "darling of the sectaries," was raiding in the neighbourhood of Oxford. Colonel Windebank surrendered Bletchington House, and was

<sup>1</sup> The proposal is printed from the Clarendon MS. in the *Eng. Hist. Rev.* for April 1887 (341). See also Gardiner's *Hist. of Civil War* (1893, II, 125-6).

tried and shot at Oxford Castle.<sup>1</sup> A month later Fairfax was threatening a siege<sup>2</sup> and provisions were running short. Charles, moving through the Midlands, sent men and cattle into Oxford; "the cattle," says a candid critic, "he might have spared better than the men."<sup>3</sup> Naseby followed, but still Charles hoped on. Montrose in the far North was winning astonishing victories—victories "rather like dreams than truths." Before the end of August Charles was back in Oxford, but he left it two days later for the West. In September Rupert surrendered Bristol. Perhaps he knew the cause was lost. But Charles had no pity for "so mean an action." His harsh treatment of the Prince and Rupert's recriminations against Digby made bitter the ensuing weeks. Glemham, a stout old Cavalier who had held Carlisle stubbornly against the Scots, replaced Rupert's friend Legge as Governor of Oxford. But two days after the surrender of Bristol Montrose went down at Philiphaugh. Even in the University City all illusions had now disappeared, as Charles bitterly realised when he returned there in November. Glemham advised him to set the Independents to fight the Presbyterians, and this advice, chiming in with his own inclinations, may have influenced the vain intrigues in which the winter passed. While Charles ordered special prayers in Oxford College Chapels, and his Parliament required all Colleges and Halls and houses to hang out lights from dusk "till the Tap-too be beaten,"<sup>4</sup> Fairfax steadily reduced the West. On the 4th February 1646 the King visited his Parliament in the Schools.<sup>5</sup> On the 13th April he committed to Sheldon a written vow to restore all Church lands held by the Crown, if he ever recovered his "just kingly rights." On the 26th Charles took leave of his Council. At three in the morning of the 27th, attended only by Jack Ashburnham and his devoted Chaplain Dr. Hudson, once a poor boy and Taberdar of Queen's, he bade good-bye for ever to the spires of Oxford and stole away to the Scottish camp. He was disguised as Ashburnham's servant, his hair and beard cut close. "Farewell, Harry," called the Governor after him, as he clanged the gates behind.

Within a few days of the King's departure Fairfax arrived

<sup>1</sup> See *Life, Diary, etc. of Sir W. Dugdale* (1827, p. 78).

<sup>2</sup> On the elaborate preparations for a siege then made by the Parliament see *State Papers*, 1644–5 (especially p. 515). On May 29 a shot "from y<sup>e</sup> Rebels warning piece at Marston" fell against a wall at Christ Church (*Dugdale's Diary*, 79).

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, 210 (printed in Bell's edition of Defoe's *Works*, 1889).

<sup>4</sup> See *Oxford Books* (II, 413).

<sup>5</sup> *Dugdale (Diary)*, 84.



and began to draw his lines about the City. All that remained of the Royalist strength lay there. The siege, this time at any rate, would have been a reality with no prospect of relief. Glemham had a considerable force and a strong position. He and his men made vigorous preparations for defence. But the heart had gone out of the Royalist courtiers. The Privy Council had the King's leave to negotiate,<sup>1</sup> and little could be gained by defending the place. On the 11th May Fairfax summoned the garrison to surrender, and expressed his wish to offer honourable terms. "I verie much desire the preservation of that place (so famous for Learning) from ruine, which inevitably is like to fall upon it except you concurr." The Parliamentarians believed that there were six months' provisions in Oxford, and that the place could be neither starved nor stormed. A hundred thousand men "could hardly by violence have reduced it."<sup>2</sup> Yet, in spite of stout opposition from the soldiers, the Governor by direction of the Council consented to treat. Commissioners were appointed on both sides, Dr. Zouch and Robert Mead representing the University's interests. Ireton, Lambert and Desborough were among those named by Fairfax. Ireton found time to marry Bridget Cromwell, at Holton close by, while the negotiations went on. Sallies and cannonades, in one of which Rupert was wounded, failed to interrupt the treaty, and Fairfax showed the same generous spirit to the end. The University's charters and rights were guaranteed. The Colleges were promised all their privileges and possessions, the preservation of their buildings, and six months' emoluments for any of their members whom Parliament might remove. On the 24th June the garrison marched out with colours flying, through the lines of the Parliament from St. Clement's to Shotover Hill. Rupert and Maurice with a great company of lords and gentlemen had already left. Hundreds of passes were granted<sup>3</sup> when Fairfax took possession of the town. Oxford had surrendered to a noble-minded enemy. But the University stood

<sup>1</sup> Instructions to surrender seem to have followed, on May 18 or 19. But they may not have reached Oxford. (See *MS. Tann.* 59, f. 213, and *Oxford Books*, II, 418).

<sup>2</sup> See *Mercurius Civicus* on the subject, and the resolutions of Fairfax's Council of War. The *Thomason Tracts* (E. 341, 9, 15, 16, 17, 18, and E. 342, 9) give many details in regard to the surrender, and more than one version of the Articles agreed at Oxford on June 20 and approved by the House of Commons on June 23. See also Sprigge (*Anglia Rediviva*, Chap. VII), Rushworth (Pt. IV, vol. I, Chap. IX), and *State Papers*, 1645-7 (445). Prof. Gardiner (Civil War, III, 109) accepts the view that food and ammunition were running short. Dugdale dwells on the Officers' reluctance to surrender (*Diary*, 87-8).

<sup>3</sup> Above 2,000, says Wood, after the garrison had left (*Ann.* II, 486). Wood's account of course is full.

bare, its youth and treasure spent, its courts forsaken, face to face with the authority whose power it had defied.

Nothing perhaps reveals more clearly the temper of the English Revolution,<sup>1</sup> the instinctive moderation which prevailed in the end over violence and excess, than the history of the University of Oxford between the surrender to Fairfax and the return of Charles II. The first step taken by the new authority, in July 1646, was to appoint a Committee for regulating the University, and to forbid College elections and the grant of fresh leases till the pleasure of Parliament was known. The next, in September, was to send down six preachers, Presbyterian divines, to prepare the way for the new order, so far as pulpit oratory or exposition could. Henry Wilkinson of Magdalen Hall<sup>2</sup> was one of them: Francis Cheynell of Merton was another. Henry Wilkinson, in Wood's opinion, was the "exact cut of a precisian," and Cheynell had "the fiery face of a fury." But Wood had a lively eye for failings which he did not share. The most distinguished of the six was Edward Reynolds, another Merton man, whose singular ecclesiastical career is characteristic of the times. Originally a friend and supporter of Prideaux, Reynolds had joined the Westminster assembly of divines, had taken the Covenant with some misgivings, and had ranged himself upon the Presbyterian side. But he was no lover of extreme courses. Gentle and eloquent, scrupulous, large-minded, he laboured to reconcile the theologians of his day. And whether preferred or deprived—he was twice made Dean of Christ Church, once Warden of Merton and later Bishop of Norwich—he kept the respect of moderate men in all parties alike. The visit of these preachers made a stir in Oxford. The Royalists affected to laugh at their "wry mouths, squint eyes, and scru'd faces," at their "squeaking voices and puling tones." But if their methods seemed theatrical, their earnestness had its effect. The weekly conferences which they established every Thursday at a house beside the Saracen's Head, irreverently termed the Scruple Shop, drew doubters and serious-minded men of all opinions, and evidently met with some success. The Independents, always ready to challenge the Presbyterians, and no doubt egged on by the undergraduates, seized the opportunity to assert their views as well. Hugh Peters had already startled churchmen at St. Mary's. Army

<sup>1</sup> That Revolution in the large sense covers the Rebellion, the reaction under Charles II, and the final triumph of 1688.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Wilkinson, senior, "Long Harry," afterwards Canon of Christ Church. Seven preachers were appointed, but one of them apparently, Edward Corbet, did not come, at any rate at first.

preachers, narrower and less eminent than he, made themselves heard in the pulpits, in the Schools, upon the Christ Church stairs. They held meetings in a house opposite Merton Chapel. They provoked all opponents to debate. Colonel John Hewson, once a shoe-maker, now a power in the Army, proved himself a stubborn controversialist.<sup>1</sup> William Erbery, formerly a Brasenose undergraduate and afterwards a rebel against Laud, undertook to prove in argument with Cheynell that ministers had no more authority to preach than private Christians, and Oxford opinion thought he had the best of the debate. The Parliamentary authorities discouraged these spectacular contests. But the rift between the Army and the Parliament was growing wider every day.

On the departure of the soldiers, said a Puritan news-sheet, "one Colledge doth seeme to smile unto another."<sup>2</sup> But there were not wanting signs of embarrassment while the University was waiting for the conquerors' decrees. On August 4 Convocation appointed Langbaine and Brooks, the Principal of Saint Mary Hall, to go to London on their behalf, and on the 23rd they addressed letters of appeal to Fairfax and to Selden.<sup>3</sup> In October a censorship of the University press practically stopped its publications. Samuel Fell wrote pitifully to the delegates in London about the "miserable condition" of Oxford. College tenants were taking "strange advantages"—but surely they would not be "so unnatural as to starve us." The turnpike roads were "ruinated": but the University had no money "for this or anything else."<sup>4</sup> In December 1646 certain Fellows and Scholars of Colleges, who had been forced to leave Oxford during the war, appealed to Parliament for compensation.<sup>5</sup> At last on the 1st May 1647 the Ordinance for the Visitation of the University appeared. Twenty-four Visitors, of whom five formed a quorum, were to inquire into all offences and disorders, and in particular to ascertain what members of the University had failed to take the Covenant and the Negative Oath, had opposed the Parliamentary ordinances or had fought against the Parliamentary forces.<sup>6</sup> Sir Nathaniel Brent, named

<sup>1</sup> Hewson became one of the King's judges and a member of Cromwell's House of Lords. (See Wood's *Fasti*, ed. Bliss, II, 134).

<sup>2</sup> See *Mercurius Civicus* (Thomason Tracts, E. 341, 18).

<sup>3</sup> See *Reg. Sb* (122-3-4).

<sup>4</sup> See *Wood F.* 35 (f. 15).

<sup>5</sup> *State Papers*, 1645-7 (501).

<sup>6</sup> For the Ordinance of May 1647 see Wood (*Ann.* II, 501 sq.), *Worc. Coll. Pamphlets* (AA. 1. 19. 32), *State Papers*, 1645-7 (550-1), *Wood F.* 35 (ff. 18-19), etc. There were 3 Wilkinsons among the visitors, Dr. John, Mr. John, and Mr. Henry Wilkinson. The Negative Oath was an oath not to help the King or to act under his direction to the prejudice of Parliament.



at the head of the Commission, and Edward Reynolds were two of its most important members. Cheynell represented the more vehement partisans. Prynne, remorseless still in pamphleteering—we have a picture of him studying and writing, with his long quilt cap drawn over his eyes, sustained by a roll and a pot of ale brought him every three hours to “refocillate” his spirits—Prynne was as ready as anyone for conflict, but for his old University he kept a soft spot in his heart. Christopher Rogers and Dr. John Wilkinson represented the Puritan Halls. To Wood’s jaundiced eye Rogers pleased only women and children, while Dr. Wilkinson, with more beard than learning, had for forty years been the sport of boys. There was a majority of laymen on the Commission and a sufficiency of lawyers. But many of the lay members attended comparatively little, and the fate of the University was left largely in the hands of the divines. A Standing Committee of twenty-six Peers and fifty-two members of the House of Commons was nominated, to receive reports from the Visitors and to hear appeals. Pembroke, now restored to his dignity as Chancellor, but with no more dignity of character to sustain it, Manchester, who had ceased to lead armies for the Parliament but was still responsible for regulating the University of Cambridge, and Lord Saye and Sele were among the Peers. Selden and Whitelocke, Holles and Lenthall were conspicuous among the members of the Commons. Francis Rous, politician, theologian, mystic, once an undergraduate of Broadgates and more recently Provost of Eton, acted often as Chairman of the Committee, and the existence of this important Court in London, often too ready to listen to appeals, did not make matters easier for their agents at Oxford.

The Visitors cited the Proctors and Heads of Houses to appear before them in the House of Convocation between nine and eleven on the 4th June. The blazing out of the quarrel between the Army and the Parliament, and the forcible seizure by the Oxford garrison of a large sum of money sent down to pay them off,<sup>1</sup> caused some of the Visitors to postpone their arrival and gave the opposition time to mature their plans. Meetings of Heads were held at All Souls and Christ Church, to arrange a method of passive resistance. There was “most spirituall wickednesse,” said a Puritan pamphlet, at All Souls. At a Convocation held on the 1st June, over which Samuel Fell, the Vice-Chancellor, presided, a Delegacy was appointed to answer on the University’s behalf. The Delegates were all of one

<sup>1</sup> The story of the fight in the High Street between the guard of the convoy and the soldiers of the garrison is told in the Oxford Scholar’s letter printed in *Worc. Coll. Pamphlets* (AA. I. 19. 17).

complexion, College Heads like Fell and Baylie, Langbaine, Pinke and Sheldon, resolute churchmen like Hammond, Morley, Sanderson, strong spirits like Obadiah Walker of University, Tozer of Exeter and Webberley of Lincoln. A skilful statement of the "just Scruples" felt by the University in regard to the Covenant, the Negative Oath and the Ordinances for discipline and worship was drawn up by Sanderson with Dr. Zouch's help.<sup>1</sup> The University affirmed its belief in the true Protestant religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church of England, and pleaded that Episcopacy, if not *Jure Divino* and commanded by the Word of God, was yet of Apostolical institution. The statement was framed with judicious moderation, but it may not have been quite so successful in clearing away "all suspicion of obstinacy" as its authors hoped. The Puritans at Oxford at once protested against the confederacy of Dr. Fell and his Delegates to maintain the old Prelacy and Liturgy and to oppose all reforms. On the 3rd June the great gates of Merton were set open for the Visitors, but the dignitaries expected did not come. On the 4th, however, those on the spot<sup>2</sup> decided to open the proceedings with a preliminary sermon at St. Mary's Church. But the sermon lasted too long. The Vice-Chancellor, Proctors and Doctors, who had gathered at the Convocation House in formal obedience to the summons, were watching the clock eagerly and comparing it with the sun. On the stroke of eleven, as the Visitors had not arrived, the Vice-Chancellor dismissed his colleagues, and they had the pleasure of meeting the Visitors in the Proscholium as they passed out. A bold Bedel even demanded room for the Vice-Chancellor, and a "great Humme" emphasised the point. But the University's respect for the letter of the citation was too serious to allow its representatives to return.<sup>3</sup>

There for a time matters rested. The opposition were delighted. The Visitors were annoyed—all the more when Sheldon and Hammond left Oxford by permission of the Army to wait upon the King, a permission which the Parliament had refused. In August and September the powers of the Visitors were enlarged. A Commission was issued in the King's name. They were authorised in wide terms to regulate and reform the University and to pass sentence upon any of its

<sup>1</sup> See *Reg. Sb* (133-149), *Worc. Coll. Pamph.* (AA. 8. 18. 21), *Oxf. Books* (II, 445-8 and 472-3), and Dr. Jacobson's Preface to vol. I of Sanderson's *Works* (xvii).

<sup>2</sup> They included apparently Reynolds, Rogers, Cheynell, Dr. John and Henry Wilkinson and Harris.

<sup>3</sup> The story is told from two different points of view in *Worc. Coll. Pamph.* (AA. 1. 19. 17), and in *Tanner MS.* 338 (f. 74).

rulers.<sup>1</sup> The Committee invited them to act with vigour, and at the end of September they went to work again. A fresh sermon reopened the proceedings, but Henry Wilkinson's pulpit eloquence, with its pointed personal allusions, was more than some of his congregation could bear. The Visitors, sitting at Merton, ordered all Registers and Statute-Books to be brought before them, and appointed one or two representatives to report to them in regard to each College and Hall.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Fell was repeatedly summoned. The University Delegates asked leave with great humility to see the Visitors' commission and to know by what authority they proposed to act. They had their oaths to keep their Statutes, apart from their duty to the King, and they would rather be destroyed than perjured. On the 6th October most of the Heads of Houses put in an appearance, not to bring their books, as required, but to repeat their questions as to the Visitors' powers. Dean Fell, however, declined to appear at all before such inconsiderable persons. Was a Dean and a Vice-Chancellor to stand bare-headed before nobodies sitting in elbow chairs? The Registrar could not produce the Register of Convocation. The Bedels had no control over their staves. The University Clerk could not lay hands upon the keys. The Proctors appeared, but only to announce that the University could not acknowledge any Visitation unless ordered by the King.<sup>3</sup> Wightwicke, the new Master of Pembroke—Clayton had just died—offered the same answer. The Visitors were at last driven to assert themselves. Fell was removed from the Vice-Chancellorship—Wightwicke was deposed, and Langley, one of the six preachers, appointed in his place. The Convocation records were seized in the Registrar's room. The

<sup>1</sup> See the details given by Wood (*Ann.* II, 513 *sq.*). A power to commit for contempt was apparently among them, though the Royalists doubted it (*Clar. State Papers* 30, 2636). See also *Wood F.* 35 (ff. 28 and 31-45).

<sup>2</sup> Men of standing served in this capacity—Conant at Exeter, Langley at Pembroke, Bradshaw at Balliol. One, two or three were appointed from most Colleges and Halls, and were regarded by their political opponents as spies. But it seems that at University, Oriel, All Souls and Brasenose the Visitors found no delegates whom they could trust to act for them (Richards and Shadwell, *Provosts of Oriel*, App. V).

<sup>3</sup> On the protests and proceedings of these weeks see *Clar. St. Pap.* 30 (2636) and *Wood F.* 35 (ff. 71 *sq.*). Wood has gathered many details in *MS. Wood F.* 35, some of which he works into his history. But the most important authority (printed in 1881 by Prof. Montagu Burrows in his *Register of Visitors*) is the *MS. Register of the proceedings of Visitors from 30 Sept. 1647 to 8 April 1658*, called *E. Museo (or Musaeo) 77*, because it was at one time kept in the Librarian's study or *musaeum* at the Bodleian. It may have been given to the Bodleian by the executors of Ralph Austen, who succeeded Newhouse as Registrar or Secretary to the Commission, and whose name is inside the cover. Wood used it freely.



beginning of the October term was postponed by order, but the Vice-Chancellor promptly called a Congregation and began it, while the Heads of Houses protested that their books and Statutes could only be examined by the lawful Visitors whom every College possessed. Brent and Henry Wilkinson went to Westminster to report to the Committee. Fell was summoned to London: Barlow wrote to Sheldon, in October 1647,<sup>1</sup> "we are now left ἀκέφαλοι, our Vice-Chancellor ravished from us." Dr. Potter of Trinity agreed, most unwillingly, to act in Fell's stead. At Christ Church Hammond, as Sub-Dean, took charge of the College, treating the scholars like "his private family, he scarce leaving a single person without some mark or other of both his charity and care." The Heads of several Colleges called before the Visitors early in November, referred to the answers already given by the University, and were summoned to appear in London. The Delegates approved their action. It is to be feared that the suspicion of obstinacy was by this time confirmed.

At Westminster during the autumn and winter the same struggle was continued and the same comedy played, not without patience on the part of the Parliament or dexterity on the part of their opponents. Lord Pembroke indeed fell foul of Dr. Fell with abuse "so outrageous that his own grave associates smiled."<sup>2</sup> But Selden, Whitelocke, Prynne and others exerted themselves to serve the University. The Independents were unwilling to press men against their consciences, especially if the pressure came from the Presbyterian side. Selden warned them that, if they proceeded too hastily, they would "destroy rather than reforme one of ye most famous and learned companies of men that ever was visible in ye Christian world."<sup>3</sup> The Oxford leaders pleaded for time—Parliament, Army and King were manœuvring against each other. They asked for Counsel, and largely by Selden's influence obtained them. A large minority in the Committee stood by them, but they were finally adjudged guilty of contempt. Dr. Fell was expelled from his office and his Deanery, though Selden's advocacy saved him from a fine. The two Proctors were dismissed; Selden is said to have saved one of them from banishment. Dr. Baylie of St. John's was removed from his Headship. So were Radcliffe of Brasenose, Potter of Trinity, and Oliver of Magdalen. Dr. Gardiner and Dr. Iles were deprived of Christ Church Canonries—the Committee "fiercely voting." The one was

<sup>1</sup> *I See Wood F. 35 (f. 121).*

<sup>2</sup> *Fell to Sheldon, Oct. 13 (Ib. f. 123).*

<sup>3</sup> *See Clar. St. Pap. 30 (2735), where a lively account of these debates is given.*

declared to be an Arminian, the other "a drunken sot." Dr. Morley also lost his Canonry, though Selden and Whitelocke interceded for him. Reynolds was made Vice-Chancellor and Dean in place of Fell. Two new Proctors were appointed. Pembroke was ordered to go and take possession of his place as Chancellor. Christopher Rogers, Henry Wilkinson and Henry Langley were nominated to Canonries at Christ Church. A messenger was sent to Oxford to apprehend some of the displaced dignitaries, but found that they "were stept aside." The Committee's directions remained for the present unfulfilled.

In March 1648 the Visitors at Oxford resumed their activities. Dr. Pitt of Wadham and Tozer the Sub-Rector of Exeter<sup>1</sup> were among those summoned to Merton. Tozer especially was sharply questioned and found guilty of contempt. Sheldon at All Souls and Hammond at Christ Church evaded the questions put, and were condemned to deprivation. Other Canons of Christ Church and Webberley, Sub-Rector of Lincoln, suffered the same fate. Webberley continued defiant and was sent to Bridewell for a time. Steps were taken to secure possession of the Deanery, but Mrs. Fell steadily refused to leave. Affronts offered to soldiers of the garrison caused more troops to be sent down for the Visitors' support. The Provost of Oriel declined submission. The Lodgings at Corpus had to be broken into in search of the Vice-Chancellor's insignia and books. Offenders ignored the sentences published and were not to be found when summoned. The resources of passive resistance are never easy to exhaust.

On the 11th April Pembroke, the Chancellor, arrived in person—"the long-legged peece of impertinency," mocked the Royalists, in squibs which lacked nothing in impertinence themselves. "I love the Bible, though I seldom use it,"<sup>2</sup> was supposed to be his acknowledgment of a presentation copy. A great company went out to Abingdon to meet him, and conducted him to Merton College. On the following morning he went to the Deanery and requested Mrs. Fell to leave. Troops were brought up to enforce the invitation. But they had to carry the intrepid lady out, "and her children after her upon boords, as if they were going like so many Pyes to the Oven."<sup>3</sup> The names of Fell and Hammond and others were then "dashed out" of the

<sup>1</sup> Hakewill, the Rector, was probably still away. But Prideaux is said to have been staying about 1648 in or near the College (Burrows, *Register*, lxxv).

<sup>2</sup> See the squib *News from Pembroke and Montgomery: or Oxford Manchestered* (Harl. Miscell. V. 112-4). On Pembroke's visit see also the *Thomason Tracts* already cited and *Oxf. Books* (II, 464 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> I quote the Royalist skit (*Thomason Tracts*, E. 437, 9).

Buttery-book. In the afternoon the Chancellor presided at a meeting of Convocation, from which most of the senior Masters held conspicuously aloof.<sup>1</sup> The proceedings, the Royalists alleged, "that his Lordship might understand," were held "in their Mother Tongue." Dr. Reynolds took the oath as Vice-Chancellor, and made a conciliatory speech, which even opponents approved. Degrees were conferred. New Proctors and Bedels were named. Next day, the 13th, was a day of evictions. Pembroke went first with a guard to Magdalen and installed John Wilkinsons as President in Oliver's place. Oliver's servant, who locked the door of the Lodgings against them, was sent off to prison with a file of musketeers. From Magdalen they passed on to All Souls. Sheldon, who was walking in his garden, received them with composure, but refused to surrender his keys. His name was dashed out and Dr. Palmer's inserted. His Lodgings also were broken into and hard words were used. Sheldon himself was marched off under guard to James Chesterman's house against the Cross Inn, and a remarkable demonstration of sympathy followed him through the streets. "I have, for your sake, clapped Sheldon in prison," the Royalist satirist made the Chancellor say to his confederates. "Was it not high time? Damme, he hath more brains than all we together."

From All Souls the Chancellor's party went on to Wadham and to Trinity, with a noisy rabble following behind. There were townsmen, no doubt, who found a certain satisfaction in seeing the great dignitaries of the University brought low. John Wilkins and Robert Harris, one of the six preachers, were established in the places of Dr. Pitt and Hannibal Potter. Pitt and Potter were both, it seems, away. The turn of St. John's came next. There Dr. Baylie met them in the quadrangle, and rather disarmed Pembroke by playing him a compliment. But that did not deter the Visitors from installing Cheynell in the President's seat. Baylie's wife and family were in the College, and they were allowed a month to move out.<sup>2</sup> The Royalists were not without excuse in thinking the new President's partisanship tinged with madness. But they put it more bluntly: "Cheynell is Bedlam seven stories high." From St. John's the unwearied Chancellor passed to Brasenose—it was now growing late—and declared Greenwood Principal in Radcliffe's place. Radcliffe was ill, but he held on to his rooms over the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Zouch incurred some suspicion by attending. But Rouse, Bodley's Librarian, was also there. For the proceedings in Convocation see *Reg. T.*, 1647-59 (p. 11).

<sup>2</sup> But Wood says that the new President had to break into his Lodgings on the 2nd June (*Ann.* II, 589).



gateway, and kept the key of the College treasury till his death. The seven Commissioners who signed the order at Brasenose included Pembroke, Cheynell, Prynne and Brent.<sup>1</sup> After that the procession returned in triumph to Merton. With little violence, but perhaps at the cost of some little dignity, the Visitors of the Parliament had enforced their will.

It must be admitted that the victorious party had shown some patience hitherto. They had waited for nearly two years since the surrender of Oxford without resorting to a display of force. The Committee of Lords and Commoners sanctioned the Chancellor's proceedings, and empowered the Visitors to summon and suspend, if need be, all recalcitrant members of Colleges and Halls. The Visitors continued their sittings in Oxford, doing their best to secure submissions, summoning College Bursars and officials before them, trying to temper severity with mercy, and incidentally putting down "superstitious" customs, like the use of the old Prayer-Book in College Chapels,<sup>2</sup> the appearance of the Bell-man at University funerals, or May-games and Morris dances in the town. Reynolds and Rogers, Cheynell and the Wilkinsons seem to have taken the most prominent part. Early in May 1648 various members of the Colleges began to appear before them, and to say whether they would submit to the authority of Parliament or not.<sup>3</sup> The lists of those summoned were probably made as complete as circumstances allowed, and included Fellows and Scholars, Commoners and servants. The answers given showed great variety of opinion and a good deal of dialectical resource. Some were openly defiant. Some were ingeniously ambiguous. Some would have been ready to make terms had their oaths and obligations permitted. Some, but a minority only, were ready to submit. Nicholas Pitt of Queen's College spoke for the first class without hesitation.

"To the pretended Visitors of this Universitie my Answer is negative, that I will not, neither can without abusing the Kinge, and therein my owne conscience, submitt to you as Visitors, whom his Majestie doth professe his enemies: Thus stands the conscience of Nicholas Pitt."

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<sup>1</sup> The other three were Robert Harris, William Cobbe and Joshua Cross (or Crosse) one of the new Proctors (Wood, *Ann.* II, 572). Wood's narrative of these proceedings, though biassed, is full of interesting detail and is clearer than some of the contemporary accounts.

<sup>2</sup> It was not till Christmas that the Latin prayers at Christ Church were suppressed (Burrows, *Register*, lxxxiii). I give references of course to the printed edition of this Register.

<sup>3</sup> Magdalen was summoned on May 2nd, Christ Church next day. All Souls, Trinity, Pembroke, Magdalen Hall and New Inn Hall were also among the first. St. John's, New College, Exeter and others followed immediately. Within three weeks they had practically all appeared.

But Nathaniell Noyse of the same Society submitted willingly and with great joy. He added that his views had exposed him to "noe small malignity and opposition of those of the Colledge." Thomas Throkmorton of Balliol was as emphatic as Nicholas Pitt: "I will not be soe traiterous to my Kinge as to acknowledge the pretended right and authority of his enemies." John Hughes of Jesus, whose conscience was not large enough "to entertaine everie cruditie of Doctrine," would not submit, were it to save his life. But indirect answers were more common than open defiance, and many a graduate and undergraduate must have revelled in the opportunities they gave. Some required time to think the matter over. The question was so high and difficult that they dared not answer it without delay. Mr. Phyneas Jackson of Trinity could not persuade his conscience to give any positive reply. New College men recalled their Statutes, and dwelt like many others on the risks of perjury incurred. A reference to the answer given by the University was very popular. But puzzled bewilderment was a still commoner plea. Allestree of Christ Church could not make out the meaning of the question. James Fayre of Queen's humbly conceived it to be "very abstruse, ambiguous and difficult." Another was not sure whether the authority of Parliament meant the authority of the King. Another had, for his part, "never studied State Policie." A Demy of Magdalen found it quite beyond his capacity. A Probationer felt it would be presumptuous for him to answer extempore when "very learned and juditouse men" had asked for time. One young gentleman, being still "in the Government of a Tutor," could not be expected to see his way. A second pleaded "weake apprehention," a third that he was only a chorister and a "Schooleboy 14 yeare old." Lyonell Pine of Wadham perhaps touched the highest point of vagueness and prolixity:

"I hope noe man, since hee cannot finde in my life past whence to censure me, greedy to finde faults that hee will rake my owne brest to confesse that which noe man accuse me of, neither doe I myselfe yet know, viz: what I possibly shall doe hereafter this when I shall be commaunded that which I yet never heard of."

The rights of the King and of the College Visitors and the obligations of College oaths were real stumbling-blocks to many. But sometimes more original arguments appeared. A Christ Church Commoner, living at great expense and daily expecting his friends to recall him, could not suppose that the Visitation had anything to do with him. A Student of the same College could answer no summons until he had been properly described. Henry Birkhead of All Souls submitted once in his "owne

sence," and a second time so far as he lawfully might. Thomas Fletcher of Magdalen was afraid of offending Parliament if he acknowledged the Visitors, "because they are all, or most of them, Clergie men." Political defeat had not dulled the University's humour or dimmed its controversial powers. It is no wonder if the Committee in London found it necessary to resolve that professions of ignorance, saving clauses, and other forms of evasion were not to be reckoned as submissions at all.

Of those who appeared in answer to the summons and gave their replies in the first weeks of May, a fair proportion acknowledged the Visitors' authority. At Magdalen Hall and New Inn Hall there was not a single refusal. At Pembroke there was only one out of twenty replies.<sup>1</sup> At Lincoln eighteen submitted out of twenty-six who answered. At Trinity half of the replies were favourable, at Merton more than half. At Exeter eleven out of twenty-four complied without equivocation, at Queen's nine out of forty-three. But in other cases refusals and evasions were more marked. Christ Church and Magdalen yielded at first few submissions, St. John's only four out of thirty-six replies, Balliol three out of sixteen, Brasenose two out of eighteen. Oriel and All Souls each supplied ten answers without one submission, for the one offered at All Souls was afterwards withdrawn.<sup>2</sup> New College, like All Souls, a close corporation, largely ruled by lawyers and accused of corrupt methods in electing its Fellows, was stubbornly Royalist: fifty-two answers yielded only three submissions and two of these came from servants. Nineteen replies from Jesus and twenty-five replies from Corpus showed only one submission each. On Merton, where Brent's influence was again in the ascendant, and on Lincoln, where Hood presided if he could hardly be said to rule, the Visitors had from the first a certain hold. At Christ Church and Magdalen, as time went on, new appointments and good administration produced a considerable change, and the Royalist resistance was less vigorous than we might expect. Ralph Bathurst played a useful part at Trinity. Exeter and Wadham were largely influenced by their new Heads. Langbaine and Barlow, though undoubted Royalists, made the

<sup>1</sup> Burrows (*Reg.* 40-1). But there was more Royalist feeling at Pembroke than this implies.

<sup>2</sup> These figures, based on the replies printed from the *Register* by Prof. Burrows, are taken from the first batches of answers, and are not of course complete. The figures in the case of each College, so far as we know them, have been given elsewhere. It seems that expulsions were most numerous at Magdalen, New College and Christ Church, and were very considerable at Corpus and St. John's.



new system work at Queen's.<sup>1</sup> Brasenose, St. John's and Corpus acquiesced, however unwillingly, despite their loyalist traditions. It was chiefly at New College, with its Winchester connection, at All Souls, where Sheldon's influence lingered, and at Jesus, where Welsh Royalists, inspired perhaps by their old Principal, re-fought whenever possible the battles of the past, that the elements of opposition seemed difficult to quiet or remove.

With three exceptions every College in Oxford found itself shortly under a new Head,<sup>2</sup> and even among the new Heads there were further changes when the Engagement had to be subscribed. Most of the changes, like Dean Fell's displacement by Reynolds or Harvey's replacement by Brent, were due to political causes. But a few were occasioned by retirement or by death. Dr. Clayton of Pembroke had died in July 1647, and Dr. Pinke of New College a few months later. Pinke's successor, Dr. Stringer, elected in defiance of the Visitors, was finally ejected in January 1649. Dr. Radcliffe died in June 1648 at Brasenose, and the Royalist Fellows with a fine disregard of circumstances elected Yate, though Greenwood had already been installed. Dr. Lawrence of Balliol, a weak man, submitted, but retired shamefacedly in July 1648, and Bradshaw, an uncompromising Puritan, stepped into his shoes. Bradshaw appears to have found a grim pleasure in abolishing the prayers for King and Queen. Dr. Hakewill of Exeter died in April 1649, and in a happy moment for the College John Conant, Reynolds' son-in-law, was appointed in his stead. Before that Dr. Hoyle had been established at University, and Dr. Staunton at Corpus, though at Corpus the supporters of the old President, Dr. Newlyn, tore down the notice from the College gates. At Jesus Mansell had to give way, but he was allowed later to return and to live in the College. At Oriel Provost Saunders, though recalcitrant, managed to remain in office: he apparently had friends in the London Committee. At Queen's Langbaine, who shared Saunders' opinions, kept his place by influence or tact.

The Professors for the most part followed the Heads of Colleges. In May 1648 all Professors and Lecturers, who had been "very carelesse and negligent for these three termes last past," were summoned to return and take up their duties. But changes were probably inevitable here. Robert Sanderson, whose suspension was delayed as long as possible, gave place to Dr. Hoyle from Dublin, and Hoyle's inaugural lecture was

<sup>1</sup> Barlow succeeded Langbaine as Provost in 1658. They were life-long friends and had both been Poor Boys at Queen's.

<sup>2</sup> At Oriel, Lincoln and Queen's there was no change. The Heads of Magdalen Hall, New Inn Hall and Alban Hall submitted.

largely devoted to the praise of Bishop Prideaux. Cheynell succeeded Lawrence as Lady Margaret Professor. It could hardly be expected that the victorious party would leave the teaching of theology in the hands of Royalist divines. Greaves and Turner, both ardent Royalists of Merton, and Savilian Professors of Astronomy and Geometry, were admirably replaced by two distinguished Cambridge men, Seth Ward and John Wallis. It is pleasant to remember that Greaves exerted himself to secure the appointment of Ward as his successor.<sup>1</sup> He himself had been so active in opposing Brent, and so suspiciously friendly with the Queen's Confessor, as to be beyond the pale of forgiveness. Henry Wilkinson, junior, replaced Birkenhead as Professor of Moral Philosophy. Pococke, whose learning was beyond dispute, remained as Professor of Arabic and Hebrew, and one or two others remained with him.<sup>2</sup> Other Professors and Readers had to give way. Hammond was succeeded before long as Public Orator by Ralph Button, who bore a high reputation as a teacher. Most of the Christ Church Canonries fell to the winning side. Fellows and Scholars who would not submit paid the penalty for their opinions. College servants showed in many cases the same stubbornness or courage. College papers, registers, seals and even money mysteriously disappeared. Some refractory spirits also proved difficult to find. Some thought better of their opposition and withdrew it. Some condemned to expulsion escaped the sentences imposed. If there were examples of severity and bitter feeling, there were also moderate and reconciling influences at work. Appeals to the Committee in London were not infrequent. The Committee sometimes interposed and over-ruled the action of the Visitors with a freedom which added greatly to the difficulties of their task.

It is not possible to say exactly how many members of Oxford foundations lost their places at the Parliamentary Visitors' hands. It is probable that the estimate of four hundred often quoted is too high.<sup>3</sup> It is doubtful whether the numbers finally expelled were larger than the numbers who submitted. The number of new appointments made gives little clue to the

<sup>1</sup> See Walter Pope's *Life of Seth Ward* (18-22).

<sup>2</sup> E.g. the younger Clayton, Professor of Medicine, and Philips, Professor of Music, submitted. Others, like the Readers in Ancient History, Natural Philosophy and Greek, were replaced. Pococke lost his Canonry, and he only retained his Lecturerships owing to a widely signed petition which had Selden's support.

<sup>3</sup> This is Walker's estimate (*Sufferings of the Clergy*, 1714, Pt. II, 138-9). The total numbers ejected, when non-foundationers are added, he makes over 600. But his figures and his argument are obviously imperfect.

number of expulsions, partly because it is in itself uncertain, and partly because many vacancies were filled up on death or resignation in the ordinary course. The changes recorded in the Visitors' Register extend over several years, and the entries are sometimes inexact and careless. We have a note of two hundred and ninety-six appointments made in 1648, of a hundred and fourteen in 1649, and of eighty-seven others in the years which followed. Most of the earlier appointments probably were intended to fill places rendered vacant by expulsion. We have lists of new appointments well exceeding five hundred altogether, and including eighty-five at New College, and seventy-eight at Magdalen.<sup>1</sup> But it would be rash to build too definite conclusions on the figures given. That large changes were made is not to be denied. The attitude of the Colleges rendered that inevitable. The University had been too closely associated with the King's cause to escape. "A multitude of *pretious young Men*," cries one Royalist pamphlet, were banished.<sup>2</sup> "Fuimus," writes Langbaine to Selden, thanking him for his "extraordinary providence" to the University. But even Langbaine admits that some Loyalists were "ambitious of suffering"; and his letters turn ere long to lighter subjects, to the meaning of *κωματήρια*, to Selden's "rare discovery of Succoth Benoth," to problems connected with Abel's and Cain's wives.<sup>3</sup> With the severity shown there mingled a good deal of magnanimity and patience, and a degree of tolerance which was remarkable considering the conquerors' reputation for rigidity of view. The new men brought in sometimes deserved the criticisms of the Royalists. Their opinions, their origins, even their conduct, may have been objectionable. It is not in times of revolution only that pushing self-interest secures more than its due. And there was added bitterness in the reflection that so many of the intruders were Cambridge men. Wood speaks of poor curates and school-masters from the country, of rude and pragmatistical persons careless of formalities, discipline and dress, insolent and factious in their bearing and

<sup>1</sup> And 43 at Corpus. All these figures should be received with caution. Prof. Burrows in his edition of the Visitors' Register discusses the subject with fullness and candour. But his estimate on pp. lxxxix-xc must be compared with his remarks on pp. 469-70 and 477, with the Tables (473 sq.) and the summary (571). I feel some doubt about the lists of new appointments in the Tables—6 at Queen's, 40 at Christ Church, 38 at University College, etc. MS. Wood F. 35 (ff. 246-8) has lists of expulsions, incomplete.

<sup>2</sup> See *A Third and Fourth Part of Pegasus* (Worc. Coll. Pamph. BB. 1. 12. 8).

<sup>3</sup> See the 10 letters printed—dating from 1648 to 1653—in Hearne's edition of Leland's *De rebus Britannicis* (V, 282-97).



irregular in their ideas. But Wood had always an honest prejudice for his own party, and some at any rate of the newcomers were fully equal in character and distinction to those whom they displaced. John Fell, who suffered and felt keenly, complained of the "illiterate rabble" who made "an almost general riddance" of the loyal University. He declared that in the end very few legitimate members of the Colleges remained.<sup>1</sup> But a fairer and a truer view is attributed to another loyal Student of Christ Church, who kept his place by influence though he did not submit. Philip Henry, his celebrated son reports of him, thought, long after, that "milder Methods might have done better," but that, considering the circumstances and the provocation "it could not be said the Terms were hard."<sup>2</sup>

Through 1648 and 1649 the work of the Visitors continued. New cases were considered and new orders made. The course of politics outside Oxford, no doubt, had its influence on the proceedings. The Civil War broke out afresh, "a more prodigious treason." Dean Reynolds and the new Canons of Christ Church, hurrying up to London on alarming information that the lands of Cathedral Chapters were to be sold, found the House of Commons in possession of the Army chiefs. The conflict of parties reacted on the authority of the Commission. In Oxford itself there were incidents and plots. Cavalier scholars made fools of "the poor Saints" in disputations: so at least the Cavaliers alleged. Cheynell, the new President of St. John's, gave a great dinner on St. John Baptist's day, keeping the gaudy but omitting the sacrament and sermon. His behaviour was considered "damn'd and devilish by the Royal party." On May 29th, the Prince's birthday, young gentlemen at New College and Trinity made bonfires. On November 5th the zealous Protestants retorted with bonfires in their turn.<sup>3</sup> In July 1648 a Royalist plot to seize the Visitors and the garrison was discovered, in which one of the Merton Chaplains was said to be concerned. "Crackbrain Dr. Cheynell one of the Visitors traversed the streets in slippers crying out of plots against their lives in the night." But only a few conspirators of humble rank won notoriety. William Collier, the Pembroke butler, made his escape and became a hero. Edward Adams, a barber condemned to be hanged on the sign-post of the Catharine Wheel Inn, was saved at the last moment by Brent's intervention, on the earnest supplication of the Merton cook. More distin-

<sup>1</sup> See Fell's sketch of Allestree in the Preface to Allestree's *Sermons* (1684).

<sup>2</sup> See the *Life of Philip Henry* (1712, 14-15).

<sup>3</sup> But in 1648 the 5th fell on a Sunday, and the anniversary had to be kept next day. Wood notes the scruple with contempt (*Ann.* II, 611).

guished prisoners like Sheldon and Hammond proved an embarrassment. The Governor of Wallingford Castle refused to take charge of them, except as friends.<sup>1</sup> Tozer was released. In Beam Hall, then Dr. Willis' house, in Merton Street <sup>2</sup> John Fell and his two friends, Dolben and Allestree, carried on Church of England services, probably not without connivance, till Charles II returned. The new Warden of New College is said to have made havoc of the College timber. A treasure of gold coins, old spur-royals, was discovered at Magdalen and divided by the Fellows. Two sealed bags of money, mysteriously found at Trinity College, were said to be claimed by President Harris "Verbo Sacerdotis" as portions for his daughters. But the Royalists, who may have invented the story, were positive that the store belonged to the College.<sup>3</sup>

On Thursday the 17th May 1649 Thomas Lord Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell arrived on a State visit to the University. They stayed at All Souls. Jerome Zanchy, an intruded Fellow of that House, now Sub-Warden and Proctor but lately a Colonel in the Parliament's Army, acted as their host.<sup>4</sup> They were waited on by the Heads of Houses, and welcomed to Oxford in a speech, which, though bad, "was yet good enough for Soldiers," rebels from the Royalist point of view. Cromwell declared that they would not fail to remember that no Commonwealth could flourish without learning. On the 19th the two Generals dined in Magdalen Hall and played bowls upon the College Green. They were created Doctors of Civil Law in Convocation, and sat in scarlet gowns at the Vice-Chancellor's side. Several of their officers were admitted as Masters of Arts. A banquet at the Bodleian followed, and next day, Sunday, sermons at St. Mary's. Henry Wilkinson and the Senior Proctor, "though rank Presbyterians, yet prayed hard, if not heartily, for the Army and their blessed proceedings." The visit passed without mishap, but it can hardly be wondered at if indignant Royalists seized the opportunity to murmur execrations and to drink defiant toasts.

The first Board of Visitors lasted for four or five years, but, as time went on, the differences between Independents and Presbyterians increased. Friction repeatedly occurred between the Committee in London and the Visitors at Oxford. The

<sup>1</sup> In September or October 1648 Sheldon was apparently allowed, within limits, to choose his own place of residence (Burrows, *Reg.* 190 and 207).

<sup>2</sup> The services seem to have begun in Christ Church.

<sup>3</sup> Some of Wood's stories must be received with caution (*Ann.* II, 623-5). The Magdalen gold was afterwards refunded.

<sup>4</sup> Zanchy or Sanchey had a picturesque career. For his adventures in Ireland and elsewhere, and his enmity to Sir W. Petty, see Burrows (*Reg.* 227).

Committee may not always have been as well informed as the men on the spot. But in matters of policy their influence could not be gainsaid. It was the London Committee which in November 1648 required that the Negative Oath should be tendered to all members of Colleges,<sup>1</sup> abjuring connection with the King and his party. It was the London Committee which a year later ordered that the Engagement to be faithful to the Commonwealth as established without a King or House of Lords should be subscribed by all Fellows, graduates and officers of Colleges and Halls.<sup>2</sup> Many Presbyterians found the Engagement unacceptable. There were protests against "an ensnaring oath."<sup>3</sup> Convocation under Reynolds' leadership petitioned Parliament for leave to substitute a promise to live peaceably under the existing Government. But the Independents finally insisted on the letter of the law. The new oath was tendered and generally accepted, though not so generally approved. Some distinguished men like Conant found a formula which enabled them to take it. But Brent and Reynolds declined. Reynolds had to resign his offices.<sup>4</sup> Brent ceased to act as Visitor and Warden before the end of 1651. Greenwood of Brasenose, an able Independent, became Vice-Chancellor, and John Owen, a man of still stronger personality, became Dean of Christ Church in Reynolds' place.

But before Reynolds was driven out of Christ Church the best work of the first Board of Visitors had been done. As the need for harsh action diminished and the tale of expulsions came to an end, the opportunities for restoring the old conditions increased. The Colleges for the most part settled down and accepted the new dispensation, though in certain quarters an angry and sullen spirit survived. All the Colleges had suffered in their finances. Some of the poorer ones were in great straits. Oriel had borrowed sixty pounds from Rouse, the Librarian of the Bodleian. At University the Master and Fellows became non-resident and had to be recalled.<sup>5</sup> Both at University and at other Colleges Fellowships had to be suspended. Revenues

<sup>1</sup> Wood says (*Ann.* II, 612) that Henry Wilkinson and Cheynell pressed this on the Committee, to the dislike of more moderate men.

<sup>2</sup> The Engagement was in the form of a promise—oaths were falling into discredit. It practically superseded the Covenant. Prynne at once produced a pamphlet against it. Cromwell seems to have been indisposed to press it.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. *Worc. Coll. Pamph.* (AA. 8. 18. 31).

<sup>4</sup> Reynolds gave up the Deanery in March 1651.

<sup>5</sup> See the order of March 22, 1650 (*Burrows, Reg.* 289-90). But in spite of debt the plans for building, helped by Sir Simon Bennet's gift, went on. Later on there were protests in Parliament against the non-residence of Heads of Colleges, and in January 1658 a Bill to amend this was brought in (*Mullinger, III*, 503).



were failing and too many appointments had been made. The regulations which confined Fellowships to certain districts were also set aside. At St. John's the new President was granted an additional hundred a year out of the bequest left by Sir William Paddy. It is worth noting that ecclesiastical prejudice did not refuse to sanction the payment of arrears due to the choir at St. John's and to the organist at St. Mary's.<sup>1</sup> Other Headships besides St. John's were felt to be inadequately paid. The account rendered to the Visitors in July 1649 estimated the Headships of University and Pembroke at only thirty pounds a year.<sup>2</sup> Balliol came next with thirty-three,<sup>3</sup> Oriel and Jesus with forty pounds each. Brasenose allowed its ruler sixty pounds, Lincoln ninety and Wadham a hundred. Twelve College Headships ranked as impecunious, and augmentations seem to have been granted to nearly all of them out of the profits of first-fruits and tenths,<sup>4</sup> but not always punctually paid. Christ Church and Magdalen, New College, All Souls, Corpus and Merton were comparatively well-to-do.

Hand in hand with this revision of salaries went plans for revising College Statutes. A "Modell" was suggested, which contemplated changes in any regulations found to be "impious, superstitious, or inconvenient," and which proposed to institute terminable Fellowships to prevent men from becoming "droanes."<sup>5</sup> But of the details of the movement we know nothing, and it seems to have left no permanent trace. Attempts to enforce the old Statutes were probably better supported.<sup>6</sup> Latin conversation was insisted on: Milton's employers understood its value. It was ordered by the Committee in July 1649

"That the Visitors of the Universitie of Oxon be required to see either the Latin or Greeke be stricktly and constantly exercised and spoken, in their familliar discourse within the said severall Colledges and Halls respectively, and that noe other language be spoken by any Fellow, Scholar, or Student whatsoever."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the latter point see *Reg. T* (92).

<sup>2</sup> The salary at Trinity was put still lower, at £25, but the living of Garsington was attached. The Headship of Queen's was valued at £70, and that of Exeter at £45 (Burrows, *Reg.* 246 and 251).

<sup>3</sup> There was an odd 6s. 5d., which possibly the Master did not despise.

<sup>4</sup> The augmentation at St. John's from the Paddy bequest may have prevented a Treasury grant in that case. The facts about Oriel do not seem quite clear. The State Papers show that Professors also claimed and received augmentations, and *Register T* has many references to the augmented fees allowed to Registrar and Bedels.

<sup>5</sup> See Burrows (*Reg.* 264—where the order of Sept. 18, 1649 is given—and xciii-iv), and also Wood's account (*Ann.* II, 626-7).

<sup>6</sup> See the Order requiring Heads as well as members of Colleges to obey College Statutes, quoted in *MS. Wood F.* 35 (349) and dated there Aug. 8, 1649.

<sup>7</sup> Burrows (*Reg.* 249).

But the order required to be republished later. The old rules about dining in Hall were repeated. No women must act as bed-makers except "auncient weomen and of good report." Loose carriage and unseemly apparel were reprov'd. Powdered hair and ribbons were as objectionable as boots and spurs and "bote-hose-tops." Wood lamented the neglect of caps and hoods, and was shocked to hear of John Owen, when he came to be Vice-Chancellor, sitting in Convocation with his hat on, "and that many times cockt." But caps if not hats were apparently worn in church.<sup>1</sup> Owen, it is to be feared, thought too much of appearances for a Puritan divine. It was said of him once that Mr. Dean "had as much powder in his haire that would discharge eight cannons."<sup>2</sup> Horses and hounds and "unbeseeing noises" were discouraged, and suppers in taverns on fasting nights. There were real efforts to revive the studies of the Schools and to raise the level of education.<sup>3</sup> There were real efforts to put down drinking, efforts which the Restoration largely swept away. On Sundays no tippling in common houses was permitted and no loitering in the streets. Coffee-houses began to supply an alternative to taverns. In 1650 Jacob, a Jew, opened a coffee-house at the Angel in the parish of St. Peter in the East. Sober concerts and scientific discussion came more into vogue. It is satisfactory to find the Visitors reporting in 1651 that, after examining a charge of drunkenness brought against certain Fellows of New College, "they cannot find the least inckling" of it among those concerned, even though there is an ugly story of two drunken Chaplains of New College misbehaving in the fields near Iffley later on.

Meanwhile the life of the University gradually reverted to the old channels. The Chancellor's Court resumed its work.<sup>4</sup> In June 1651 the Act was revived. The old contentions with the City had revived in force already. The "threatening ruin" of the University "made the Citizens in a manner insolent." They demanded the abolition of the old offering on St. Scholastica's

<sup>1</sup> Wood (*Life*, I, 290-1). The capping of seniors by juniors was insisted on still.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* (221).

<sup>3</sup> See *Reg. T* (30) and a curious little pamphlet of *Proposals for the reducing of both the Universities unto their ancient and intended lustre*, proposals in regard to hours, fees, studies, colleges for mathematics and medicine, and educational tests for degrees (*Worc. Coll. Pamph.* BB. 8. 15. 23).

<sup>4</sup> See *ante* (p. 360, n.). In July 1650, on the recommendation of the Delegates, the Visitors sanctioned a Statute vesting the Chancellor's powers in the Vice-Chancellor during a vacancy in the Chancellorship, in order to allow the appointment of a Commissary to carry on the work of the Court (Wood's *Life*, I, 163-4). See also *Reg. T* (15).

day and of the old oath to observe the University's liberties and customs. They raised questions of trading, of discommoning, of jurisdiction. And the University rose with the old spirit to the attack. Delegates were appointed to reply. A rate was raised to fight the issue. Langbaine tore the citizens' arguments to tatters. The University made good its case, and on most points a working treaty was arranged. But the old oath and the old offering seem still to have been avoided till, after the Restoration, they were enforced on an appeal to the Crown.<sup>1</sup> The prosperity of the Colleges was returning slowly. Numbers increased to the old level.<sup>2</sup> The manciples were bidden to levy the old fees. But in religious teaching, no doubt, the change was marked. While Church ritual was forbidden—non-submitters could not be tutors—sermons, prayers and religious exercises became astonishingly numerous. Goodwin was said to hold Independent meetings at Magdalen, where every one present made "an open confession of his sins." Staunton had religious meetings at Corpus, Langley at Pembroke, Rogers at New Inn Hall. "I thank my GOD from the Bottom of my Heart," cried George Trosse, a Gentleman Commoner of Pembroke,<sup>3</sup> "that I went to Oxford when there were so many *Sermons* preach'd, and so many *Excellent, Orthodox, and practical Divines*, to preach them." The Sectaries on their part complained that the Malignants molested their worship. Undergraduates sometimes broke into conventicles and misbehaved.<sup>4</sup> But if the cult of Godliness seemed sometimes excessive or ridiculous, it became among many of the leaders of the movement the habit and the refreshment of their lives. "You shall not want my prayers," wrote Cromwell to the University from Edinburgh, "That that seed and stock of Piety and Learning so marvellously springing up amongst you may be useful to that great and glorious Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ."

In January 1650 Pembroke, the Chancellor, died unlamented, and a year later, the right of free election having been formally

<sup>1</sup> On this long-drawn dispute see *Register T* (33, 88-9, 96-8, 102, 107-12, 114, 130), *MS. Wood F.* 27 (Art. 39), and *Wood's Life* (I, 370-6).

<sup>2</sup> Burrows (*Register*, cxxxi) estimates the resident graduates and undergraduates under the Commonwealth at about 2,500. Langbaine—a good judgment—puts the total of Oxford students as high as 3,247 in 1651 (*Foundation of Universitie*). But his figures generally include the College servants, and in some cases his estimates—Exeter is credited with 230 members, Magdalen Hall with 220 students—seem high. If Langbaine is correct the numbers were substantially higher than thirty years before.

<sup>3</sup> *Autobiography* (81).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *State Papers*, 1651-2 (p. 81).



restored, Cromwell was elected in his place.<sup>1</sup> He accepted the post with characteristic hesitation. The offer deserved "a fuller return, of deep resentment, value and acknowledgment" than he could make.<sup>2</sup> He felt bound to remind Convocation of his unfitness to serve them, of his "being tied to attendance in another Land." From that other land he soon swept down with his unconquerable legions to destroy the Royalist forces at Worcester, but not before the authorities at Oxford had been scared by the young King's approach. The Castle works were hastily demolished, and New College turned into a fortress instead, with much cutting of walls and erecting of defences, of which to this day the mound in the College garden remains.<sup>3</sup> And a troop of horse was raised among the scholars, bearing the motto *Non Arte Sed Marte* on its flag. After the battle there was an outbreak of anti-Royalist feeling. The King's arms and effigies were defaced in public places. Superstitious monuments, "postures of Prophets, Apostles and Saints" in windows, were destroyed.<sup>4</sup> But the new Chancellor was no friend of disorder, and under his auspices the Government of the University quickly showed both intelligence and strength. For the moment John Owen, Cromwell's old chaplain, was supreme, and Owen had from his undergraduate days been a remarkable man. He had been a student of Queen's and a pupil of Barlow. He had plunged into every kind of study, including theology and Rabbinical lore. He had been no mean athlete. He had not disdained to learn the flute. He had left Oxford rather than submit to Laud's autocracy, and had finally become one of the most celebrated of Independent preachers. He had accompanied Cromwell to Ireland and to Scotland, preaching while his leader fought. The General appreciated the strong character of his chaplain, and they worked together at the University, as they had done in the field. Owen was soon made Vice-Chancellor in succession to Greenwood. He was deputed, with four other leading members of the University, Wilkins of Wadham, Goddard of Merton, Goodwin of Magdalen

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. T* (120-1). Wood says (*Ann.* II, 630) that Cromwell was unanimously elected. It is significant if there was at any rate no open opposition. But all must have realised that Cromwell could be a powerful friend.

<sup>2</sup> See Carlyle (*Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, 1870, III, 132).

<sup>3</sup> Wood speaks of a new fort built in New College lane, etc. (*Life*, I, 170). In September 1649, during a brief mutiny of the Oxford garrison, Lilburne's followers had seized the magazine at New College and had imprisoned Ingoldsby there.

<sup>4</sup> Wood accuses Henry Wilkinson, the Canon, of joining in the defacement of Christ Church (*Ann.* II, 649). But it is doubtful if the outbreak amounted to very much.

and Canon French, to exercise the Chancellor's authority in his absence.<sup>1</sup> He joined the first Board of Visitors before its disappearance,<sup>2</sup> and he was the most prominent member of the new Board appointed in 1652.<sup>3</sup>

The new Board had its origin in a University petition, sent up on the dissolution of the original Parliamentary Committee, which asked for a smaller body of Visitors, resident in Oxford, to carry on the work begun.<sup>4</sup> A review of existing Statutes, both in the University and in the Colleges, was to be within its powers. Parliament to a large extent accepted the suggestion, and Cromwell, it seems, took the chief share in appointing the members of the Board. But for reasons not explained, possibly owing to opposition in Oxford,<sup>5</sup> the new Visitors did not begin their sittings until June 1653. They included not only John Owen, the Dean, but his namesake Thankful Owen, who had now succeeded Cheynell as President of St. John's. They included also Goodwin and Conant, Goddard and French.<sup>6</sup> The work of expulsion was practically over, and under its Puritan rulers the discipline and organisation of the University improved. They did not forget the aims which their leaders had put forward, "the advancement of Piety, the improvement of Literature, and the good Government of this place." There were new regulations for College Tutors. They must be godly men and pray daily with their pupils.<sup>7</sup> Great stress was laid on preaching. Strict rules for College sermons were enforced. Notes were expected to be taken. Gentlemen Commoners were required to do exercises like others, "to the intent that noe person may live idly in this University, and that gentlemen may answer the expectation of their freinds." The Colleges gradually

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. T* (173). This included the power of granting dispensations and degrees.

<sup>2</sup> The last sitting of this Board recorded in the *Register* (Burrows, 353-5) was attended by Owen, Harris, Rogers, Conant and French, on the 13th April 1652.

<sup>3</sup> There are various Lives of Owen, including one by W. Orme, in vol. I of Russell's ed. of his *Works*, one by Thomson in vol. I of Gould's edition of his *Works*, one prefixed to the Collection of his *Sermons* in 1721, one in the *Biographia Britannica*, etc. See references in *D.N.B.* But our knowledge of his action in the University comes mainly from Wood, who is strongly prejudiced.

<sup>4</sup> See *MS. Wood F. 35* (f. 366).

<sup>5</sup> This is Wood's suggestion (*Ann.* II, 650-2). There may have been political reasons also.

<sup>6</sup> The others—they were all intended to be temporary appointments—were Staunton, President of Corpus, Basnett of All Souls and Howell of Exeter. The Vice-Chancellor was to be a tenth member *ex officio*, but John Owen was Vice-Chancellor already. (See *MS. Wood F. 35*, f. 367).

<sup>7</sup> "Some convenient time betweene the houres of seven and tenne in the evening" (Burrows, *Reg.* 359).

recovered their freedom of election.<sup>1</sup> And though candidates for places on College foundations had still to produce testimonials approved by the Visitors, certifying to their godliness and proficiency in learning,<sup>2</sup> the movement for restoring the University's independence gathered strength. Cromwell was not inclined to tolerate any reckless interference with Oxford and Cambridge, and Cromwell's star was rising higher daily. When he assumed the office of Protector a congratulatory address from Convocation was forthcoming as readily as in Plantagenet or Tudor times. "The mind is the man," the new ruler told his followers. "If that be kept pure, a man signifies somewhat; if not I would very fain see what difference there is betwixt him and a beast."

In February 1654 His Highness summoned Goodwin, the President of Magdalen, to London, and it may be that Goodwin's influence with the Protector to some extent superseded John Owen's.<sup>3</sup> In September a third set of Visitors was appointed, among whom the Dean for a time took a less conspicuous place.<sup>4</sup> Harris, Rogers and Henry Wilkinson reappeared. Conant and Thankful Owen continued to sit.<sup>5</sup> According to Wood, Goodwin packed the Board with his own friends, and the Dean, "perceiving himself fool'd," was unwilling to act with them. Be that as it may, John Owen as Vice-Chancellor remained the dominant figure in the University, and before long he was leading, if not driving, the Visitors again. At the same time his activity in theological pamphleteering took a fresh lease of life.<sup>6</sup> On many points, no doubt, the members of the new Board were at one. They seem to have issued very few orders until May 1655,<sup>7</sup> and in April 1658 their activities suddenly stopped. The first considerations still were sermons and religious

<sup>1</sup> See the University petition of March 1650 (*Reg. T*, 101).

<sup>2</sup> See Langbaine's letter to Selden, protesting that he would not submit to this (*MS. Tann.* 52, f. 60).

<sup>3</sup> This is Prof. Burrows' view (*Reg.* lxxix). But Cromwell re-appointed Owen Vice-Chancellor in 1654, 1655 and 1656 (*Reg. T*, 255, 269 and 290).

<sup>4</sup> He is not mentioned in the Register as present before Jan. 1657 (Burrows, 418); but, if Wood's narrative be correct, he must have attended sooner.

<sup>5</sup> Goddard, French and Howell also reappeared, but Staunton and Basnett were replaced by two new members, Philip Stephens of Hart Hall and James Baron of Magdalen College. Wood (*Ann.* II, 661-2) gives an additional list of 13 laymen, headed by Lord Saye and Sele. But there is no evidence that they took part in the work of the Board at Oxford. (See also *MS. Wood*, 35, f. 368).

<sup>6</sup> Owen was a distinguished theological writer all his life.

<sup>7</sup> Their first order in the Register (Burrows, 401-3) is dated Jan. 30, 1655, their next May 10.



exercises. Masters and Bachelors were rebuked for neglecting public worship. Cromwell was known to desire toleration: but practical piety must be enforced. All Bachelors and undergraduates were required, every Lord's Day, to give an account of the sermons they had heard. It was ordered "that there be catechising weekly" in every College and Hall on Saturday afternoons. At Corpus, which did not provide sufficiently for preaching, fortnightly sermons in the Chapel were instituted, "about an houre long." Corpus also required some readjustment of its salaries, and the Visitors intervened to revise the College accounts. Differences of a more serious kind called for settlement at Jesus. The Visitors tried to compose quarrels both there and elsewhere. Questions arose between artists and jurists at New College. The endowments given for Canonists were continued, but those who accepted them were "injoynd to professe Divinity." Old tradition impelled even Cromwell's Visitors to fight against the secularisation of the Faculty of Law. But an attempt to revive the study of Civil Law in Oxford, promoted by Dr. Langbaine, was already on foot.<sup>1</sup> New College gave more trouble by its weakness for corrupt elections, and all College electors were sworn to nominate no men to Fellowships who were suspected of having directly or indirectly paid for their promotion. All Souls was on this point an even more obstinate offender. It had for long, "to the dishonour of the University, suffered under a common reputation of corruption," and in 1657 the testimony of one conscience-stricken Fellow brought the scandal once again to light. The Visitors interposed with vigour. The matter was carried to the Lord Protector, who assured the reformers of his sympathy.<sup>2</sup> But the Board came to an end and the abuse continued, till Archbishop Sancroft dealt with it in later years.

On other points the Visitors may have found it less easy to agree. It is difficult to say how far John Owen was behind the movement towards greater freedom, which led to the appointment, in January 1655, of delegates<sup>3</sup> as influential as Wilkins and Greenwood, Langbaine, Wallis and Ward to discuss proposals for limiting the Visitors' powers. The Ordinance appointing the new Board had apparently caused some alarm in Oxford, and the Colleges were, no doubt, seriously disquieted by proposals to revise their Statutes. They begged that they might be

<sup>1</sup> See *Register T* (252), *State Papers*, 1657-8 (271-2), and Wood's *Life* (I, 187 and 332).

<sup>2</sup> On the Visitors' struggle with "the notorious corruption" at All Souls see *State Papers*, 1657-8 (181-2, 236-7, 260, 278-9).

<sup>3</sup> It was technically a Sub-Delegacy with 9 members (see Wood's account, *Ann.* II, 663-6).

consulted on the subject, and that no alterations might take effect until confirmed by the Protector and Parliament. They asked that the Visitors' powers should not extend to Colleges which had Visitors of their own, and should, where no such Visitors existed, be limited by College Statutes. They suggested that a number of University representatives, Heads of Houses, Fellows, Professors and others, should be associated with the Board, that Visitors who were members of the University should be chosen in Convocation, and that their powers should be limited to one year and no more. Palmer, the Warden of All Souls, made himself the spokesman of these bold proposals, by which the University in effect demanded the right to take its government into its own hands. John Owen seems to have been present when the Visitors discussed them, but the Board thought it inadvisable to negotiate with the Sub-Delegacy further. French and Goddard, who were in London, and were supposed to have the Lord Protector's ear, advised the delegates that the Ordinance could not be altered except by Parliament, though it might, if necessary, be modified or explained. But their answer seems to have relieved the apprehensions felt.<sup>1</sup> The old spirit of independence in the University was stirring. As time passed, its members pleaded with force that nine years of supervision were "sufficient to purge and correct all humours and malignity." They assured the authorities that Royalism was extinguished. They insisted that unstatutable Visitors, residing at Oxford and involved in its differences and factions, were less satisfactory than the disinterested College Visitors of older days. They requested Parliament to appoint certain honourable personages to act as College Visitors in the room of the displaced Bishops, and to sweep the Board of Commissioners away. These proposals had support,<sup>2</sup> though Conant threw his influence against them. They came to nothing, but the agitation may have contributed to bring the Visitation to an end.

The Vice-Chancellor may or may not have approved of opposition to authority in the case of his colleagues. He was clearly no lover of opposition to his own, and he never faltered in the expression of his views. In 1654 he was chosen as

<sup>1</sup> See the letter from Dr. Goddard quoted by Wood (*Ann.* II, 666).

<sup>2</sup> From William Lenthall, among others, who had been suggested as Visitor for Lincoln College (Mullinger, III, 504). See also Wood's list of intended Visitors (*Ann.* II, 679-80). Wood mentions this under 1657, but Conant's *Life*, written by his son and edited by W. Stanton, dates the petitions on the subject "the latter end of the year 1658" (p. 28). The agitation seems to have continued from 1657 to 1659, and the proposal to nominate separate Visitors for the Colleges was, no doubt, part of the plan for getting rid of the Commission.

Burgess for the University, but was not allowed to sit. In 1655, when Royalist risings caused anxiety, he raised a troop of scholars and rode out with sword and pistols at their head. He objected strongly to the wearing of "formalities," and was said to brow-beat those who advocated distinctive symbols of degrees. If he could not induce Convocation to put down "the use of Habits," he would at least have them dispensed with by anyone who wished.<sup>1</sup> He would have liked to abolish the Act, which had become an occasion for levity and disorder. The celebration in 1651 had drawn such crowds that a guard of musketeers had been required. He could not tolerate the license of the *Terræ Filii*, who had developed perhaps a scandalous habit of poking fun at the godly party. On one occasion he pulled down an offender with his own hands and packed him off under arrest to Bocardo. Owen was a strong administrator. He pressed his reforms keenly, the improvement of work and morals, the development of disputations, the abolition of treating and unnecessary oaths. On many points Convocation was not unwilling to follow his lead; and in 1656 new rules were adopted, which checked the multiplication of oaths and the abuses of entertaining, and which provided careful methods of examination for Bachelors seeking the Master's degree.<sup>2</sup> But on other points the Vice-Chancellor went too fast, and to his indignation he found his proposals over-ruled. When resistance in Convocation was forthcoming, he took it in bad part, and urged the Visitors to use their authority to insist on the changes he desired. He determined, it seems, to break the power of his opponents, to diminish especially the influence enjoyed in Convocation by the younger men. The Visitors began to discuss plans for remodelling that assembly, and in these schemes it appears that Goodwin supported Owen, while Conant and Rogers objected to stretching the power of the Visitors too far. The Vice-Chancellor was a difficult man to beat. He persisted and carried his proposals to London. But pressure was probably put upon him there. Goddard advised cautious action, and the schemes for re-modelling Convocation fell to the ground. Owen's popularity suffered in the struggle, and it is evident that his eagerness carried him too far. When Conant was appointed Vice-Chancellor in 1657, the "universal shout of a very full

<sup>1</sup> See Wood (*Ann.* II, 668-9) and Pope's *Life of Seth Ward* (Ch. VI, *The Controversie concerning Caps and Hoods*).

<sup>2</sup> See on these points *Reg. T* (280-1), *MS. Wood F.* 27 (Art. 26), and Wood's *Life* (I, 206-7). Elsewhere (*Ann.* II, 670-1) Wood suggests that disputations in divinity were overdone. Declamations had already (1652) replaced "wall-lectures" by Bachelors in the School of Natural Philosophy (*Life*, I, 177, and *Ann.* II, 652-3).



convocation " found a vent for the feelings which his predecessor had aroused.<sup>1</sup>

Owen, whatever errors he committed, left the University stronger than before. Its treasury, he proudly claimed, had been increased tenfold, its salaries restored, its rights maintained, its studies and its discipline improved. When he handed over his authority to Conant, his work and the work of the Independents was done. Wood tries to contrast them with their theological rivals. The Presbyterians were more severe in manners, dress and talk. They preached damnation. The Independents were more for liberty: they could be even frolicsome and gay. He counts Reynolds and Conant among the leaders of the first party, the two Owens and Goodwin among the leaders of the second. But he adds that they were apt to unite against "the common enemy," and he often finds it hard to differentiate in their administration of University affairs. He calls them both impartially factious, saucy, impudent, morose. He finds their prayers exaggerated but their disputations very keen: the argument would sometimes pass from words to blows in the street. He mentions their love of buying books: money was "then stirring and coming from the new gentlemen." He dwells on their love of instrumental music, their avoidance of taverns—unless there were a back way in. But he declares that they introduced entertaining in their chambers, where tarts and custards, cheese-cakes and junkets replaced the old "stirr'd mace" or the cup of College ale.<sup>2</sup> He evidently thinks that the young bloods of the Puritan party were as fond of smart clothes as the Cavaliers. He chronicles other strange movements in religion—the Quakers arriving, "unstable people," and settling in 1654 in an old stone house almost opposite New Inn, the Anabaptists threatening to rise in 1658, when scholars as well as troops had to be on guard. He chronicles other controversies also, a wrangle in Convocation over Dr. Wallis' election as Keeper of the Archives, so prolonged that candles were needed—an unheard-of thing.<sup>3</sup> The "dregs of the people" might have grown wiser than their teachers. Upstarts might be replacing the ancient gentry of the land. Yet the University was full, well taught, not badly governed.

<sup>1</sup> See Conant's *Life* by his son (24).

<sup>2</sup> Sweet things and temperance went together (Wood's *Life*, I, 298).

<sup>3</sup> In Feb. 1658. Dr. Zouch complained of unfairness in the scrutiny (*Ann.* II, 682), and the propriety of the election seems doubtful. Politics probably came in. See the pamphlet by Henry Stubbe of Christ Church, *The Savilian Professours Case Stated*, and Wood's note in the *Athenæ* (ed. Bliss, III, 1073-6). In 1660 there was a sharp controversy over the election of Proctors.

In Oxford, as in England, the great Protector was supreme. He gave manuscripts to the Library. He provided a hundred pounds a year for a Divinity Reader. The University seemed to be devoted to him. Even through Wood's inveterate prejudice a grudging admiration peeps.

Other observers living in the Oxford of the Commonwealth helped to complete the picture of those times. Joseph Williamson, a not inconspicuous figure in the tangled politics of Charles II's reign—a batteler of Queen's in 1650, a Fellow in 1657—kept up for many years a close correspondence with Lamplugh and Halton, Barlow and Wallis, Bathurst, Fell and other Oxford friends.<sup>1</sup> One tutor confides to him that his pupils “who go back in logic do not go forward in other things.” Another, Lamplugh, writes that “rudeness and coursing” are being put down by the Heads of Houses.<sup>2</sup> Another, Halton, describes the christening of the younger Gerard Langbaine “after the new cut, without godfathers,” or the election of Lamplugh to a Queen's Fellowship after five hours' canvass, or the growing influence of Wilkins, “the rising sun since his marriage with the Protector's sister,” or the battle over hoods in Convocation—“we had nigh lost formalities, though caps were never more in fashion.” We hear of a traveller who had gone to Oxford with introductions from Williamson, and who “cannot recount the kindnesses received” in that “enchanted country.” We hear incidentally, towards the end of 1657, that Dr. Owen, who has ceased to be Vice-Chancellor, seems angry: “he cannot well digest a private life.”<sup>3</sup> Queen's and Queen's men are naturally prominent. The College held an important place in the University of that day.

Outside Oxford criticism might be more outspoken, less easily satisfied with a time-honoured routine. Manchester had already petitioned for a new University in the North of England. Suggestions had been made for Universities in London and in York. A proposal for a University at Durham found some favour with the House of Cromwell. And attacks on the old Universities as “idolatrous high places,” as nurseries of wickedness, dens of formal drones, were dangerously popular with the fanatics of the day. The Little Parliament seemed very ready to encourage rash opinions. John Owen once declared that to

<sup>1</sup> There are many extracts in the Calendar of State Papers (Domestic) from 1655 onwards. It is after the Restoration, as Williamson's influence increases, that the University leaders turn to him most.

<sup>2</sup> Coursing in Lent Wood defines as the “endeavours of one party to run down and confute another in disputation” (*Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, IV, 195). It often led to blows.

<sup>3</sup> *State Papers*, 1655 (370), 1655-6 (171 and 123), 1656-7 (51), 1657-8 (235 and 216).

defend the Universities was regarded by some as an offence against religion. Critics drawing their experience from Cambridge, John Hall, a brilliant student of St. John's, and William Dell, an Army Chaplain who entered Oxford with Fairfax, and afterwards Master of Caius College, did not spare the system then in vogue.<sup>1</sup> Hall was contemptuous of the "shreds of Latine," the smattering of Greek, the "harsh abstracted" logic, the jejune philosophy, the need for a more "ready and generous teaching of the tongues." Dell could not rid himself of the idea that there was something anti-Christian in the old learning. But he was alive to the need of education. He would have recognised it as the duty of the State. He asked for more schools, for a wider course of study. He pleaded for University teaching for all great English towns. Critics far more famous than these were found among the reformers. While Englishmen were engaged in fighting one another, Descartes' philosophy had been spreading over Europe, and his disciples could not be satisfied with the old idolatry of Aristotle or the cramping limitations of the Oxford Schools. Hobbes, if "a radical in the service of reaction," did not hesitate to deal hard blows at the reactionary spirit in the educational world.<sup>2</sup> He had no pity for the barbarous Latin of the Schoolmen, the "charms compounded of metaphysics, miracles and traditions," the science "strangled by a snare of words." And Milton, who had never forgotten the "asinine feast of sow-thistles and brambles," to which at Cambridge his fine young intellect had been condemned, denounced with all the scorn of his rich and splendid rhetoric the years mis-spent in learning "mere words, or such things chiefly as were better unlearned." Already in a well-known tract he had sketched his own ideal of "a virtuous and noble education," an ideal which few scholars would have found it easy to achieve. And in 1659 he returned to the subject, over-stating his case, as even great controversialists can, declaring that the theological disputations of Oxford and Cambridge did little but "leaven pure doctrine with sophistical trash," and denying that a University education was in any degree necessary for a minister or a divine.<sup>3</sup>

Hobbes did not realise how much his old University had

<sup>1</sup> See Hall's tract on the *Advancement of Learning and Reformation of the Universities*, Dell's *Right Reformation of Learning, etc.*, and, it may be added, John Webster's *Academiarum Examen*, to which Seth Ward published a reply. See also Mr. Mullinger's *Cambridge* (vol. III, chap. iv).

<sup>2</sup> Descartes died in 1650. The *Leviathan* was issued in 1651.

<sup>3</sup> The *Tractate Of Education* was addressed to Samuel Hartlib in 1644; the *Considerations touching the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church* was issued in 1659.



altered since he had haunted its bookshops and gaped over the maps there half a century before. John Hall would probably have been fairer to Oxford science, readier to admit that in the Oxford of the Commonwealth there were students rich in promise and performance, even apart from Professors and Heads. Thomas Sydenham, destined to leave one of the most famous names in English medicine, had already passed in 1648 from Wadham to All Souls. Christopher Wren followed him at both Colleges in turn. William Petty, an intruded Fellow, was Vice-Principal at Brasenose in 1651, and with his goose-grey eyes and marvellous good-nature was teaching anatomy in Clayton's place.<sup>1</sup> John Locke became a Christ Church Student in 1652: Robert South had just preceded him from Westminster. Nathaniel Crewe joined Lincoln in the same year. Charles Sedley brought his shameless wit to Wadham later. Thomas Ken came up to New College with his love of music and his large charity for the poor. Wilkins had already gathered round him at Wadham a brilliant group of scientific men. It was in the Oxford of the Commonwealth that the new birth of science found a home. Wilkins had been associated a few years earlier with Jonathan Goddard, John Wallis and others in the little company of keen inquirers, the "Invisible College" of Robert Boyle, who met in London before the Civil War was over, for scientific discussion and research. Goddard became chief physician to Cromwell's armies; in later days his medicines excited the curiosity of Charles II.<sup>2</sup> Wallis, for long a conspicuous figure in Oxford, proved to be a man of remarkable powers. He had few rivals in the sphere of mathematics, as Hobbes, who challenged him, found to his cost. And Boyle, the grave, delicate boy in his teens, who had already studied in Florence "the new paradoxes of the great star-gazer Galileo," and whose earnest industry would not be discouraged from reading the Scriptures in Syriac and Chaldee, dedicated to the pursuit of the new experimental philosophy an enthusiasm which won the hearts of older men. Vulcan, he declared, had transported and bewitched him: his laboratory seemed to him "a kind of Elysium." He contributed also to the counsels of the new philosophers the prestige of his standing and his wealth.

When Wilkins and Goddard were appointed Heads of Oxford Colleges and Wallis Savilian Professor of Geometry, this little company of fathers of the Royal Society transferred itself for the most part to Oxford. And there it was reinforced by other

<sup>1</sup> He was Clayton's deputy and then his successor. For the authorities on Petty's Life, from Aubrey onwards, see Lord Fitzmaurice's well-known work and his article in *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> Even Sydenham thought highly of Goddard's drops.

celebrated men. Petty was performing feats of dissection, which delighted all students of medicine. The revival of Anne Green, who had been hanged in the Castle Yard for murder, had pleasantly stirred the academic world. Thomas Willis, already established in practice in Oxford, was glad enough, churchman and King's man as he was, to meet political opponents upon common ground. Ralph Bathurst, Willis' great friend, who in troubled days had also turned to medicine for a livelihood, was drawn into the same association. Thomas Millington of All Souls, doctor in later days to King William and Queen Anne, helped Willis in some of his studies. So did that astonishing young scholar Christopher Wren, to whom no form of knowledge came amiss. Seth Ward, Savilian Professor of Astronomy, like Wallis a distinguished mathematician from Cambridge, had been attracted to Wadham largely by Wilkins' ability and charm. His lectures soon restored the reputation of his Chair. Laurence Rooke was another Cambridge astronomer who found a home at Wadham, Walter Pope, the friend of Boyle and the biographer of Ward, a third. To Cambridge men no small part of the club's success was due. Thomas Sprat, an unwary eulogist of Cromwell, a perplexed prelate under James II, a writer of poor verse and admirable prose, learned at Wadham enough science to make him the Royal Society's historian. Boyle himself could not keep away from friends who looked upon him as a leader. He settled in Oxford in 1654, and his rooms at Deep Hall, next to University College, became almost as constant a meeting-place of the new philosophers as the Warden's Lodgings at Wadham. Wood says that Boyle afterwards settled in these lodgings "Peter Sthael," an eminent chemist and Rosicrucian,<sup>1</sup> a great hater of women and a very useful man, who taught many eminent people, including Wood himself. John Locke was conspicuous among these pupils for his habit of talking and refusing to take notes. Wood also insists that the famous little company met first at Petty's lodgings by All Souls, and only transferred their gatherings to Wadham when Petty was called away by official work to Ireland,<sup>2</sup> to win repute as administrator, economist and statesman, and as one of the most attractive figures of the age. Be that as it may, the "Vertuosi" did not escape criticism in Oxford. Students of the older stamp, lovers

<sup>1</sup> "Borne at Strasburgh in Royall Prussia" (*Life*, I, 290. See also 472-3).

<sup>2</sup> Wallis, in his pamphlet of 1678, *A Defence of the Royal Society* (p. 8), clearly says that the earliest Oxford meetings were in Petty's lodgings, though Sprat (*Hist. of Royal Soc.* 53) does not mention these. The Gresham College meetings apparently continued intermittently all the time.

of polemical divinity, may have wondered at the passionate interest in theology which went hand in hand with a passion for chemistry in men like Boyle and Rooke. Self-satisfied devotees of Aristotle and Galen regarded the new practical developments of medicine, which appealed so powerfully to Sydenham and to Petty, as fit only for "Quacks Salvors and Apothecaries boys." But the fascination of knowledge proved too strong even for the stubbornest University traditions, and Oxford science woke to sudden life and splendour under the touch of Wilkins, Boyle and Wren.

Conant replaced Owen as Vice-Chancellor in October 1657. He was Richard Cromwell's nominee. The great Protector had resigned the Chancellorship three months before.<sup>1</sup> Conant had succeeded Hoyle as Professor of Divinity a few years earlier, and his lectures had been received with great applause. He had made his College the most popular in Oxford: there were more students than could be lodged within the walls. His chief care, says his biographer, was "to plant the fear of God in the youth there."<sup>2</sup> The Exeter tutors were expected to be pious as well as learned. The Rector himself supervised the religious education, the conduct and the expenses of the scholars. As Vice-Chancellor Conant took the same keen interest in the welfare of undergraduates outside his own College. He would make his rounds, we are told, at late hours, and "ferret" them out of the public-houses. He would not wink at punishable things. He restored order in the University disputations, and would often be present in person. He prohibited the sale of a book by Francis Osborne, which was said to breed atheism in country gentlemen: "the book," Wood notes, "afterwards sold the more." He endeavoured, though vainly, to suppress the *Terræ Filiæ*, whose freedom of expression scandalised decorous minds. Lancelot Addison of Queen's, who lived to be a Dean and Joseph's father, was compelled to ask pardon on his bended knees for the offence which he had given:

"Ego, Lancelotus Adison, agnosco me graviter peccasse in bonos mores et aliam matrem Academiam, pudenda illa obscaenitate qua hesterno meam et Academiae famam laesi."<sup>3</sup>

Conant, unlike Owen, was in favour of "academical habits," in which he "could never discern any shadow of hurt."<sup>4</sup> He stood by the Parliamentary Visitors when a petition was organised

<sup>1</sup> *Reg. T* (305-9).

<sup>2</sup> See the Rector's *Life* by his son (12).

<sup>3</sup> For the whole quotation see Wood (*Life*, I, 256). The date there given is July 13, 1658. The other *Terræ Filius* was expelled.

<sup>4</sup> *Life* (26).



in the University against them.<sup>1</sup> He is even said to have sent word to Owen in London that "he must make hast to Oxon for godliness layes a gasping" there. But the work of the Board had already ceased. Their last order in the Register is dated the 8th April 1658, and before long they seem to have quietly disappeared. Conant disliked the proposal that Parliament should nominate College Visitors. He led Convocation in opposing the grant of University status to the College which Cromwell had founded at Durham. Oxford had "great reason to be jealous of opening a door by such a precedent." By such multiplying of Universities the "maine end of them" would be "quite destroyed."<sup>2</sup> He kept the University prosperous and in good repute. In 1658 the number of matriculations reached a figure which was not to be exceeded for very many years.<sup>3</sup>

In politics Conant was never extreme. He was loyal to Richard Cromwell as Chancellor. He joined in proclaiming him Protector, and in the difficult days which followed he seems to have steered a judicious course. It soon became evident that Richard's Government could not stand. In a letter to Convocation, dated 6th October 1659, Richard spoke of the "signall changes of the hand of God towards mee," and offered to "devest" himself of the Chancellorship if he could no longer serve his friends.<sup>4</sup> For a short time the Army leaders made and un-made the rulers of the country. But the Presbyterians in the University were suspected of praying for the success of Royalist rebels. Convocation occupied itself with Selden's great bequest.<sup>5</sup> In December 1659 a rate to pay for the carriage, binding and installation of the books was levied on all members of the University, servitors excepted. Proposals to raise forces to defend "the cause" in Oxford apparently fell through.<sup>6</sup> From Scotland, as the New Year broke, Monk advanced, to find himself a conqueror with all parties bidding for his support. A cry for a free Parliament was rising in the land. John Owen was

<sup>1</sup> In February 1659. There was a counter-petition by the godly party. See Wood (*Life*, I, 268, and *Ann.* II, 686).

<sup>2</sup> See *Reg. T* (339-342). Greenwood and Wallis presented Convocation's petition to the Protector.

<sup>3</sup> 460. They fell to 398 in 1663-4. (See Burrows, *Register*, cxxx-i). *Register Qa* (ff. 126 and 186) gives 124 Determiners and 77 admissions of M.As. for 1658.

<sup>4</sup> *Reg. Ta* (p. 1).

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* (p. 4).

<sup>6</sup> It seems that Owen had a commission from the Council of State to raise volunteers. Wood says that Desborough in August 1659 vainly called on Conant and other Heads of Houses to raise a troop of scholars (*Ann.* II, 696).

prominent in the efforts made to secure the General for the Independent party. But the Presbyterians triumphed with the triumph of Parliament, and Owen and his friends saw their hopes disappear. In March Reynolds returned as Dean to Christ Church,<sup>1</sup> to co-operate with the Vice-Chancellor, his son-in-law, in promoting the reaction which most moderate men desired. Conant and Reynolds both made up their minds to the return of the King. "Those that had laid under a cloud for several years" began to reappear with cheerful faces. In January 1660 an Anabaptist preacher at St. Peter's in the Bailey, who denounced the change in public opinion, was stopped by the Vice-Chancellor and turned out of the church.

On the night of the 13th February there was a wild outbreak of rejoicing in Oxford. News of Monk's momentous declaration had arrived. Bells were rung and bonfires lighted. Rumps were burned at Queen's College gate, and a rump was thrown up against the Warden's windows at All Souls, where Palmer, "a great favourite of Oliver," lay dying. In April the Royal arms and the King's head reappeared. Monk, invited to represent Oxford University in Parliament, suggested Lenthall, "a worthy Patriote," instead. But his letters did not prevail on Convocation.<sup>2</sup> On May-day a Maypole was set up at the Bear Inn in the High Street,<sup>3</sup> and the Vice-Chancellor and Bedels, coming to destroy it, were compelled to give way. Many other Maypoles were erected, by way of provocation, before the month was out. On the 8th May Richard Cromwell at last resigned his post as Chancellor: God had been pleased so to change his condition that he could not "answer the ends" of that office.<sup>4</sup> On the 29th, the fateful day, Oxford loyalists may be pardoned if they lost their heads. The jollity continued till next morning. "The world of England," says Wood, "was perfectly mad." The Vice-Chancellor went to London to congratulate his Majesty in admirable prose and less admirable verses. But neither he nor Reynolds nor the moderate men about them had power to stem the flood they had unloosed. Conant himself was before long swept aside. But he and his colleagues, whether Presbyterians or Independents, could at least plead that in the hour of their triumph they had rendered good service to the University for which they toiled. Clarendon returning, mistrustful and censorious, to the beautiful city which he knew so well, marvelled

<sup>1</sup> Owen was ejected by a vote of Parliament on the 13th March 1660.

<sup>2</sup> See *Reg. Ta* (10-12). Thomas Clayton and John Mills were finally elected, though John Lenthall canvassed hard for his father (Wood, *Life*, I, 312).

<sup>3</sup> Opposite the Mitre, now Foster's shop (*Ib.* 314, n.).

<sup>4</sup> *Reg. Ta* (15).

to find it, in spite of malice and rebellion, yielding an extraordinary harvest of sound knowledge. Even students "wickedly introduced" had applied themselves to the practice of virtue. Even Puritan scholars had learned to appreciate the meaning of duty and obedience, qualities which it could hardly be expected that any rebel should be taught!<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Rebellion* (ed. 1826, V, 483).



## CHAPTER XIX

### THE OXFORD OF ANTHONY WOOD

"Cuncta aperit secreta dies, ex tempore verum  
Nascitur, et veniens aetas abscondita pandit."

"So teach me to number my daies that I may apply my heart  
unto wisdome."

IT is not given to every man to live up to his own standards. Anthony Wood may not always have remembered the mottoes which he chose for the diary of his life. But few writers have pursued their purpose with an industry more single-minded, and none have a better claim to the title of "historiographer and antiquarie of the most famous University of Oxford," which he justly and jealously bestowed upon himself. For the latter half of the seventeenth century the authority of Wood's diaries is unrivalled. Their rancours may have to be discounted, but their record cannot be spared. His notes, his jottings, his scraps of biography, his vivid comments, his un-sleeping interest in the frailties and littlenesses of his fellow-men, are full of the richest material that a historian can desire. There are greater figures of course in the Oxford of the Commonwealth and the Restoration. Owen, Conant, Fell and Bathurst, many another, fill far larger spaces in University affairs. But there is no figure which represents and gathers round it so much of the history and spirit of the place, as that of the shy, lonely and self-conscious student, denied by infirmities of temper and of judgment the homage which posterity has rendered him so freely since, poring for ever over his manuscripts in the quiet attic of the house in Merton Street, reading, copying, studying, borrowing, in emergencies even stealing the materials he coveted,<sup>1</sup> building up remorselessly his pungent little chronicle side by side with the greater works given to the world, and avenging himself for every slight which his sensitiveness too easily imagined by a fresh turn of his facile and unsparing pen.

The Wood family came, as they believed, from Lancashire.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Hearne's story of Wood carrying off MSS. from Queen's, hidden under his gown (*Collections*, ed. Doble, O.H.S., II, 44).

<sup>2</sup> Their name was Wood, not "à Wood," and so Anthony signed it as late as 1668 (see Clark's *Life*, I, 22). The history of Wood's life and work, of his diaries, manuscripts and collections, has been told once for

Traditions told of a priest under Queen Mary, who refused to conform to the laws of Elizabeth, of women-servants in the household of Lord Derby, of near ancestors who settled at Islington and gathered wealth. Anthony Wood's father, Thomas, was a student of Broadgates Hall, where in 1619 he took the degree of Bachelor of Civil Law.<sup>1</sup> He was a man of some little property, increased by his first marriage to "an antient and rich maid," and he invested largely in Oxford leaseholds, of which Postmasters Hall in Merton Street and "the great inne called the Flour de Luce" were the chief.<sup>2</sup> He married for the second time Mary Petty, of an Oxfordshire family with wide connections,<sup>3</sup> and Anthony, the fourth child of this marriage, was born in December 1632, in the old stone house opposite the gate of Merton College, in which by choice or circumstance he spent his life. He could recollect being carried in his nurse's arms to the garden of Canon Iles' house in Christ Church, to see the King and Queen arrive in 1636. He remembered being knocked over by a horse called Mutton, belonging to the University carrier, at his father's door. He remembered his early schooling in "a Latine school" near St. Peter's in the Bailey, and afterwards in the school beside the cloister of New College. He remembered how his father, when the musterings began, provided armour for one of his servants, how his eldest brother Thomas, then a Christ Church undergraduate, longed to put it on, and how the school-boys at New College flocked to see the scholars and privileged men drill in the quadrangle. He remembered, too well, the confusion caused by the outbreak of the war, the digging of trenches and moving of troops, the King's entry after Edgehill with the young Princes about him—Tom ran away to fight in the battle and to win a commission in the Royal forces—the removal of Mr. Wood and his family "to a little house in his backside" when the house in Merton Street was taken for Colepeper's lodgings, and the removal of the School at New College, when the cloister was needed as a magazine, to a "dark nasty" room at the East end of the Hall.

all in Dr. Clark's monumental work. Wood's autobiography, down to June 1672, was printed by Hearne in 1730 at the end of his edition of *Thomae Caii Vindiciae Antiquitatis Academiae Oxon.* Wood's journal-notes or pocket almanacs carried the story of his life down to 1695, and were to a certain extent used in Huddesford's edition of the autobiography in 1772. But Dr. Clark's work has superseded every other on the subject. Hearne's *Remarks and Collections* (O.H.S.), which also have now found a devoted editor, contain several references to Wood.

<sup>1</sup> He took his B.A. in 1603 from Corpus, where his son thought he was "one of the clerks" (*Life*, I, 78).

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Clark says he also let lodgings and kept a tennis-court (*D.N.B.*). Anthony adds that his father was fined for refusing knighthood in 1630.

<sup>3</sup> On his mother's side Wood could trace a descent from the Harcourts.

Early in 1643 Wood's father died. His eldest brother, Thomas, was then "a rude and boisterous soldier," and his second brother, Edward, "a yong scholler of Trinity Coll." Anthony continued for a time at the New College school, and his christening "plate" was swept off to the Royal Mint. But in 1644, when the Parliamentary armies were threatening Oxford, Mrs. Wood sent Anthony and his younger brother Christopher away to Tetsworth and afterwards to Thame. At Thame they were "lovingly received" at the Vicarage—the Vicar's wife was a kinswoman of Mrs. Wood—and entered at the Free School, where the master also had married a Petty. Anthony tells us that in these days—he was barely twelve—he was "very sedulous," an early riser, but given to thinking, to melancholy, and to walking in his sleep. He and his brother liked the place, though roving soldiers were always disturbing them, and the "juvenile muses in the vicaridge house" were constantly alarmed.<sup>1</sup> The boys found occasion to talk to the troopers, to enjoy the venison pasties which were sometimes left behind, and to note the Parliamentary sympathies of Vicar and school-master alike. But as soon as the siege of Oxford was over, Mrs. Wood was obliged to take her boys away from Thame. They returned to find Oxford "empty as to scholars, but pretty well replenish'd with parliamentarian soldiers," and the young men alike in University and city "debauch'd by bearing armes."

Mrs. Wood's property had suffered in the great Oxford fire of October 1644, and she was evidently hard put to it to provide for her sons. Anthony was sent for a time to be tutored by his brother Edward, in the cockle-loft over the gate of Trinity College. But his mother was "so silly" that she was always urging him to become apprentice to a lawyer, or even to take up some base mechanical trade. In May 1647, however, Anthony matriculated at Merton College; he was not yet fourteen and a half. He notes the Christmas customs, the charcoal fires in Hall, the ancient practice of "tucking" new-comers, the mock oath administered by the senior cook over an old shoe, the speeches delivered by each freshman in turn, standing on a form placed on the high table—among which his own speech, if delivered as he reports it, must have been a formidable example of precocious and pedantic wit.

"Most reverend Seniors,

May it please your Gravities to admit into your presence a kitten of the Muses, and a meer frog of Helicon to croak the cataracts of his plumbeous cerebrocity before your sagacious ingenuities. . . .

I will not fulminate nor tonitruate words nor swell into gigantick streins. . . .

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<sup>1</sup> For the details of these "affrightments," see Wood's *Life* (I, 114 sq.).



I am none of those Maypole freshmen, that are tall cedars before they come to be planted in the academian garden. . . .

I am none of the University blood-hounds, that seek for preferment, and whose noses are as acute as their eares, that lye perdue for places, and who, good saints ! do groan till *the Visitation* comes. . . .

I am not of the number of beasts—I meane those greedie dogs and kitchin-haunters, who noint their chops every night with greese and rob the cook of his fees," etc.

If the report be even approximately accurate—and there is much more of the same description<sup>1</sup>—Wood as a boy could have been troubled comparatively little with the shyness which afflicted him in later years. Undergraduates and their sense of humour must have altered if his contemporaries took such verbiage in good part.

Beyond this, Wood seems to have won little distinction at College. At the Visitation of 1648 he gave annoyance by his evasive answers. But his mother interceded with Sir Nathaniel Brent, who had been wont, when she was a little girl, to take her on his knee, and Anthony was forgiven, or thought better of his audacity—"otherwise he had infallibly gone to the pot." Brent proved a good friend, and, though Thomas Wood, concerned in the Royalist plot of 1648, abruptly withdrew himself to Ireland, Edward became a Probationer Fellow of Merton, and Anthony was lodged in the College over his brother's head.<sup>2</sup> In 1650 he was made a Bible Clerk, with very few duties to perform, "because the Common Prayer and Sacraments in the chapel were put downe." He began to take an interest in churches and antiquities. He began also to exercise his "natural and insatiable genie" for music and to learn the violin. He took his Bachelor's degree in 1652. He had an accident, riding, and put out his arm. He got an ague and tried to drink it off, and was advised to try country air and following the plough. He learned bell-ringing: all kinds of music were "an extraordinary and ravishing delight." He began to read regularly in the Public Library—"which he took to be the happiness of his life." He was delighted with Burton's *Description of Leicestershire*, and set to work to make collections from it. He was fascinated by books on heraldry. Heraldry, music, painting took the place of other studies—"so prevalent was nature, mix'd with a generosity of mind and a hatred to all that was servile, sneaking, or advantageous for lucre sake." To be strongly set against working for one's living is no rare infirmity of undergraduate

<sup>1</sup> For the speech as given by Wood see *Life* (I, 139-40).

<sup>2</sup> In 1651 Edward Wood was suspended for excessive hospitality and for drinking the King's health. In the same year Thomas Wood died in Ireland (*Ib.* 166-7, 171).

days. He indulged in occasional frolics : but for the call of the great Library he might have indulged in them too far. In May 1655 Edward Wood, only lately appointed a Proctor, died, "to the great reluctancy of his friends and relations," and a few months later Anthony Wood was admitted, on his twenty-third birthday, to his Master's degree. But he failed to secure a Fellowship at Merton ; his want of scholarship, his temperament, his political opinions may all have stood in the way. He had inherited just enough to live upon, and with this very modest competence he set himself to follow his own tastes.

In March 1656 Anthony Wood made his first adventure in the world of letters by editing five of his brother Edward's sermons. Dr. Goddard received the dedication and "a very fair copie of them bound in blew Turkey-leather with their leaves gilt." But Wood's pursuit of literature was still unfixed, when suddenly

"This summer came to Oxon '*The Antiquities of Warwickshire*,' etc. written by William Dugdale, and adorn'd with many cuts.<sup>1</sup> This being accounted the best book of its kind that hitherto was made extant, my pen cannot enough describe how A. Wood's tender affections and insatiable desire of knowledg were ravish'd and melted downe by the reading of that book. What by musick and rare books that he found in the public library, his life, at this time and after, was a perfect Elysium."

Fired by this great example, Wood began in the following October to survey and transcribe inscriptions and quarterings in the churches and chapels of Oxford. In the spring of 1657 he set out on a "perambulation of Oxfordshire," starting with the monuments in Wolvercote church. In August he found Leland's manuscripts in the Bodleian—"exceedingly delighted in them . . . never weary"—and rambled afield to investigate at Dorchester, "startled at his first sight" of what he found. A visit to Eynsham in September followed, and from that summer onwards his systematic wanderings as an antiquary began. His mother's visits to connections in Oxfordshire gave him fresh opportunities of inspecting monuments. In September 1659 he helped Thomas Barlow, who had succeeded Rouse as Bodley's Librarian—"a library in himself and the keeper of another"—to sort and arrange the great Selden bequest. Barlow presented him with a pair of spectacles found in one of Selden's books. In October he started on the Register of St. Frideswide's, which he was allowed to read at Canon Button's lodgings. And in July 1660 Dr. John Wallis, at Bathurst's intercession, gave him keys to the Tower where the Archives of the University were kept, and where "his esurient genie in antiquities" was to lay the

<sup>1</sup> The first edition, published in 1656.

foundations of his greatest work. He was "so exceedingly delighted" and set to work so hard upon the records, that after two months his friends declared that his cheeks were fading and his body falling away. Nothing troubled him except having to waste time in meals and sleep. At last Dr. Wallis, "seeing his diligence," gave him leave to take the books and writings that he wanted home.

Wood's career was now settled. In the family house in Merton Street he fitted up two attic chambers for himself. In one, looking East, he built a chimney. In the other, his study, he "put out a window next to the street"; and there, turning his back upon family quarrels, he found a resting-place for years to come. The choice had disadvantages. A rash surrender, to oblige his brothers, of some reversionary interests in the family estate left him too much at the mercy of his brothers' children later. His sister-in-law, Mrs. Robert Wood, who lived downstairs, was not congenial. A "melancholy, malicious, and peevish" woman, he always suspected her of slighting him.<sup>1</sup> His brother Kit's wife proved equally morose—a "cold clownish woman," who gave him cold meat and cold receptions. Even his mother would think herself neglected if he forgot to tell her that there was a University sermon in Merton College, and would come beating at his door like a mad woman, calling him a rogue, a rascal and a gallows-bird for depriving her of such spiritual delights. But from these jars the student could escape. He had discovered his real vocation. It grew clearer every day. In the little upstairs study in Merton Street, in the Tower of the Archives, where Wallis took advantage of his help, in the Bodleian, where Barlow was glad to employ him, and where Barlow's successor, Thomas Lockey, "not understanding the managing of a library," might in Wood's opinion have listened to him more,<sup>2</sup> among the muniments of the Colleges which, as his tastes and abilities became known in Oxford, were made accessible to him by College dons, above all among the treasures accumulated by Brian Twyne, the young antiquary found resources after his own heart.

Twyne's great collections opened Wood's eyes to the possibilities before him. His ideas widened. He planned a comprehensive survey of the city spread out below the windows of the Tower, to include the history of its ecclesiastical foundations and of the University and Colleges which crowned them all.

<sup>1</sup> See the incident reported in April 1670 (*Life*, II, 190). Mrs. Robert Wood may have had her provocations. Anthony agreed to pay his brother Robert £10 a year for his board in 1663, and £12 in 1664 (*Life*, I, 471). His entire income was probably under £40 a year (*Life*, V, 77-8).

<sup>2</sup> See Wood's criticism on Lockey's failings as Librarian (*Life*, I, 335).



Gradually there emerged from this scheme three great treatises, one on the City, its churches, parishes and religious houses, another devoted to the University's annals, to its buildings, its officers, its lectures and its Schools, and a third to tell the story of the Colleges and Halls.<sup>1</sup> On Twyne's materials the whole project probably depended. From one point of view Wood may fairly be regarded as a splendid if inadequate editor of Twyne. He, no doubt, studied some of Twyne's originals, and he looked up many references in them with untiring care. But to others, which he quotes, he seems never to have had access, and he repeatedly failed to acknowledge what he owed. On some points he drew from Twyne practically every reference which he gives. With no consciousness of literary dishonesty, and with no grave offence to the literary ethics of his day, he appropriated and embodied his predecessor's work wholesale. His sturdy industry, his passion for knowledge, his life-long labours and researches are beyond dispute. But if the two great antiquaries of seventeenth-century Oxford were to be set in comparison with each other, it is to Twyne that students of history would have to admit the deeper debt.<sup>2</sup>

Those early years of labour must have been the happiest of Wood's life. We have close records of his occupations and expenses, intimate details as to how his time was passed.

"May.—The 1 day, S., spent up the water, 1s. 10d.—7, F., to Jones for pamphletts, 6d.; . . . 20, Th., given to old Hern for shewing me Ousney, 4d.; for 2 brass peices of coine of yong Paine the tinker, 2d.—21, F., for mending of stockings, 6d.—22, S., for paper, 11d.; for binding Twin's Antiq., 8d.; . . . 28, F., spent att the Tavern on Mr. Sayer, 1s.—29, S., for a pair of shoes, 4s.<sup>3</sup>

There are constant little payments entered for buying books and pamphlets and for treating friends. Civilities to "my coz. Elizabeth Stampe" and to other connections figure occasionally. Hospitality to Mr. Zephaniah Cresset and to other companions figure a good deal. Widow Flexney, Mother Laud, Joan of Hedington, the Crown, the Mermaid, account for several items. It cost a shilling or more to go to his brother Christopher's "a-gossiping," fourpence to see a play at the Roebuck, sixpence for

<sup>1</sup> And these were supplemented by the *Athenae Oxonienses*, and by the elaborate *Fasti*—chronological notes on the University's Magistrates and on many recipients of degrees—appended to them as well as to the *Colleges*. There are some 50 odd pages of *Fasti* also appended to the original Latin edition of Wood's History.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr. Clark's admirable discussion of this subject (Wood's *Life*, vol. IV, 223-6). For a note on the dispersion of Twyne's papers see vol. I (429).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* (I, 249-50). This is only one of many similar extracts.

“dressing a hat.” For a shirt “3 ells and a quarter at 8 groats an ell” ran up to eight and sixpence. There is a delightful miscellany of charges: a history of the Anabaptists costs five-pence, a pound of candles or “cherrys and whay” a little more; “ribband for my stuff suit” three shillings and ninepence, entertaining friends in Merton College orchard two shillings or half-a-crown. One eye is always fixed upon antiquities, the other on the small joys or necessities of life.

Wood's days were spent in work. He was continually reading, writing, making excerpts, for ever exploring bookshops for old records, ballads, broadsides, curious lore. But he loved also to ramble afield with only a note-book for companionship, among the Oxfordshire uplands, the Oxford meadows and streams, through Godstow's “fields of breezy grass,” over “the warm green-muffled Cumnor hills”; nor was the charm of these rambles lessened if a friend was there to share them, or a friendly tavern to provide refreshment by the way. Later there were gatherings in the newly-founded Common Room at Merton—Wood sometimes got into trouble by making notes of his companions' conversation there<sup>1</sup>—meetings with relations or acquaintances, gossip in some coffee-house or ale-house, music in which he liked well enough to take a part. In the days before the Restoration there were weekly meetings of musicians in the house of William Ellis, the ejected organist of St. John's College, which brought together the chief performers in Oxford—Dr. Wilson, Professor of Music, “the best at the lute in all England,” a Sheldon who played admirably on the viol, a young Wren and many another of greater or of lesser note. Thomas Janes of Magdalen also had meetings for music in his rooms in College. So had Narcissus Marsh, at Exeter and later at St. Alban Hall. Dr. Wilkins had concerts at the Lodgings in Wadham, where Wood was once made to play the fiddle much against his will. But Oxford talent paled before the visitors who appeared occasionally—Davis Mell from London, who had “a prodigious hand” upon the instrument, and Thomas Baltzar, an outlander from Lubeck, the greatest violinist in the world. Wood's deep interest in music never failed him. But his serious studies perhaps grew more absorbing, as his taste for general company and his wish to shine in it declined.

Wood developed into a great student, degenerated, it may be, into a recluse. But his keen eye and his keener pen noted all sides of the life around him. No incident of interest was too small. The seizure of Waynflete's mitre and crozier at Magdalen, under a general order of the House of Lords; the fate of James Hind, a famous highwayman, “a little dapper desperat fellow,”

<sup>1</sup> See Hearne (*Collections*, O.H.S., I, 32).



OXFORD FROM THE EAST, ABOUT 1669  
From the Laurentian Library at Florence





who had served under Buckingham and Ormonde ; the hanging of two Cavaliers, ex-officers, who had unhappily adopted the same trade ; the strange tale of a junior Fellow of New College, with "a curl'd shag-pate," squint-eyed and purblind, for whose sake a handsome maid in Cat Street poisoned herself with rats-bane—all found their place in his chronicle. He had stranger stories still to tell about Heads of Halls and Colleges like Dr. Iles, Dr. Spenser, Dr. Anyan, tales which did not scruple even to reflect upon their wives—

"Dr. Spencer was a wencher And built for us a new house,  
Dr. Anyan was a drinker And built for us a brew house,"—

seventeenth-century Corpus was responsible for both. He has a more pleasing romance of a young Gentleman Commoner of Merton who carried off a young lady of fifteen, married her early one morning in the Chapel of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and invited Wood and others to his surreptitious wedding-feast. He records the habits of a Christ Church student, son to the miller of Oseney, a great eater, who once ate up a pound of candles, and whose daily life at Oxford was summed up in two ingenious if cryptic lines—

"Morn, mend hose, stu. Greeke, breakfast, Austen, quoque dinner :  
Afternoone wa. me., cra. nu., take a cup, quoque supper."<sup>1</sup>

He has notes on the storms and floods which did damage in Oxford—one remarkable storm brought down hail-stones as large as walnuts and as flat as fritters, and carried away the pans at the fire in the kitchen of All Souls—notes on the purchase of books from Dr. Langbaine's library, notes on the help given to Dr. Savage of Balliol in writing the history of that College. Jottings of every kind lend colour to his pages and show how wide and various his interests were.

Wood's judgments on his contemporaries were not less observant. But they rarely erred upon the side of kindness, and they became tinged more and more with bitterness, as the years passed and as his grudge against the world increased.<sup>2</sup> Clarendon he remembered as "a great getter of money, not kind to old cavaliers." Dean Fell, though he gave him generous encouragement, could not be pardoned for his "pedantical and pedagogical" methods and his gross partiality for Christ Church men. Dr. Barlow of Queen's, who was often very friendly, was

<sup>1</sup> "i.e. in the morning, mend his hose or stockings, study Greeke, break his fast, study Austen, then go to dinner ; in the afternoone, walk in Ch. Ch. meade, crack nuts, and drink, and then for supper" (*Life*, I, 234).

<sup>2</sup> See *MS. Wood F. 31* (ff. 1-18). But most of these jottings reappear either in the *Diary* or in the *Annals*.

a turn-coat, always ready to truckle to those in power, a "most false, busie, and pragmatistical person," who intervened unwarrantably in the affairs of Wood's own College. Thomas Clayton, whose selection as Warden of Merton Barlow is alleged to have assisted, was "the most impudent fellow in nature to adventure upon such a place . . . a most lascivious person, a great haunter of women's company . . . a fellow of little or no religion, only for forme-sake." Ralph Bathurst again had often befriended Wood, but the diarist had no mercy on his political compliances and still less on his wife. Mrs. Bathurst appears as a scornful, proud woman, "the widdow of a notorious rumper,"<sup>1</sup> who thought herself fit to govern the College, and evidently thought little of Anthony Wood. John Hall, Master of Pembroke in later years, was "clownish, covetuous, and quarrelsome among the fellowes." South, the Public Orator, was another turn-coat, and pushing and impudent as well. And Dr. Wallis, who had given Wood access to the Archives, and had then earned his gratitude and respect, became later on in the same relentless pages not a time-server only but the basest of mankind, a taker of all oaths, faithful or faithless to every change of ruler, a "liver by rapine" who thrust out others from their places and ate up poor men's bread.<sup>2</sup> The grounds of this extraordinary onslaught appear afterwards in an ingenuous note: "Dr. Wallis took away my keyes." Wood's pen was his enemy. He flew to it to vent his feelings, to register every real or fancied slight. It may be that posterity has rendered him a doubtful service in printing every record of his passing moods.

But with this keen sense of his contemporaries' failings there mingled a larger outlook on affairs. For all his strong prejudices Wood had a certain breadth of view. He had been of course no friend to the Rebellion. He had joined in the petition for the removal of the Visitors in 1659. But he seems to have watched with comparative detachment the reaction which accompanied the Restoration in Oxford. That great change was to a large extent the act of the whole nation. The Presbyterians had taken a leading part in promoting it. Conant had supported it. Reynolds had been to Breda to confer with Charles. It was impossible to undo the past or to expel wholesale as intruders the Fellows and Scholars appointed since the war. Of the Royalists who had suffered at the hands of the Parliament comparatively few were in a position to return. Some had died. Some had married. Some had joined the Roman Church

<sup>1</sup> John Palmer, Cromwellian Warden of All Souls.

<sup>2</sup> *Life* (II, 507-8). There were some grounds for criticising Wallis' politics—his principle of "a moderate compliance with the powers in being"—and also for criticising his election as Keeper of the Archives.



or had passed on to other callings. But wherever they came forward and asked for readmission, there was a natural inclination to allow their claims. Parliament at once called on the Chancellors of the two Universities to restore the old College Statutes and to do justice to all persons "unjustly put out." Lord Hertford, who had resumed his place as Chancellor of Oxford, appointed a Commission to comply with these demands. But besides undoubted Royalists like John Oliver and Dolben these Visitors included several well-known Oxford men, Barlow of Queen's, Blandford of Wadham, Zouch of St. Alban Hall, Clayton and others, who had found it quite possible to serve under usurpers. Their appointment caused some "discomposure," and in July 1660 it was apparently thought necessary to strengthen their position by fresh appointments from the King. Certain influential public men were added to the Commission, among others Hyde, who was now Lord Chancellor, Hertford himself, three Bishops, and two Secretaries of State.<sup>1</sup> Hood, Rector of Lincoln, was also made a member. A man of little force of character, he yet held a unique position as the only existing Head of a College appointed before the Parliamentary Visitation, and on that account he was nominated to serve as Vice-Chancellor in Conant's place. At the Visitors' sittings in the Convocation House Dr. Skinner, the restored Bishop of Oxford, an old Fellow of Trinity, took a conspicuous part.<sup>2</sup>

The reaction had come. Loyalists were freed "from that misery and slavery under which they have long groaned."<sup>3</sup> But there was no need, and there would have been no justification, for such sweeping changes as were made twelve years before. The University as a whole was perfectly ready to submit to the authority of the King. The Anglican ritual, prayer-books, organs, surplices, naturally returned. In vain were indignities heaped upon the surplice. In vain did the Presbyterians mock at organs as the whining of pigs or compare the chanting of Chapel choirs to choruses sung in a blind ale-house.<sup>4</sup> At Christ Church Reynolds, who had only just displaced John Owen, had to give up the Deanery again. But he was consoled with the

<sup>1</sup> For lists of Hertford's and of the King's Commissions see *MS. Wood F. 35* (ff. 370-2).

<sup>2</sup> Hertford's Commissioners, it seems, began work at Oriel. But they may have felt their authority to be insufficient. They were almost all re-appointed together with the new members, but Dolben and Dean Croft of Hereford dropped out. Hertford himself, created Duke of Somerset, died in Oct. 1660 and was succeeded by Hyde. Hertford nominated Hood as Vice-Chancellor on July 28. See *Reg. Ta* (22) and *Wood (Ann. II, 699 sq. and Life, I, 318 and 324-7)*.

<sup>3</sup> See Convocation's letter to the King, Sept. 5, 1660 (*Reg. Ta*, 50-1).

<sup>4</sup> See *MS. Wood F. 31* (f. 11).

Wardenship of Merton<sup>1</sup>: Goddard's appointment there was quietly ignored. George Morley, who had immediately recovered his Canonry, was promoted to be Dean in Reynolds' place. But he passed on within a few months to a Bishopric, and relinquished the Deanery to Fell. Allestree and Dolben came back as Canons with their friend. Sanderson returned as Regius Professor of Divinity: Conant had to surrender his Chair. Three noted Puritans among others, Ralph Button, Henry Wilkinson and Christopher Rogers, had to surrender their Canonries. Pococke recovered his stall<sup>2</sup>: his two Readerships he had kept all the time. Hammond was dead: he had lived just long enough to see Parliament vote the recall of the King. Other changes also were made at Christ Church, but it does not seem that a very large proportion of the College was renewed.<sup>3</sup> Of the old Royalist Heads excluded by Parliament all the survivors were immediately restored. John Oliver resumed his place at Magdalen, on Goodwin's resignation, a week before Charles landed in England. Sheldon stepped back into the vacancy which Palmer's death had created at All Souls—for a few months only before he became a Bishop. Baylie returned to St. John's, Hannibal Potter to Trinity, Mansell to Jesus. Thankful Owen, Seth Ward and Howell had to give way. Thomas Walker returned to University, bringing Obadiah with him, who, like other devoted King's men, had "wandred a long time up and down." Newlyn and Wightwicke had the pleasure of supplanting their supplanters. Staunton withdrew from Corpus and Langley from Pembroke, by no means to the advantage of the Colleges concerned. Yate succeeded Greenwood at Brasenose. For the rest Conant still held his place at Exeter. So for the present did Rogers and Wilkinson at New Inn and Magdalen Hall. Barlow was strongly entrenched at Queen's. Hood was safe at Lincoln, with Crewe's astuteness at his elbow. Blandford, the Warden of Wadham, and Savage, the Master of Balliol, found no difficulty in moving with the times. Blandford, in particular, was prepared to move rapidly and far. And Provost Say of Oriel, appointed under the Commonwealth, survived all vicissitudes until 1691.

In the case of other members of the Colleges the changes were less noticeable. This was not, as Wood suggests, because the Royalists were bent on returning good for evil, but because very

<sup>1</sup> In July 1660. He passed on to a Bishopric next year, and Clayton succeeded as Warden of Merton.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Thompson notes (*Christ Church*, 84-5) that out of 8 holders of stalls only one, John Wall, was left unchanged.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Burrows (*Register*, 484 sq.) gives details of some 8 Students restored in 1660; but the list is obviously incomplete. One estimate gives 25 ejections, but it is hard to give reliable figures.

little opposition was encountered and comparatively few survivors of the old days wished to be replaced. At some Colleges like New College and Corpus one would expect to find a strong reaction, and it seems that seven Fellows were restored at Corpus and about twice as many at New College.<sup>1</sup> At Magdalen the Fellows and Demies replaced are put at twenty-five.<sup>2</sup> At All Souls the changes were fewer, but enough to show that a new day had dawned. At Jesus Mansell's plan of settlement proposed that four of the old Fellows should be restored, seven new Fellows appointed, and five of the intruders allowed to remain. The number of actual ejections that we know of is comparatively small. At Lincoln there were five,<sup>3</sup> but these were chiefly due to tension between the Presbyterians, who supported Hood, and the Independents who had little liking either for Crewe or for the Rector. One Fellow of Lincoln, George Hitchcock, held out with fierce determination till force was applied. But there is no record of serious trouble elsewhere. In some Colleges ejections were more noticeable, though attempts were made to provide ejected Fellows with chaplaincies or other subordinate posts. In others the expulsions were singularly few. At Merton and Trinity, for instance, we hear little or nothing of ejections,<sup>4</sup> and in this good fortune they probably did not stand alone. Wood's statement that all those restored, including Fellows, Scholars and servants, did not amount to the sixth part of those ejected in 1648,<sup>5</sup> may not be accepted. But he is not wrong in suggesting that the Royal Visitors acted with moderation and restraint. Old claims and interests had to be considered, but no wholesale policy of proscription was enforced.

But the reaction gathered strength as it went on. In May 1661 the new Parliament met, "a parliament," said its enemies,

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Burrows suggests 15 (*Register*, 527 sq.), but he only speaks of 9 expulsions. The notes in his Tables do not profess to be complete. He mentions some 86 members of Colleges, apart from Heads, as restored in 1660, but only notes a little over 30 expulsions. Yet the vacancies and the withdrawals can hardly have been very numerous. He gives details of 6 Fellows restored at All Souls: Prof. Grant Robertson puts the number there at 5. A few other figures can be drawn from College histories, but they are not as complete as one could wish. Nor have I found better information in the College papers than I have examined.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Wilson (*Magd. Coll.* 176-7) says 17 Fellows and 8 Demies. Prof. Burrows' figures in his Tables are not very different. There may have been about the same number of ejections.

<sup>3</sup> See Clark's *History of the College* (133) and Wood (*Ann.* II, 702-3).

<sup>4</sup> Prof. Burrows mentions one Merton Fellow, Henry Hurst, as ejected in 1660 (*Register*, 524). See also Mr. Brodrick's note (*Memorials of Merton*, 291).

<sup>5</sup> "And after" (*Ann.* II, 701).



“full of lewd young men, chosen by a furious people,” hot to restore the power of the Church and to sweep away the memories of their humiliation. A few months later Edward Hyde, now Earl of Clarendon and Chancellor of the University, visited Oxford, driving in state over Shotover Hill in a coach drawn by six Flanders mares, with the gentry of the county riding before him. He was entertained for the most part at Magdalen, and spent several days in the City, staying at his house at Cornbury in between.<sup>1</sup> He presided at a Convocation for conferring degrees: the lavish granting of degrees to persons who had more Court influence than merit was inevitable on the Restoration,<sup>2</sup> and became one of the standing abuses of the time. He consulted with Fell. He listened to speeches by South, who did not hesitate to put in a word in his own interests. He had dinners at Magdalen and St. John’s, at All Souls and Christ Church. He is not likely to have noticed one troublesome young undergraduate, William Penn, at Christ Church, who was to be sent down for Non-conformity that year. He refused to dine with Henry Wilkinson at Magdalen Hall, and scolded him sharply for his opinions. He accepted a Bible, but took occasion to emphasise his attachment to the Prayer-Book too. Clarendon was less of a bigot than many of his contemporaries, but stronger men than he would have found it difficult to stem the flowing tide. In 1662 the Act of Uniformity required “unfeigned assent” to the new Prayer-Book, and on St. Bartholomew’s Day some two thousand Non-conformist Clergy went into honourable exile rather than comply. At Oxford Conant found it impossible to accept the new arrangements. He ceased to be Rector of Exeter, and several Fellows of his College retired with him.<sup>3</sup> Two Heads of Halls, Henry Wilkinson and Christopher Rogers, adopted the same course. At Lincoln, it seems, three Fellows withdrew,<sup>4</sup> including two elected after the Restoration. At Pembroke one Fellow was found to suffer for his opinions. Everywhere else apparently the spirit of conformity or compromise prevailed. In July 1663 Juxon’s funeral gave occasion for another display of Church feeling. The Archbishop’s body was brought to Oxford in state, with heralds and coaches and sixty mourners riding, and was buried

<sup>1</sup> He was in Oxford on Sept. 7–9, Sept. 17, and Sept. 23–4, 1661 (*Wood’s Life*, I, 412–5).

<sup>2</sup> See *Reg. Ta* (23 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> Wood says six or seven, but he only names five (*Life*, I, 453). See Mr. Boase’s note (*Reg. of Exeter Coll.* O.H.S., cxxv), which is more exact. Some years later Conant conformed and accepted a poor living.

<sup>4</sup> Wood (*Life*, I, 453) says two; but see Dr. Clark’s notes there and on p. 333.

with great solemnity in the Chapel of St. John's.<sup>1</sup> A fortnight later the bones of another Archbishop, a still more famous son of the College, were brought to the same place from the Church of All Hallows near the Tower, and laid at night in the vault by Juxon's side.

A more august visitor was soon to follow. From the 11th September onwards the preparations for the King began, the Vice-Chancellor, Blandford of Wadham, and the Mayor of Oxford issuing contradictory orders as they pleased. There were proposals for gifts—a rich purse of gold for the King and the richest pair of gloves that could be made for the Queen.<sup>2</sup> There were proposals for Town Councillors' gowns, of scarlet and "black budg," with "satyn or tabby doublets." Masters, Bachelors and students were to line the way to Christ Church, but Wood found the junior scholars in North Gate Street disorderly and rude. On the 23rd the King and Queen, who had dined at Cornbury, rode in from the North, with the Duke and Duchess of York. Near the mile-stone<sup>3</sup> they were welcomed by the representatives of University and City. The King accepted a Bible and pocketed a purse. The Queen and Duke and Duchess had their gloves. The Mayor proffered his mace and received it back. It was growing dusk as the procession entered the City, constables and Councillors and Bailiffs first, then the Chancellor in his coach and six, then Masters of Arts riding two and two, and Doctors magnificent in their robes behind them, the Vice-Chancellor and Mayor together, the Royal personages with their retinue, sergeants, maces, lackeys interspersed, and Life Guards and servants bringing up the rear. It was dark before the King arrived at Christ Church, and torches were needed to light him on his way. Next morning he rose early and went into Christ Church meadow to view the relics of the war. But he found time to pay a call on Lady Castlemaine, who was lodged at Canon Gardiner's house close by.

Charles stayed at Christ Church from the 23rd to the 30th September,<sup>4</sup> the centre of a loyalty at least as deep and passionate as any he had met with in Oxford as a boy. He showed himself, as his way was, approachable and gracious, listened readily to speeches, enjoyed, no doubt, the popularity that was

<sup>1</sup> It lay in state first in the Divinity School, where South made a speech in doubtful taste (*Ib.* 480-1).

<sup>2</sup> The original proposals were varied. For the details of Charles' visit in 1663 see Wood's narrative printed in Dr. Clark's edition of his *Life* (I, 490 *sq.*).

<sup>3</sup> The Town Council had fixed the meeting-place for Greenditch, now St. Margaret's Road (*Ib.* 490 and *n.*).

<sup>4</sup> He spent one night at Cornbury, after a day's hunting on the 25th.

so easily acquired. We have no record of his wishing to hear disputations, but he visited several of the Colleges, Magdalen and All Souls, St. John's and Wadham, New College and Queen's.<sup>1</sup> At Magdalen there were fortifications still to be inspected, and a reception was held "under the great oke." At Queen's he had to see the Devil's autograph<sup>2</sup> and to drink beer out of the famous College horn. He contented himself with one sermon, at Christ Church, on the Sunday. He touched for the King's evil in the Cathedral Choir, while Monmouth and other gentlemen of fashion were receiving degrees in the Schools. He was taken through the Bodleian and entertained at "a very rare banquet" in the Selden end.<sup>3</sup> He seemed to like even the verses spouted at him. A hundred and sixteen lines were repeated kneeling by Thomas Ireland, of Christ Church, who was reputed to love pleasure better than his books, and who perhaps in that respect resembled his Majesty himself.

" 'Tis He, 'tis He indeed, it must be so,  
None but that child into this man could grow."

The Christ Church students protested that they owed the King their aliment, their dress, their learning; that, taken from their parents' charge, on his munificence they lived at large. One would have liked to know their parents' view. They inquired whether the Queen were a star or made of nectar. They asked

"What glorie's that, that hovers by your side,  
And gives you the embraces of a Bride?"

And though Lady Castlemaine was always of the party, Charles was never at a loss for a reply. At the end of a week, on the morning of the 30th, the Royal visitors left amid great acclamations. But Clarendon stayed behind. He summoned Conant and Rogers and two other leading Non-conformists<sup>4</sup> to All Souls. He scolded them for keeping conventicles and banished them beyond the University limits. There was no place in the Oxford

<sup>1</sup> Others were omitted owing only to "a great shore of rain."

<sup>2</sup> A specimen of this singular MS. "in letters based on Old Iberic," once kept in the Queen's library, is given in Wood's *Life* (I, 498).

<sup>3</sup> In a letter to Bennet on Sept. 7 Fell complains that the King's hasty coming prevents a Comedy being ready—"the constant part of a University entertainment"—as actors cannot be had out of London (*State Papers*, 1662-3, 268).

<sup>4</sup> Henry Cornish and Thomas Gilbert. Gilbert took in the "sons of fanaticks" as boarders, which roused opposition. Cornish preached for some time in Oxford and at Stanton Harcourt. Other leading Puritans like John Owen, Henry Langley and Thomas Cole continued to preach for some time in their retirement. (See Wood, *Life*, I, 499-500.)



of the Restoration for the grave traditions of the last few years. Of trivial things men noticed that the courtiers left behind them the fashion of whistling in an idle, careless way.

Two years later, in September 1665, the King came again to Oxford, to avoid the plague. He and his brother stayed at Christ Church, and the Court and the Government came too. The Queen arrived and was lodged at Merton, where there soon were more ladies than students in the Chapel. The Duchess of York followed, with a much larger train than the Queen. The Duke of Monmouth and his wife were lodged at Corpus. The Spanish and French Ambassadors found quarters at New College and Magdalen. Two little sons of Lady Castlemaine's<sup>1</sup> had rooms in the Woods' house in Merton Street. Their mother was in waiting at Merton, where a homely libel was posted on her door, with Latin references only too intelligible to the temper of the lady and the frailty of the King.<sup>2</sup> In October Parliament sat in the Schools and passed the cruel Five Mile Act, one of the worst excesses of Anglican intolerance. In November the Courts of Law also held sittings in the Schools. The famous Divinity School became a clerks' office. The *Oxford Gazette* appeared, the oldest English newspaper surviving.<sup>3</sup> Bishop Earle of Salisbury, a lovable survivor of more famous days, died at University College, and Dolben preached a funeral sermon over him. Blandford of Wadham became Bishop of Oxford. Clarendon was still a commanding personage: he had brought the Chancellor of Cambridge to visit Oxford a few weeks before. The world of politics, intrigue and scandal took possession of the University precincts till the King left in January 1666. The courtiers "high, proud, insolent," showed little consideration for the scholars whom they displaced. Wood testifies to their gay apparel, their wretched morals, their "very nasty and beastly" ways. After the Court was gone the students came back more freely. Their numbers were greater than ever because Cambridge was invaded by the plague.

The diaries of the same shrewd critic give ample evidence of the reaction which had swept Puritan ideals aside. "A strang effeminate age," he comments, "when men strive to imitate women in their apparell"—with long periwigs, patched and

<sup>1</sup> Charles and Henry, afterwards Dukes of Southampton (and Cleveland) and Grafton. A third boy, George, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, was born in December 1665 in Merton College (*Ib.* 46 and 53).

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* (67).

<sup>3</sup> In Feb. 1666 its title became the *London Gazette*. For the early numbers, with their interesting statistics of the plague, see Wood 541; see also his *Life* (I, 15 and II, 49).

painted faces, breeches like petticoats, muffs and scented clothes—and when women on their part try to dress like men. Even into Oxford and among the commoner people “fals hair, lace whisk” and similar excesses crept. Gentlemen Commoners wore round caps of silk, and even assumed square caps before they had earned the right to do so. Professed divines rode about with swords and with “hats tyed up on one side.” But there were worse failings than vanity in dress. It was an age of hard drinking, among Heads and Fellows and students alike. At Exeter Conant’s successor soon changed the character of the College. The Bachelors had frequently to lead him to his Lodgings drunk.<sup>1</sup> At St. John’s, described as “most debauched,” a little group of undergraduates posed as atheists and made a point of coming intoxicated to Chapel. Balliol men “by perpetuall bubbeing” made themselves “perfect sots.” All Souls was “a scandalous place,” in the opinion at least of one contemporary critic.<sup>2</sup> Magdalen and New College were too fond of buying and selling places. New College was fond of drinking and of gaming too. Pembroke, released from the piety of Langley, was accused of being the fittest College “for brutes.” Wightwicke, the Master of Pembroke, and Venn, who became Master of Balliol later, spent most of their time “in bibbing and smoaking,” and they were clearly no solitary types. Masters of Arts were seen drunk in the streets. Even an ejected Non-conformist Fellow was noticed reeling away from the “Blew-bore.” When a vacancy occurred for the Esquire Bedel of Divinity, “an adorer of the pitcher and pint pot” carried the election—“by which you may know the genius of the University.” Another Esquire Bedel, “top heavy by drinkeing,” fell off his horse and broke his neck. A Proctor made his reputation as “a known boon blade” of the town. Three Masters of Arts from All Souls, having already got drunk at the Mermaid, forced their way into the Mitre and literally frightened the hostess to death. At Christ Church a Bishop’s son, on the look-out for a living, was found dead, clutching a bottle of brandy, having been drunk almost every night since his return. At Queen’s a “drunken scandalous fellow” is noted as dying of the same complaint. Once the Act has to be postponed because the Vice-Chancellor is sick with drinking. Van Tromp, coming

<sup>1</sup> In 1666 Maynard, a kindly old scholar, was induced to exchange the Rectorship with Arthur Bury for a Canonry of Exeter Cathedral. In a Canon apparently his failing could be overlooked.

<sup>2</sup> Humphrey Prideaux, from whose *Letters to John Ellis*, as well as from Wood’s diaries, some of these facts are drawn. Those who doubt them may remember that Prideaux was once described, unfairly, as “an unaccurate muddy-headed man.”

to Oxford to be honoured by the authorities and "much gazed at by the boys," was completely vanquished in a drinking-bout with certain choice spirits of the University headed by Dr. Speed of St. John's.

For scholars of such abounding joviality the three hundred and seventy ale-houses of Oxford were perhaps an inadequate supply. In 1679 a Puritan Mayor with different traditions openly dissuaded gentlemen from sending their sons to so debauched a place. Dicing and gambling went with carousing: so did easy manners, immorality, loose language, disrespect. Stage plays were revived, "to spite the presbyterians." They started in the yard of the King's Arms in Holywell. Women began to appear among the players, and "made the scholars mad." Discipline was relaxed all round. On occasions like the introduction of new Proctors, the noisy rudeness of the undergraduates shocked men brought up in stricter days. The Vice-Chancellor's Court was weak. The old exercises were neglected. The Faculties were said to be filled with "tosts" and "dunces." Even Bodley's Librarian, Thomas Hyde, the Orientalist, was thought at times incapable of understanding common-sense in his own language, much less the intricacies of any other tongue.<sup>1</sup> In College elections abuses were not infrequent. Wood speaks of Yate of Brasenose foisting an incompetent kinsman into a Fellowship. He suggests that one election at All Souls was decided by much grosser reasons. He has ugly tales to tell of Christ Church Chaplains, of the spread of license and disease alike in University and town.<sup>2</sup> He has no mercy on the coffee-houses.<sup>3</sup> They exist only to waste time and discourage study. He has no patience with their gossip or their new way of "bantering." They overflow with "romantick nonsense, unintelligible gibberish, flourishing lyes." His criticisms are sharp enough. His prejudices are unsleeping. But he had certainly no bias against the Restoration, and it can hardly be doubted that in its main features the darkly coloured picture which he paints is true.

Three familiar figures of this period, Lord Clarendon, Archbishop Sheldon and Dean Fell, filled a large space in the Oxford of Wood's day. Clarendon's reign was a comparatively brief one. Even when he accompanied the King in 1665, and standing on Charles' right hand harangued the Parliament in Christ

<sup>1</sup> But Prideaux, the author of this criticism (*Letters*, 133), was a rival in Oriental studies.

<sup>2</sup> See *Life* (II, 3-4, 93-4, 95-6, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> In 1677 the Vice-Chancellor closed them on Sundays until 5 o'clock. In 1679 the Puritan Mayor forbade the sale of coffee on Sundays altogether (*Ib.* 396 and 463).



Church Hall, his popularity was waning. If as a Minister he failed in the capacity to govern, if as a returned exile he failed to understand the England of his later days, his fall was due almost as much to his virtues as to his faults. His old-world loyalty, his stubborn churchmanship, his inelastic honesty were of little use to Charles, who found him at last impossible to live with, "insupportable to myself and all the world." In the University Clarendon was, no doubt, respected and admired. But even there he showed traces of tactlessness and harshness—no wise man would have banished Conant from Oxford—and there is little evidence that he made himself beloved. Yet he took a real interest in University affairs, and in men like Fell and Sheldon he must have found counsellors after his own heart. Clarendon had clear views on education.<sup>1</sup> He did not share the opinion urged on the King by Newcastle, a survival even among the old Cavaliers, that the Universities and Grammar Schools had too many scholars, and that the Grammar Schools at any rate should be cut down by one half. He realised some of the defects of the Oxford system; but he urged that the old discipline and studies should be restored. He advocated the teaching of fencing, dancing, riding: Newcastle's enthusiasm for horsemanship at least he understood. But he valued the art of logic, the practice of disputation, the old custom of Latin speech. He proposed to revive the acting of Latin and English plays. He kept a watchful eye upon the Oxford Schools, recommended exercises in rhetoric, protested against the neglect of matriculation and the promotion of "Idle and Impertinent" men.<sup>2</sup> The *quaestiones* chosen for discussion still showed the accustomed elements of humour. Whether diseases came from Heaven was not inappropriate in a year of plague. Whether the Polygamy of the Patriarchs was a sin was a problem fit for the courtly divines of the Restoration.<sup>3</sup> Still more pointed was the refusal of a Grace to a supplicant accused of saying that the candidates for examination appeared to examine the Masters rather than to be examined by them.<sup>4</sup> Clarendon's Chancellorship represented not unintelligently the dominant feeling of the time. It saw the University's jurisdiction re-established, and the citizens again compelled to accept the obligations of Saint Scholastica's day.<sup>5</sup> It saw better arrangements made for keeping and cleaning the streets.<sup>6</sup> It saw

<sup>1</sup> See the *Dialogue concerning Education* in the complete Collection of Clarendon's Tracts.

<sup>2</sup> See *Reg. Ta* (150, 153).

<sup>3</sup> See *Reg. Qb* under March and June 1663.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* (f. 41<sup>b</sup>).

<sup>5</sup> *Reg. Ta* (98-9, 110-11).

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* (167-9). Dr. Lamphire did good work in this direction,

the University thanked by Parliament for its loyalty, and for the "unparalleled testimony" of its allegiance in "refusing to submit to be visited by ye usurped powers."<sup>1</sup>

Clarendon's celebrated house in Piccadilly, which gave such umbrage to his critics, had a magnificent collection of portraits and books. He was himself a master of portraiture, with the grand style of the age he lived in. Evelyn praised his generosity and freedom. Pepys was "mad in love" with his eloquence, with his ease, authority and wit. Clarendon was all his life a man of letters, and his famous History of the troubles which he lived through is among the prized possessions of his University to-day. It was first published in Oxford in 1702-4. The manuscripts of it were presented in the years which followed. The profits of it went to build the Clarendon Printing House, a new home for the University Press, where the Chancellor's statue still looks down from a niche over the South door. More than a hundred volumes of his correspondence found their way to the Bodleian later. His writing-cabinet, with its wafers, quills and scissors, was installed there generations after his death.<sup>2</sup> Clarendon's contemporaries did him less than justice, and it is not easy to do him justice even now: for with all his high gifts and adventures he remains a somewhat ineffectual figure in English history, leaving with us a sense of disappointment that he cannot move our interest more. Yet the letter of resignation, which the fallen Minister wrote to the Vice-Chancellor in December 1667, rings with a certain dignity and pathos

"I desire you, as the last suite I am like to make to you, to believe that I doe not fly my Country for guilt, and how passionately soever I am pursued, that I haue not done anything to make the University ashamed of me, or to repent the good opinion they had once of me."<sup>3</sup>

And in Oxford at any rate posterity has tried to make amends. The Chancellor's memory lingers in its streets and records. His fine and portly presence still inhabits the city which he knew so well.<sup>4</sup>

Sheldon had lived in retirement in the Midlands during the dark days of the Usurpation, corresponding with Hyde and Jeremy Taylor and other old friends, and exerting himself

<sup>1</sup> Oct. 31, 1665 (*Ib.* 207).

<sup>2</sup> In 1851 (Clark, *Bodleian Guide*, 61-2).

<sup>3</sup> See the original letter (*Bodl. Arch. F. c. 5*).

<sup>4</sup> Of several lives of Clarendon, Lister's, for some time the standard biography, was published in 1837, and Sir H. Craik's is the latest. Wood's sketch in Bliss' edition of the *Athenæ* (III, 1018-25) is much fuller than in the original edition (II, 389-91). Professor Firth's article in *D.N.B.* gives a valuable account of his life and writings. Macray's edition of the History (Oxford, 1888) is the most complete.

with characteristic liberality to help clergymen poorer than himself. He was from the first in high favour with the new King. In October 1660 he was summoned from All Souls to be Bishop of London, and on Juxon's death he moved to Canterbury, and resumed as Visitor his intimate relations with his old College. An ecclesiastic of great practical ability, and a firm, uncompromising churchman, Sheldon had not only a strong sense of duty but "a brave high spirit" and a certain largeness of view. He could stay steadily at Lambeth during the plague. He could rebuke King Charles for his vices. He could even protect Non-conformist divines. He gave freely of his wealth for public purposes. He contributed magnificently to the rebuilding of St. Paul's, and at Oxford he has left a well-known memorial behind. Sheldon was elected Chancellor on Clarendon's withdrawal in December 1667. But he resigned in August 1669 and recommended the Duke of Ormonde as his successor.<sup>1</sup> The Archbishop, it seems, could never find time to visit Oxford, and the chief event of his Chancellorship was the opening in his absence of the Theatre which bears his name.

Strict churchmen had for long disliked the use of St. Mary's for secular purposes. Fell's views on the subject were well-known. The Archbishop shared the Dean's opinions, and he offered first to contribute a thousand pounds towards the cost of a new building. Finally he took the whole expense of the Theatre on himself and provided an additional fund for its upkeep.<sup>2</sup> A site was found on the old Town moat, immediately to the North of the Divinity School. Houses in Candich were bought and pulled down. Christopher Wren acted as architect—still at the beginning of his great career: and his bold, sane, practical genius produced a building admirably adapted to seat a large audience, while his never-failing sense of dignity redeemed the elements of clumsiness in his design. Fell took keen interest in the work. The fine interior was carefully apportioned. Places were assigned for Doctors, Noblemen, Inceptors, for Regents and Non-Regents, Bachelors and Commoners, for ladies, strangers, Cambridge scholars and "persons of promis-

<sup>1</sup> He was apparently never installed. Wood notes in Oct. 1668 that Fell was readmitted Vice-Chancellor by decrees of the Heads of Houses and of Convocation (*Life*, II, 144).

<sup>2</sup> The fund for upkeep was £2,000. The cost of the building has been put at £25,000 by Evelyn (*Diary* for July 9, 1669) on the authority of Wren, at over £16,000 by Wood (*Athenæ*, IV, 856), at £15,000 by Dr. Clark (*Bodl. Guide*, 22). But Fell's accounts as Treasurer preserved in MS. Bodl. 898 (f. 188) give a total of £14,470.11.11, including the fund for repairs. The building cost Sheldon £12,239.4.11, and there were gold cups for Fell and Wren, fees for Loggan, etc. The Vice-Chancellor's accounts in the University Archives (*Computus Vice-Can.* A.D. 1621—





SOUTH FRONT OF THE SHELDONIAN THEATRE  
From Skelton's *Oxford*



cuous quality.”<sup>1</sup> The cellars and some other parts of the building were reserved for the Press, which had its home here over forty years. Sheldon’s name was inscribed above the lintel. Sheldon’s and Ormonde’s statues were set on either side. And, to enable academic processions to pass direct between the Theatre and the Divinity School, Wren fixed a door-way in the splendid window opposite, despising architectural tradition as only great men dare. The Theatre was inaugurated with elaborate ceremony in July 1669. Wood records “a very great and splendid Act,” with a “vast concourse of people.” He speaks of the Duke of York’s players at the Guildhall, of scholars pawning their books and their bedding to share in the fun, of eighty pounds spent on wine at Brasenose for a single dinner. Evelyn was present through the long festivities. He noted the tactless eloquence of South. He described the music and speeches and disputations of Inceptors. He resented the ribaldry of the *Terræ Filius*. And he received, incidentally, a Doctor’s degree.<sup>2</sup>

John Fell was the natural associate of Clarendon and Sheldon, and his influence dominated the University of Charles II’s day. Dean of Christ Church for more than a quarter of a century, Bishop of the diocese also from 1675 to 1686, few men filled a larger place in Oxford annals. None were more active, more high-minded, more indispensable than he. Fell may have erred, as Wood suggests, in “undertaking too many affairs.” He may have been a little too fond of carrying things with a high hand. He was not free from the prejudices of the party to which he belonged. But his ideals, his piety, his tireless sense of duty recalled a nobler age. He made his College a power in Oxford, and was accused of undue partiality for Christ Church men. He completed its buildings, set Great Tom in its tower. He was determined that even the young bloods of the House should work. He would visit them in their rooms and examine them in their studies. At the New Year he had a little present for each Christ Church man, a Greek or Latin treatise, a production of his own, or a production perhaps of

A.D. 1666, 341-2) give earlier details of the expenditure of the first £1,000 contributed by Sheldon, between July 1664 and Sept. 1665, when “my L<sup>de</sup> Grace of Canterbury” took on himself the whole cost of the building. One of the earliest details is £10 to Bird “for the modell . . . estimated by Dr. Wren.” See also Wood’s *Life* (II, 14 and 165, and IV, 68, 71-2 and 125).

<sup>1</sup> For Wood’s account of the building see the *Annals* (II, 795 sq.). For the Statute of 1669 on the subject see Griffiths (*Additions to Statutes*, 305-7).

<sup>2</sup> On Streater’s paintings intended for the Theatre, and Pepys’ visit to them, see Pepys’ *Diary* for Feb. 1st, 1689.



some other member of the College. As Vice-Chancellor he did his best to restore discipline and learning. He revised the rules for caps and hoods and gowns and sleeves—a more serious question in those days than in these—and he warned all tailors and haberdashers to observe them at their peril.<sup>1</sup> He revived the attendance at lectures and at disputations. He would often be present at examinations. He would, if necessary, intervene to conduct an examination himself. He stopped the practice of coursing and the tumults which it led to.<sup>2</sup> He disliked to see St. Mary's given up to business and had no small share in the foundation of the Theatre. In Convocation, perhaps, he showed too little respect for the Masters. The "bibbing and pot party of the University" would sometimes revolt and reject his nominees. He was certainly no Puritan. He encouraged plays at Christ Church and gave a supper to the undergraduates who acted.<sup>3</sup> Wood puts down the wantonness which followed to the credit of the Dean. But Fell was resolved to check drinking and disorder. "He was continually hauling taverns and ale houses." Wood suggests that he found there chiefly Christ Church men, but adds a tale which is just worth recalling.

"One . . . Drinkwater, an undergraduat of Exeter College with a red face was taken at the taverne by Dr. John Fell, vice-chancellor. He asked him his name. '*Drinkwater*,' answered he. 'Is this a place for *you*?' saith the vice-chancellor. 'Who is your tutor?' 'Mr. Goodall' (*quasi* good-ale), replied he. 'Excellent and verie ridiculous; get you home for this time.'"<sup>4</sup>

One of Fell's actions as Vice-Chancellor was to secure the appointment of a Committee of Convocation to review the Acts of the University during the Commonwealth—"durante tyrannide Parliamentaria."<sup>5</sup> Good Royalists could not permit them to stand. On the other hand it would not do to go into particulars, for many Oxford residents enjoyed degrees conferred in those nefarious days. So the Committee contented itself with a sweeping condemnation of all acts repugnant to loyal subjects and scholars, to good fame and public honour. This was in-

<sup>1</sup> For the full regulations and the details in regard to shapes and colours, buttons, sleeves, etc., see *Reg. T* (220-3) and Wood (*Life*, II, 84-5).

<sup>2</sup> The College challenges to each other at disputations often caused trouble.

<sup>3</sup> In 1674 the King asked for leave for actors of the Theatre Royal to visit Oxford (*State Papers*, 1673-5, 278).

<sup>4</sup> See Dr. Clark's note (Wood, *Life*, II, 83). The names and facts were true. Vice-Chancellors in those days often seem to have undertaken Proctorial duties.

<sup>5</sup> The decree was dated 25 Jan. 1667 (see Griffiths, *Additions to Statutes*, 304).

serted in January 1667 at the end of the Register of Convocations for the black years 1647 to 1659.<sup>1</sup> Fell was not always so careful about Registers. One Matriculation Book came into his possession on the death of the Bedel who kept it. But the Dean knew nothing about it, and light-heartedly suggested that the Bedel's widow, who afterwards married a cook, had torn it up "and put the leaves under pies."<sup>2</sup>

Fell, in spite of his Conservative opinions, was an active and vigorous reformer, and he wore himself out with his work. He was conspicuous on all great occasions, in the entertainment of the King, the Duke of York, the Prince of Orange,<sup>3</sup> of Clarendon and Ormonde, of all foreigners of distinction, and he loved to present them with copies of Wood's History. Among his visitors in 1663 was an irrepressible young Scotchman of twenty, destined one day to enjoy an English Bishopric, and already trained as a divine in Aberdeen.<sup>4</sup> Fell did his best also to prevent scandals and to keep the peace.<sup>5</sup> He admitted the Duchess of Cleveland's eldest son, whom his mother confessed to be "a very kockish idle boy," and whom the Christ Church authorities thought unlikely to attain "the reputation of not being thought a fool." He had, as Wood says, a peculiar faculty in "training up youth of noble extraction." But courtier though he might be, Fell had courage. He refused to honour Titus Oates. In days of reaction he was known as a Protestant Bishop. Wood even accuses him of giving fanatics perferment. He was uneasy probably about King James' views. Had he lived a year or two longer he might have found even his deep loyalty severely strained. To scholars Fell showed himself a very generous friend. Humphrey Prideaux was largely indebted to his kindness. Wood for all his grumbling was indebted hardly less. It was Fell who secured the publication of the *History and Anti-*

<sup>1</sup> See *Register T* (357). One result of an embarrassing situation was that the degree-lists of the University, which began to be published in 1689 did not venture to go back more than thirty years, until the Register prepared by the Oxford Historical Society plunged into the untrodden ground in 1884 (*Wood's Life*, II, 91-2).

<sup>2</sup> Wood ultimately recovered it from Fell's executors. See his interesting note on the fate of the University Matriculation Books, and of *Register PP* in particular, during the political changes of the time (*Life*, III, 202-3).

<sup>3</sup> William received a Doctor's degree at Oxford in December 1670.

<sup>4</sup> Gilbert Burnet. Fell would sometimes consult Williamson as to how foreign Princes should be received (*State Papers*, 1668-9, 258).

<sup>5</sup> E.g. when Lord Norris and Brome Whorwood, the Whig Member for the city, quarrelled in March 1682. "Broom brought an action of battery against my Ld. for beateing him, and my Ld. an action of scandalum magnatum against Broome for calleing him yong fool" (Prideaux, *Letters*, 127).

*quities of the University of Oxford* in its Latin dress. Wood's original racy English was to remain unknown for a hundred years and more. Fell bore the entire charge of printing. He gave the author a hundred pounds for his work, and fifty pounds more for corrections and additional labour. He paid for the translation into Latin by Richard Peers of Christ Church, who was then eking out a living by doing exercises for idle scholars, and Richard Reeve, the Master of Magdalen College School.<sup>1</sup> The History was published in Latin in 1674. David Loggan's *Oxonia Illustrata* with its exact and admirable drawings was published as a companion volume next year.<sup>2</sup> And Fell distributed copies of both broadcast.

It is clear that both Fell and the translators took great pains to make Wood's book complete. But Wood, though he owed so much to Fell's support, and not a little to the Dean's suggestions, could not forgive either patron or translators for the trouble which they gave him or the liberties they took. Fell claimed large rights of revision—"mangling" Wood called it. He would "correct, alter or dash out or put in what he pleased." Many new lines and paragraphs were apparently inserted. Many passages of the original disappeared. Mistakes, said Wood, were introduced into his text, and his correction of them was ignored. Other critics besides Fell interfered. The Master of University did not like Wood's account of the strange dealings with the charters of that College. Dr. Bathurst of Trinity did not like to hear his predecessor overpraised. Wood had reproduced Harris' epitaph correctly, but the reference to the old President's celebrity had to come out.<sup>3</sup> Another Head, Ironside of Wadham, had no share in the production; but he bluntly told the author later that the book was full of "contumelies, falsities, contradictions," and that, had he been Vice-Chancellor, instead of printing it, he would have had it burned. It must be admitted that Wood was sorely tried. He set to work bravely to rewrite his book in English,<sup>4</sup> but, as his nature was, he allowed his bitterness to overflow. Fell, he declared, had filled his History with "base things . . . to please his partial humour and undo the author." Peers, the arch-villain of the translation, was "sullen, dogged, clownish, and perverse": he had

<sup>1</sup> Peers afterwards grew fat as a Bedel. Reeve became a Benedictine monk.

<sup>2</sup> Fell writes to Williamson about Loggan's "very fine book" in Jan. 1679 (*State Papers*, 1673-5, 537). Loggan, who came originally from Danzig, was appointed in 1669 engraver to the University at 20s. a year, or, as Wood puts it, "public sculptor" (*Life*, II, 153).

<sup>3</sup> See Dr. Clark's note (*Life*, II, 260-1).

<sup>4</sup> It was edited and published by John Gutch, 1791-6.



altered the text merely to annoy the author and to please the Dean. Prideaux suggests that Peers and Wood came to blows over the matter—in cook-shops, in the Sheldonian, wherever they met. "Peers always comeing of with a bloody nose or a black eye," was afraid to go anywhere for fear of meeting his antagonist. But presently Peers became Pro-Proctor, and then Wood, "although he be a good bowzeing blad," dare not be about after nine at night, lest Peers should exercise his authority upon him.<sup>1</sup>

"Tantaene animis caelestibus irae?"

Wood was, no doubt, a formidable example of the irritable race. But it is possible that with greater sympathy and patience the Dean, who had given him the opportunity which he longed for, might have won a larger measure of his gratitude and esteem.

Fell himself was no mean author. He found time not only to govern but to write. He produced lives of Hammond and of Allestree. He brought out a great edition of the works of Cyprian. He prepared learned editions of Fathers and philosophers for the Press. The University Press was to him a constant source of interest and delight. The Oxford printers had been closely associated with the Royal cause, and on the surrender of the city to the Parliament they had been superseded by less competent men. For a time the Press had suffered severely. Its publications had almost ceased in 1649. But, as the University settled down under the Commonwealth, its activities revived. In 1658 the first Architypographer or Controller was appointed, as the Laudian Statutes had designed, and Fell threw himself into the subject with even more than Laud's energy and force. He established a type-foundry in Oxford in 1667. He encouraged the fitting-up of a paper-mill at Wolvercote. He settled the printers at the Sheldonian: but the building was not very well suited for the purpose, and about 1688 it proved necessary to move the Learned Press to "Tom Pun's house" close by, and to transplant the Bible Press to "Fell's House" in St. Aldate's.<sup>2</sup> When the agreements with the Stationers' Company lapsed, and the University reclaimed its right to print Bibles and Prayer-books, there was inevitably trouble with the London printers. They complained to the King of the excessive number of presses and the "Deluge of workmen" at Oxford. They

<sup>1</sup> Prideaux (*Letters*, II-12).

<sup>2</sup> The heavy presses injured the building, and the University ceremonies interfered with the printers. The Learned Press was the Classical Press (Madan, *Oxford Press*, Chaps. III and V).

resented the University's lowering of prices. And a sharp controversy followed which continued for many years.<sup>1</sup>

In all these difficulties Fell proved a tower of strength. He formed a small syndicate, which took over the management of the printing and paid the University a fixed rent.<sup>2</sup> He spent his own money freely on carrying the project through. He was tireless in planning, supervising, even correcting the books which the Press produced. Boyle's treatises on scientific subjects, Savage's *Balliofergus*, the first of College histories, are examples of his many-sided interest. Prideaux gives details of the Dean's publishing schemes—Gildas and other ancient historians, Greek Fathers, an English-Latin Dictionary, John Malala's Chronicle, which Fell asked him to edit—"a horrid musty foolish booke"—a translation of the Secret History of Procopius, an account of the Arundel Marbles, a book by Lord Clarendon exposing the errors of Hobbes. He tells how certain Fellows of All Souls tried to print scandalous engravings when Fell's back was turned, and how the Dean, surprising the miscreants, seized their plates and threatened to expel them.<sup>3</sup> Fell was always something of an autocrat. He insisted on his own views of spelling. He shocked Prideaux by "dealeing in most vile small businesses," by stopping to consider whether things would sell. He liked to keep the control of the Press in the hands of his own nominees. He bluntly told Obadiah Walker, whom he suspected of wishing to print Romanist propaganda, that he "would part with his bed from under him" first. But autocrat as he might be, it was the autocracy of a generous and high-minded man. He loved whatsoever things were just and pure and lovely and of good report. Even critics recognised the greatness of his spirit and his devotion to the University he served.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The leases to the Stationers' Company continued from 1637 to 1642 and after the Restoration to 1672. Then the University refused to renew, and began to print Bibles and Prayer-books. The London printers imitated and undersold them. Compromise was tried, and some London printers were apparently associated with the Oxford business. The struggle continued till after Fell's death, when the Bible printing was again leased to the Stationers' Co., it seems, in order to end litigation. (Madan, Chaps. III and V, and Prideaux, 75 and 79.) References to the controversy will be found in *MS. Tann.* 338 (especially f. 200) and in *MS. Rawl. A* 171 (ff. 26-36), where Wallis summarises the controversy in a letter to Pepys. If the entries in *Reg. Ta* (p. 20) and *MS. Tann.* 338 (f. 91) are correct, the date of the first lease granted to Hills and Field after the Restoration should be July 7, 1660. But see also *MS. Rawl. C* 421 and *Reg. Ta* (140-2).

<sup>2</sup> *MS. Tann.* 338 (f. 183).

<sup>3</sup> *Letters* (30, 32).

<sup>4</sup> It is noticeable that in the *Athenæ* Wood has practically nothing but praise for Fell. (Cf. the ed. of 1692, II, 555-64, with Bliss' ed., IV, 193-201.)

Fell overshadowed most of his contemporaries, but the University, even in the days of its degeneracy, was not without distinguished men. Bathurst at Trinity was a considerable figure, an influential and successful Head. Jeames at All Souls was making a courageous struggle against corruption. Ironside of Wadham had force of character and force of tongue; he may or may not have been as "forward, saucy, domineering, impudent, lascivious," as Wood, still smarting from an old scolding, alleged. Barlow was conspicuous at Queen's, as successful under Charles as he had been under Cromwell: his political pliancy secured him a Bishopric in 1675. Crewe, a still more notorious time-server, Rector of Lincoln after Hood, became Bishop of Oxford in 1671. Obadiah Walker, Master of University from 1676, was destined to exceed most of his contemporaries in devotion to King James. Narcissus Marsh, with his love of discipline and music, ruled for some years successfully over St. Alban Hall. Dr. Lamphire, of Hart Hall, even if "much given to his pleasures," as Wood who owed him kindness did not fail to note, was a man of public spirit, active in schemes for draining and improving the City, and something of an antiquarian too. He came near to being elected Member for the University in 1679.<sup>1</sup> Mews, a typical old Cavalier, preserved at St. John's the Royalist tradition, and as a Bishop later on he stood by the Magdalen Fellows in their hour of trial. Sir Leoline Jenkins, even when drawn into the devious paths of statesmanship, represented the University in the House of Commons, and never forgot the interests of his old College.<sup>2</sup> And Sir Joseph Williamson, another Secretary of State in days when the post required some elasticity of conduct, proved ever ready to remember his old friends at Queen's.<sup>3</sup>

The group of brilliant men of science, whom Wilkins had gathered about him, passed on in time to London and elsewhere. But Robert Boyle published important scientific papers before he left Oxford in 1668. Wren could not resist the claims of the world, as his noble labours crowded upon him. But he remained Savilian Professor till 1673, and the "divine felicity of his genius" was ever at the University's service. The University, however, preferred in 1674 to elect Thomas Thynne as its Burgess, a "hot head" in Wood's judgment, who kept "an open table for the Masters for a week or ten dayes and went to the coffee houses to court stinking breaths and to the common chambers. Sir Christopher Wren was not so expert this way." Petty in

<sup>1</sup> Wood accuses the Vice-Chancellor of unfairness in securing the election of Heneage Finch, the Solicitor-General, instead (*Life*, II, 442-3).

<sup>2</sup> Wood gives a full account of his funeral at Oxford in 1685 (*Life*, III, 161-2).

<sup>3</sup> See *State Papers*, 1676-7 (281).



Ireland had shared the downfall of the House of Cromwell. But the King soon succumbed to his charm, and his friends of the Royal Society in London were kept busy discussing his suggestions, if their compeers in Oxford knew him no more. Wallis continued to act as Keeper of the Archives, and lived, in spite of Wood's diatribes, to see Queen Anne upon the throne, and to contribute powerfully to the cause of science. He was buried in St. Mary's at the age of eighty-six. Seth Ward, deprived of his Headship at Trinity, resigned his work at Oxford, but found a new career and high preferment in the Church. Sprat of Wadham also "turned about with the virtuosi," and qualified to be a High Church prelate. But he kept his love of science unimpaired.

Both Wallis and Sprat played their part in current controversies. It was Sprat who in 1664 addressed to Wren a pungent reply to Sorbière's observations upon England, which had roused attention both in the University and outside. But with the Frenchman's appreciation of Oxford neither Sprat nor others had much fault to find. For the critic was prepared to admit that the meanest of Oxford Colleges might hold its own with the Sorbonne. And he did not fail to absorb and to repeat time-honoured legends, like that which made the Brasenose emblem a representation of the features of Duns Scotus. Wallis was a more formidable controversialist, and Hobbes proved no match for him in the sphere of mathematics, though he kept up the duel to his ninetieth year. Wood had no more regard for Hobbes than he had for Wallis. In one of his sweeping generalisations he described him as "an enemy to Universities, school-divinity, Aristotle, presbyterians, metaphysics," though quite acute enough to corrupt the gentry of the nation. Unfortunately Fell altered to Hobbes' disadvantage the account of him which Wood had inserted in his *History*, a fact which Wood took care that Hobbes should know. Hobbes protested, and was not appeased by Fell's suggestion that at his age he had better be thinking of his latter end. He appealed to the King, and printed an answer, which set Fell in his turn fretting and fuming.<sup>1</sup> Fell's conflict with another great philosopher was certainly not of his seeking. It was at Oxford during Fell's administration that Locke made Ashley's acquaintance, and was drawn into the path of that unquiet star. But it was not Fell's fault that Locke was made to suffer in the misfortunes which attended Shaftesbury's friends.<sup>2</sup>

The Sheldonian Theatre was not the only new building of

<sup>1</sup> See Wood's account (*Life*, II, 291-4).

<sup>2</sup> Locke's great *Essay* and the influence it brought him fall outside the limits of this volume.

the Restoration. In the days of James I a remarkable man named John Tradescant, gardener, naturalist, traveller, collector, had been employed by Buckingham "to deal with all merchants from all places . . . for all manner of rare beasts, fowls and birds, shells and stones." After Buckingham's death Tradescant had entered the service of the King and Queen, and had established a famous physic garden and museum in South Lambeth, which passed in due course to his son.<sup>1</sup> The younger John Tradescant published an account of the curiosities which his father had collected—birds and beasts and minerals and insects, a "stuffed Dodo" whose head and foot are still at Oxford, and many other treasures which excited the wonder of his age. And dying, he bequeathed the whole collection, not without some resistance on the part of his wife, to his friend Elias Ashmole, a virtuoso then high in the favour of the Court. Originally a young lawyer from Lichfield, Ashmole had come to Oxford on the King's business during the Civil War. He had established himself at Brasenose. He had plunged into the study of astrology, alchemy, antiquities, and had ever since proved himself an indefatigable collector, tireless in the pursuit of unusual learning. Ashmole had become Windsor Herald and historian of the Garter. He was an influential man in London. He kept in touch with Oxford friends. Wood spent some days with him in 1669, taking him round the Colleges and showing him curiosities in the Physic Garden and elsewhere. And in 1677 Ashmole offered to present to the University Tradescant's museum, enriched by valuable additions of his own.<sup>2</sup>

The gift was coupled with the requirement that a suitable building should be provided. A site was secured immediately to the West of the Sheldonian,<sup>3</sup> and Wren's boundary wall was broken through. But there seems to be no evidence that the famous architect of the Sheldonian was even consulted in regard to the plans.<sup>4</sup> Thomas Wood "y<sup>e</sup> Stone-Cutter," whose name appears with that of other workmen in the Vice-Chancellor's

<sup>1</sup> Wood speaks of John Tradescant ("Tredesken") senior being appointed by Lord Danby as gardener, perhaps to supervise the planting of the Physic Garden at Oxford (*Ann.* II, 897). Tradescant may have advised, but Jacob Bobart was in charge from 1632.

<sup>2</sup> Ashmole's library with its valuable MSS. was bequeathed to the University later. But his coins, treasures and printed books were seriously damaged by fire in 1679 (Wood's *Life*, II, 435).

<sup>3</sup> The purchase of "severall Tenements near y<sup>e</sup> Theater" is mentioned in the Vice-Chancellor's Accounts for 1677-1678 (not 1678-79, as given in a misprint in Clark's *Life of Wood*, IV, 78). But there were some payments for ground later.

<sup>4</sup> We have a full contemporary account of the Ashmolean building in E. Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia* (eds. 1684 and 1687). He speaks of the striking entrance on the East. Wood, who copied Chamberlayne's

accounts, and who is described as Architect on a contemporary print, was mainly responsible for the work done and for the materials supplied. The men who built the Divinity School and Magdalen Tower, who roofed the stair-way up to Christ Church Hall, who planned the colonnade and the garden front of St. John's, had needed no architects to teach them taste. To that race, already disappearing, the builder of the Ashmolean apparently belonged. He may have had little professional training. He may have mingled his styles<sup>1</sup> and borrowed his ideas. But he must have known that his work had no need to fear comparison even with that of the great genius close at hand, who has left in Oxford an enduring reputation but not the most distinguished examples of his art. In the spring of 1679<sup>2</sup> the first stone of the first public museum of curiosities in this country was laid. In February 1683 Ashmole noted in his diary: "The last load of my rarities was sent to the barge, and this afternoon I relapsed into the gout." In March of the same year Robert Plot, already Secretary to the Royal Society, and well-known for his *Natural History of Oxfordshire*, for his good stories and his love of good fare, was appointed to act as Curator.<sup>3</sup> In May the

account from the 1687 edition in his *MS. F. 31* (f. 141), printed by Clark (Wood's *Life*, III, 54-6), must have seen this "magnificent portal." And it must have formed part of the original design—though there was another elaborate entrance on the North, opening to a flight of steps (as shown in Williams' *Oxonia Depicta* of 1733), where a balcony was inserted later. We have also a contemporary print by M. Burghers, dedicated to Timothy Halton *quater Vicecancellario*, which has the words "T. Wood Archit" in the left-hand corner. And we have full details of the expenditure in the Accounts in the University Archives (*Computus Vice-Canc.* 1666-1697), which show that Mr. Wood the stone-cutter presented many bills for payment from 1679 to 1683, and that Mr. Davis, the University Bailiff, received fees, varying from £30 in 1679-80 to £10 in 1682-3, for over-seeing the work. There are many entries of payments to workmen—to Rawlins for lead-work, to Wild the joiner, Young the smith, etc. There is no mention of Wren. Dr. Clark has printed extracts from these accounts in his *Life of Wood* (IV, 78-9): but once or twice—e.g. in the year 1682-3—he has misread the line and assigned the payment to the wrong workman. The total cost of the building he gives in round figures as £4,530, site, structure, fittings and overseer included. Mr. Gunther (*Notes and Queries* for March 10, 1923) puts the total expenditure at some £4,380.

<sup>1</sup> See the interesting correspondence in the *Times* from Feb. 18 to March 9, 1923. The records seem to prove that, except for the balcony inserted on the North front later, the Ashmolean was erected between 1678 and 1684 substantially as it exists to-day.

<sup>2</sup> Wood speaks in his diary of the laying of the foundation stone on May 15, 1679 (*Life*, II, 451). Chamberlayne, whom Wood follows in his *MS. F. 31*, gives the date of foundation as April 14.

<sup>3</sup> Plot, educated at Magdalen Hall, held various posts and followed many paths of knowledge. He has been accused of credulity, time-serving, acquisitiveness and bad morals.



Duke and Duchess of York and the Lady Anne were received there. They inspected the rarities and enjoyed a banquet. They found "a large and stately Pile," with a "very magnificent portal" on the East, with a Museum above, a Lecture-room in the middle,<sup>1</sup> and a Laboratory, "perchance one of the most beautiful and useful in the world," below. Ashmole was entertained by the University later, and made himself responsible for further gifts. Portraits of the two Tradescants are preserved in the collection. But the treasures which they so industriously gathered in their "Ark" at Lambeth have given immortality to another man's name.

Close beside the Ashmolean, and freely exposed to the Oxford climate, the marbles collected by Selden and by Lord Arundel found a place. Those given by Selden's executors, Wood tells us, were first set up in 1660 "on the enbattled walls before the Divinity School," and afterwards on the new walls round the Theatre. Those collected by Lord Arundel, the "Father of Vertu in England," were presented to the University in 1667 by his grandson Lord Henry Howard,<sup>2</sup> and were disposed about a curious monumental structure which now conceals the furnace by which the Library is warmed. Selden himself had written the first description of the *Marmora Arundelliana*, and Humphrey Prideaux' *Marmora Oxoniensia* set a seal on Selden's work. Further to the East, beyond the old town walls, the Physic Garden had been growing since Lord Danby, its founder, died at Cornbury "full of honours, wounds, and daies." Nicholas Stone's gate-house<sup>3</sup> now gave access to a beautiful domain, which was said to contain three thousand several sorts of plants, and which served not only for use by physicians but for the "delight and pleasure of those of perfect health." Old Jacob Bobart, whom Danby had appointed, watched over it for nearly half a century.<sup>4</sup> Born in Brunswick, "that great Rum-Brew-house of Europe," he had brought to Oxford a varied experience gathered abroad. In his later days he was pleased to wear a long beard, "and once against Whitsontide had a fancy to tagg

<sup>1</sup> This ground-floor room was the School of Natural History, where Plot as Professor of Chemistry lectured, and where his scientific colleagues met. Dr. Clark calls the laboratory in the basement "the first official recognition of natural science in Oxford" (*Bodleian Guide*, 23).

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards sixth Duke of Norfolk. Wood's editor (*Ann.* II, 804, n.) speaks of Sir W. Petty as concerned in their collection, perhaps confusing him with the Mr. Petty who was the Earl's chaplain and agent in Rome.

<sup>3</sup> For Stone's works see Sir R. Blomfield's article in the *Portfolio* for 1888 (pp. 187 sq.).

<sup>4</sup> He published in 1648 a catalogue of 1,600 plants under his care. His son and successor followed Morison as Botanical Professor and completed Morison's great work.

it with silver ”<sup>1</sup>—a sight which many visitors came to see. In 1669 Robert Morison was elected Botanical Professor—a Scotchman whom King Charles II had brought over from the Duke of Orleans’ gardens at Blois. Morison’s lectures in the Physic Garden attracted no little attention at Oxford, and his *Historia Plantarum Oxoniensis* proved to be a landmark in the history of botanical research.

Meanwhile other efforts to beautify the University went on. St. Mary’s Church was restored and reopened, with new marbles, pinnacles and organ.<sup>2</sup> Many of the College Chapels were renovated. All Souls Chapel was deplorably remodelled. At Brasenose and at Edmund Hall new Chapels were built. At University the new buildings were completed. At Christ Church Wren’s familiar bell-tower crowned the labours of Dean Fell. College Common Rooms came into fashion, well-pannelled walls and well-carpeted floors. The new Library at Brasenose was eclipsed by the new Library at Jesus. Jenkins proved a generous friend to his old College. Williamson added a new wing to Queen’s. The great Library at Queen’s must have been in contemplation, and plans were soon to follow for sweeping the mediæval College away. At Trinity Wren reluctantly sanctioned a new “three legged” quadrangle. At New College another three-sided quadrangle was begun. At New College and Magdalen the gardens and grounds were developing in beauty. Elms, to form “a shady walke,” were planted between Magdalen and the East Gate of the city.<sup>3</sup> The waste ground to the East of New College, “an occasion of stench and noysomness,” was laid out for building, and Long Wall Street designed. The high-way near St. Clement’s Church was “pitched with pebbles.” St. Giles’ in part at any rate was paved. The roads beyond were still at times unsafe for travellers. Claude Duval, the highwayman, was hanged in 1669, and Dr. Pope of Wadham wrote his biography. Wood notes, among other incidents of that description, the execution of a Major Clancie, a familiar figure in Oxford with his red coat and silver buttons and “reddish-blew” nose, who had found exceptional opportunities of thieving when the Court visited the city in 1665. He notes also that a Hyde, once a Fellow of All Souls and a kinsman of the Chancellor,

<sup>1</sup> See Baskerville’s delightful account of the Physic Garden (*Collectanea*, IV, 187 sq.). See also Mr. Gunther’s *Oxford Gardens*, Sir D’Arcy Power’s *Oxford Physic Garden* and *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> Wood (*Life*, II, 344, 348, 358). Oriel contributed freely about 1661 and 1664. In 1655 also there had been work done in the Church (*Ib.* IV, 63 and 65).

<sup>3</sup> Originally planted in 1657, they had been “plucked up . . . because planted in the fanatick times” (*Ib.* II, 479).

took to the same ways and suffered the same fate.<sup>1</sup> But if highwaymen survived, the beggars, who "used to pray at folks' doore for almes," had been discouraged by the Commonwealth, and by the year 1670 they had disappeared.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of the perils of the roads, however, travelling improved. In 1669 flying coaches were set up, which performed the journey from Oxford to London in a single summer's day. The University carriers had to fight for their monopoly.<sup>3</sup> But the old University customs for the most part continued, and many of the old University disorders. *Terræ Filii* who abused their privileges had to be expelled. Masters in Convocation sometimes proved refractory and mutinous, especially if the Vice-Chancellor strained his authority too far. A few old practices, not always desirable ones, fell into disuse. "Coursing" at disputations was abolished. The Collectors' entertainment on Egg Saturday ceased.<sup>4</sup> The examinations needed reforming. Bathurst exerted himself, when Vice-Chancellor, to improve the system of translating English and Greek into Latin. "The Master seems oftentimes more satisfied with his owne question than carefull of the scholar's answer."<sup>5</sup> Wood complained that "noblemen's sons are created Artium Magistri for nothing; get fellowships and canonries for nothing, and deprive others more deserving of their bread." Bachelors neglected to determine, and in 1675 a new Statute required them to give security to do so in the following Lent.<sup>6</sup> Scholars neglected Austins. Masters of the Schools permitted themselves to lapse from Latin into English. Negligence was not new, but it seemed to be increasing. The younger generation had its own standards of comfort, but in other respects its standards suffered in comparison with those of the age that was past.

Even before the publication of the *History and Antiquities* in 1674, Wood had won for himself a reputation in Oxford. He has left a delightful description of a journey which he took to London to consult authorities in 1667, when he made friends

<sup>1</sup> *Life* (II, 48-9 and 245).

<sup>2</sup> The last two, "Jack Saturday *alias* Williams and Meg Swiffin a madwoman," used to say their prayers at butchers' stalls (*Ib.* 212).

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* (153, 155, 196, 221, 223). The old coaches, which took two days, continued apparently to run.

<sup>4</sup> Wood notes in 1670 that the Chancellor (Ormonde) desired "the Vesper supper to be paid by the inceptors of each facultie and not by the senior, as hath hitherto been" (*Life*, II, 194). As already noted (*ante*, p. 340, n.) an addition to the Statutes to that effect was passed.

<sup>5</sup> Wood (*Life*, II, 277-8).

<sup>6</sup> (*Ib.* 309). This was an addition to the Laudian Statutes (*Tit.* IX, V. 1: Griffiths' edition, 308). The two declamations required from Bachelors of Arts before Inception were also insisted on afresh. See the addition of 1662 to the Laudian Statutes (Griffiths, 303).



with Obadiah Walker in the coach. He carried introductions from Barlow to Dugdale, whom he found in Ashmole's rooms in the Temple. Dugdale gave him a letter to Sir John Cotton, and Wood, posting off at once to Westminster, discovered Cotton practising the lute. But he secured access to Cotton's famous library, where he would afterwards spend two or three weeks together in Vacation time, working for nine hours a day. Another introduction, from the Provost of Oriel, gave him access to Prynne, then Keeper of the Records in the Tower; and Prynne, in a "black taffaty-cloak edg'd with black lace at the bottom," and full of "old fashion complements, such as were used in the raigne of K. Jam. I.," took him to the Tower, across the ruins of the devastated city, showed him the great store of rolls and charters, told him how to find them and where to sit and write. There he worked, with Dugdale beside him. He spent most of his time in Dugdale's company while he stayed in town. At twelve every day the two great students dined together at a cook's house in the precincts, and enjoyed themselves in each other's society as antiquaries should.

Two years later Wood was sent up to attend the Duke of Ormonde's installation as Chancellor. He was introduced by Dr. Fell to the Archbishop, and found himself dining at Lambeth "exceedingly caress'd." But he did not like the trouble which the Press Delegates gave him to "unravel" his History and "make it fit for a Latin translation." He did not wish to introduce biographies of famous writers. He objected to the additional journeys to London which this involved. Later again he tells us how Sir Leoline Jenkins took him once more to Lambeth and showed the Archbishop some of the proofs of his book.<sup>1</sup> But the method of publication brought its disappointments with it. Wood's over-sensitive importance, his anxious jealousy grew worse. His income was still very small and taxation pressed upon him. He resented the Poll-tax of 1666, and appealed in vain against his assessment. He thought that, had the University members done their duty, the University might have been saved from paying chimney money—"which was never knowne before."<sup>2</sup> His deafness was already troublesome: his notes on his own ailments are detailed. Family jars became more serious: he was blamed for surliness: he was

<sup>1</sup> Another Sheldon, Ralph Sheldon of Weston Park in Warwickshire, proved of more use to Wood than the Archbishop. Wood paid him long visits, catalogued his library, and received presents in return. There are many references to him in the diaries. (See especially *Life*, III, 98-105.)

<sup>2</sup> Wood notes in February 1662—"Every chimney in every college and hall pays 2s. per annum," additional revenue to the King (*Life*, I, 431).

scolded by his friends. There is a rather pathetic entry in the diary in June 1669:

"A. W. was dismiss'd from his usual and constant diet, which for many yeares he had taken in the house where he was borne, and then lived, by the rudeness and barbarity of a brutish woman, of which she afterwards repented, when too late. A. W. was put to his shifts, a great deale of trouble, and knew not what to doe. . . . He was asham'd to go to a publick house, because he was a senior master, and because his relations lived in Oxon: and to go to Merton Coll. (which he had left, as to his diet, for several yeares before) he was much resolv'd in himself against it. He had a name in the buttery-book there, and took bread and beere, when he could go no where else for meat. By his much fasting, and drinking more than usually, the whole course of his body was chang'd. Weakness came into several of his joynts, especially in the leggs, and great noises in his eares. . . . This disaster A. W. look'd upon as the first and greatest misery of his life."

There is an entry, perhaps more pathetic, in 1683, which records apparently his unsuccessful wooing:

"From 25 Oct. I discern'd a decay of love and she grew worse and worse. I waited for a returne but found none, so at the Conversion of Paul Jan. 25 I left her."

And with that curt entry his dreams passed away.

Wood's loneliness increased. But his industry remained as remarkable as ever. He became more and more wrapped up in his books. When the Latin History with its objectionable corrections had been issued, he set to work to rewrite an English version, destined to remain unpublished until 1792. His treatise on the City of Oxford also remained in manuscript, till it found an incompetent editor, Sir John Peshall, in 1773: but Wood continued to add to it and improve it while he lived. The History of the Colleges and Halls remained in manuscript till 1786. Wood never ceased to amass notes and information. He made large collections for a history of Merton. And in his later years he devoted himself steadily to the idea which Dean Fell had suggested to him, of preparing a biographical dictionary of Oxford writers and Bishops. This, under the name of *Athenæ Oxonienses*, found a publisher in London during his lifetime in 1691 and 1692.<sup>1</sup> For this great enterprise he collected materials unwearingly. He sought assistance and received it upon every

<sup>1</sup> For Wood's Works see Dr. Clark's list in *D.N.B.* But there are one or two misprints of dates there, which should be corrected by reference to the originals or to the catalogues of the Bodleian or the British Museum. For the MSS. on Wood's life, and for his Collection of MSS. and printed books, see the first volume of Clark's *Life* (pp. 1-21). For the MS. authorities used by Wood see the famous catalogue in vol. IV of the same work (87 sq.). The great services rendered to Wood's MSS. by John Gutch of All Souls, who edited and published, between 1786 and 1796, first the

side. Ashmole and Sir Thomas Browne were among those who sent him information. Andrew Allam of Edmund Hall, who died of small-pox prematurely—"nothing but years and experience were wanting to make him a complete walking library"—and White Kennet, the historian, who was Allam's pupil, supplied him constantly with notes.<sup>1</sup> John Aubrey, whom he knew first "in a sparkish garb . . . with his man and two horses," and afterwards as reduced to "a very sorry condition" but obstinately cheerful still, was keenly interested and anxious to help. Aubrey's genius for collecting lively details and his willingness to impart them must have been of the greatest possible service. But an unfortunate note of his reflecting upon Clarendon involved Wood in troubles which he never forgave. Wood was not too generous in acknowledging such assistance, and his comments on this genial coadjutor show him in no favourable light. "He was a shiftless person," he pronounces, "roving and magotie-headed, and sometimes little better than crased. And being exceedingly credulous, would stuff his many letters sent to A. W. with fooleries, and mis-informations, which would sometimes guid him into the paths of error."

One of Wood's friends and correspondents, an antiquary less famous but hardly less industrious than he, has left in manuscript in an Oxford Library a whole volume of Wood's letters.<sup>2</sup> William Fulman, the son of a carpenter at Penshurst, sent to Oxford by the kindness of Henry Hammond, had secured a Corpus Scholarship in 1647, only to lose it, like other good Royalists and churchmen in the succeeding year. But after the Restoration Fulman returned to Corpus. He obtained a Fellowship and finally a College living, and he set to work, as "a severe student," to edit among other labours the works of his old patron Hammond and the so-called works of Charles I. Burnet, with whom he had a difference of opinion, found in him "an odd strain of sourness," which others sometimes found in Wood. But Wood seems to have appreciated his learning and his modesty, and there are no signs of sourness in the letters gathered here. From 1672 for some fourteen years onwards we have communications passing on all sorts of subjects, and

History of the Colleges, then the *Fasti* appended to them, and finally the Annals of the University in their English dress, must be remembered. Philip Bliss' four-volumed edition of the *Athenæ* (1813-20), with the two portions of *Fasti* appended to them, remains the standard edition, to which I have generally referred.

<sup>1</sup> There are many references to Allam in Wood's diaries. (See especially Dr. Clark's note, *Life*, III, 167.)

<sup>2</sup> See vol. XVI of Fulman's MS. Collections at Corpus, in which there are 57 letters from Anthony Wood.



there is something pleasantly familiar and courteous in Wood's tone.

November 1672. "Mr. Fulman.

I have read my papers and y<sup>r</sup> corrections of them for wh. I heartily thank yo . . . . yr humble servant AW."

October 1673. "I find John Hales was elected probat. Fellow 2. Sept. 1605."

December 1676. "I am informed y<sup>t</sup> one Dr. Brady of Cambridge<sup>1</sup> is picking holes in my coat and will answer my book. If yo know anything of him lets have his character."

Mayday 1678. "This last munday I returned to Oxōn and found y<sup>r</sup> letter of the 11 Apr. for wh. I thank yo and especially for the memoire of convocation therein: 'tis my great unhappiness y<sup>t</sup> in my absense, not one pson (and I beleive I speak truth) in this Universitie, doth comit to writing any such thing, as of greater moment, y<sup>t</sup> is done therein."

August 1678. "Dr. Hinton parson of Islip is dead and Dr. South succeeds there—so y<sup>t</sup> he y<sup>t</sup> hath enough shall have more."

March 1680. "I am so much taken up with 'drudgery' for other persons y<sup>t</sup> I cannot do anything for my Self."

August 1681. "I have recd. my books fro yo for wh. I thank yo. yo know yo may have them at any time againe or any thinge else."

November 1686. "I send some newsletters for you to keep till it suits you to return them. . . . I have bargained w. a Coffey woman for y<sup>r</sup> sake and partly for mine own."

The letters are full of personal interest. Mr. Sheldon wanted to carry Wood off for a visit. But there were no books in his house to read. Wood would rather meet Fulman "at the blew boare about 9 or 10 in the morn." There are a few notes on politics. The French Court was mourning for the death of Condé. The Turks had got provisions into Buda and the Christians had had to raise the siege. A speech by Shaftesbury was worth reading, if only to see what "a rascally humour he hath." The Duke of Monmouth had supped with the Lord Mayor. But about books and men, about Wood's work and occupations, there are many more intimate details. The Bishop of Hereford had published a work on *Naked Truth*. Parkinson of Lincoln was to be expelled for his defence of Milton. Wood wanted to see a Life of Ludovic Vives, to borrow the Life of

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Robert Brady, Master of Caius College, was a historian as well as a physician, and is stated to have been at one time Keeper of the Records in the Tower (*D.N.B.*).

Cardinal Pole. He had queries to make about Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. He needed information about Carew Raleigh and his books. He begged Fulman to note any faults he found "on a separate paper." He sought and received corrections in good temper. There is nothing to mar this interchange of friendly services between two learned and distinguished men.<sup>1</sup>

As time went on, the course of politics made Wood's life harder than before. The growing discontent with the King's misgovernment, the growing distrust of his religious professions, had its reactions in Oxford. The Church had triumphed over the Non-conformists, but the nation at heart was Protestant still. As early as November 1666 Wood, who certainly was no fanatic, entered in his diary—"Papists at this time very insolent in most parts of the nation." In 1673 Charles' Declaration of Indulgence had to be withdrawn within a year of its issue. But the Non-conformist preachers had revived in Broken Hays, and Bishop Crewe, advising James to attend the services of the Church of England, was frankly told that the Duke "could not dissemble with God and man any longer." In 1675 Andrew Marvell, Member for Hull, drafted a mock King's Speech for the meeting of Parliament, in which Charles was made to tell his faithful Commons that he had converted all his natural sons from Popery, and that, whatever supplies they granted him, he would still "take care to want." Three years later the unlovely scandal of the Popish Plot startled the nation. Politicians like Danby and Shaftesbury lent themselves to the scare. Even Charles bowed to the storm, and in Oxford the Vice-Chancellor, John Nicholas, bent readily before it. He "did not care," says Wood characteristically, "whome he took, brought into danger, or hangd, so he curried favour with the parliament for promotion." In City and University alike preparations were made for defence. Dr. Hall of Pembroke preached against the Papists. A "world of pamphlets" appeared. Barlow, now a Bishop but always in the fashion, brought out a book on the popular side. The Pope was burned in effigy at Edmund Hall. The Whigs in Oxford showed their colours. The Master of University, Obadiah Walker, and the Principals of New Inn Hall and St. Mary's were charged with being Romanists. The Heads of Houses were called on to make a return of all persons in their Societies suspected of the same opinions. Clayton, the Warden of Merton, ill-naturedly sent in Wood's name.

<sup>1</sup> But it must be admitted that in Wood's Diary there shows a less agreeable tone: e.g. 23 April 1685—"Mr. Fulm. in towne; did not come to see me. . . . Never gave me thanks for the letters I sent to him. . . . Published a book, I never knew it," etc. (*Life*, III, 139).

Wood had already incurred suspicion. He had Romanist friends, Walker and Ralph Sheldon among them.<sup>1</sup> He would not receive the Sacrament in Merton Chapel—largely, it seems, through perversity, because his friends urged him to put a stop to rumours of the kind. People began to avoid his company: any man “that is studious and reserved,” he complains, “is popishly affected.” His rooms were searched by the Vice-Chancellor, and in private he consented to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. But he would do nothing publicly to vindicate himself, though there is sufficient evidence that he remained a churchman.<sup>2</sup> The storm increased. A new Parliament met. Danby was sent to the Tower. The Exclusion Bill was introduced. But within a few months Charles had dissolved the new Parliament, and had faced the rising anger of the Opposition. The King was at his coolest when they tried to brow-beat him. “I will never forsake my friends, as my Father did,” he said. His sudden illness rallied the loyalty of the nation, and reminded them of the prospect before them if he died. Monmouth’s pretensions offended sober people. The madness of the Popish scare abated. The tide began to turn. Again the Opposition swept the country. Again Charles faced it, waited for his opportunity and then suddenly dissolved. But the Exclusion Bill had now been defeated: Halifax and the Peers had rallied to his side. For once the King was right, and he was slowly winning, though men talked of Civil War. Another Parliament was summoned, to meet at Oxford: in the City of London Shaftesbury was dangerously strong. Again Shaftesbury’s followers carried the elections. Members came to Oxford armed, with trains of followers behind them. Well might the older generation in the University recall the memories of forty years before.<sup>3</sup>

The new session was opened on Monday the 21st March 1681. The King was at Christ Church. The House of Lords sat in the Geometry School, the Commons in the Convocation House—rather crowded quarters—as Wren, the Surveyor-General, had arranged.<sup>4</sup> Since January the University had been

<sup>1</sup> “Now Mr. Sheldon being a zealous Papist, and A. W. afterwards being often in his company, must be esteem’d a Papist also, as he was by many sniveling saints, who make it a most horrible thing to be seen in the company of any one of them” (*Ib.* II, 228).

<sup>2</sup> See his *Life* (III, 497 sq.) and Hearne (*Collections*, O.H.S., I, 7 and 112–13). It is impossible to read Wood’s diary in the days of James II and to believe that he was a Romanist at heart.

<sup>3</sup> Among comparatively recent books Mr. John Pollock’s volume on *The Popish Plot* is well worth study.

<sup>4</sup> These details are taken largely from Wood’s Narrative in his *MS.D.* 19 (3), which Dr. Clark prints (*Life*, II, 522 sq.).



preparing. The King had dispensed as far as possible with the attendance of the students, and they had "packed away apace." Christ Church, Merton and Corpus had been put at the disposal of the Court. Early in February Buckingham had arrived to influence the election for the City. He had been escorted over Magdalen Bridge by torchlight, and had taken up his quarters with the local Whig leader, Alderman Wright. The Whigs had carried the town, but for the University Jenkins and his colleague had been returned unopposed. Young White Kennet, then a Tory undergraduate of Edmund Hall, and destined later to be a Whig Bishop, had published anonymously *A Letter from a Student at Oxford*, which, had the Parliament lasted, would probably have brought down Whig vengeance on his head. On the 14th March the King and Queen had entered Oxford in state, received by the Lord-Lieutenant and the loyal gentry of the county, and welcomed with such shouts and acclamations that the clouds were divided and the rain driven back.

"The throng and violence of people to express their affections were such that the coach was scarce able to pass. The youths were all on fire, and when love and joy are mixed, cannot but follow rudeness and boisterousness. Their hats did continually fly, and seriously had you been there, you would have thought that they would have thrown away their verie heads and leggs. Here was an arme for joy flung out of joynt and there a legge displaced, but by what art they can find their way back let the R.S. tell you."<sup>1</sup>

Gushing speeches had been delivered.<sup>2</sup> Charles had visited the Schools "incognito," had inspected the Theatre, the Library and the buildings round, the curiosities of the anatomists, the "exact effigies" of his grandfather on the Tower. Crewe, now Bishop of Durham, had preached before him. A list of "all vendibles for the belly of man and horse" had been "stuck up in public places"—the best beef and mutton threepence a pound, eggs six for twopence, "a fat pigg, the best in the market," two shillings and sixpence. The townsmen were asking exorbitant rents. Shaftesbury was staying at Balliol. Monmouth was preparing an effective entry.<sup>3</sup> The Whigs were counting on another triumph. They knew the King's urgent need of supply, the unpaid salaries, the shortage of stores and of guns. They did not know that Charles at the critical moment had outwitted them by a bargain with his cousin, and that the

<sup>1</sup> *Life* (II, 526). The R.S. is the Royal Society. Wood probably saw the King's entry.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. the Public Orator's welcome to the Queen (*Ib.* 527-8).

<sup>3</sup> He arrived with some 30 attendants on March 22: his last visit to Oxford had been to race in Port Meadow six months before. But though he was welcomed by the Whigs in the town, the University took little notice of him (*Ib.* 496 and 531).

French King's subsidy had already guaranteed him the independence he required.

The King's Speech was firm. He would not alter the succession, though he would consider any means suggested to keep the government in Protestant hands. But the Whigs would have "all or nothing." Party feeling blinded them to their mistake. Even Shaftesbury pressed Charles to declare Monmouth his successor. The Exclusion Bill was introduced again. For a few days Charles played with the Opposition. He would not lose his temper, but on the main point he would not yield an inch. The House of Commons found itself overcrowded in the Convocation House. Charles was only anxious for their comfort. He had the Sheldonian Theatre prepared for their reception. He himself supervised the plans. But, before they could move into it, a secret Council was held at Merton on Sunday the 27th March. During the night the Royal coaches were sent out of Oxford under guard. On Monday morning the King was carried in a sedan-chair to the Lords, his robes, necessary for the formal dissolution of Parliament, following in another closed sedan behind.<sup>1</sup> He immediately sent for the Commons to join him, and they were soon crowding into the quadrangle below. But they were only allowed access to the Geometry School by the narrow stair in the corner of the Tower.<sup>2</sup> Only a small number could have struggled up and made their way into the room above, in time to see the Speaker standing, with a Russell and a Cavendish on either hand, and to hear the curt words, which nobody expected, by which the Parliament was summarily dissolved. Charles enjoyed the consternation which his stroke created. His eyes danced with amusement as he noted his enemies' dismay. Early in the afternoon he left for Windsor. The Whigs were ruined. Charles never met a Parliament again.

The reaction which followed had its echoes in Oxford. In June 1681 old Lady Lovelace, a notable Whig, was dragged from her coach by a party of young Christ Church bloods who

<sup>1</sup> But the wrong robes were brought and the chair had to go back for the right ones.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Osmund Airy (*Charles II*, 384) thinks that the Lords met that day at Christ Church, relying on the narrative of Thomas Bruce (*Memoirs of Thomas, Earl of Ailesbury*, I, 53-8), who was present and describes the scene in detail. Wood says nothing of the place of meeting, nor does Sir J. Reresby (*Memoirs*, 66-9), nor Roger North (*Examen*, 97 sq.). N. Luttrell (*Brief Historical Relation of State Affairs*, I, 70-2) suggests that the Lords met "in the divinity school." But Mr. G. M. Trevelyan (*England under the Stuarts*, 417) decides that the famous scene must have taken place in the Geometry School, and Mr. Madan and Dr. Clark are with him.

had been drinking at the Crown—"the Bishop (Dr. Fell) extremely troubled at it." Two or three months later Stephen College, a Whig firebrand, who had been already tried and acquitted in London, was retried at Oxford, condemned and hanged. Fell is said to have sent Dr. Marshall of Lincoln College to visit him in prison. Tory sheriffs were returning Tory juries. The charters of London and other Whig corporations were attacked. Oxford, warned that her charter was in danger, sent the Mayor and citizens to appear in full numbers on St. Scholastica's Day in 1682. But the old Town and Gown jealousies were by no means extinguished. Had not the University been Tory, the City would probably have been less vehemently Whig. Scholars and citizens drank at the Magpie to the Duke of York and the Duke of Monmouth, and very soon after came to blows in the street. The Pro-Proctor, Charlett, carried off a townsman to the Castle. The mob followed and the Pro-Proctor had to be rescued by the Vice-Chancellor with a posse of Jesus men.<sup>1</sup> All over the country the Whigs were going under. Monmouth was arrested. Shaftesbury fled. On the 21st July 1683 Lord Russell died on the scaffold. On the same day Convocation in Oxford issued a sweeping decree, denouncing "certain pernicious books and damnable doctrines destructive to the sacred persons of princes." All Readers and tutors were called on to instruct their scholars in the doctrine of passive obedience, "which in a manner is the badge and character of the church of England." The books condemned were burned in the Schools' Quadrangle, Doctors, Masters and scholars standing round. Hobbes and Baxter, John Owen, Milton, Knox, Buchanan were among the dangerous authors cast into the flames.<sup>2</sup> Parkinson, a Fellow of Lincoln, was expelled for his seditious and scurrilous notions:

"Since the University has in public censured and condemned several dangerous and wicked positions, how can the same be permitted to take sanctuary in private colleges, or shall any one who has notoriously abetted any of them be quietly indulged therein or allowed the opportunity of poisoning others if he please?"<sup>3</sup>

Alderman Wright was brought to trial. The City surrendered

<sup>1</sup> This was in April 1683 (Wood, *Life*, III, 42-3 and 510-12). In 1676-7 there had been trouble with a certain chandler, Philip Dodwell, who beat one Proctor and insulted another (*Ib.* II, 381).

<sup>2</sup> See the list of authors given by Wood (*Ib.* III, 63-4), Wilkins' *Concilia* (IV, 610 *sq.*), and the Somers *Tracts* (VIII, 420-24). The propositions condemned included the doctrines that civil authority was derived from the people, that wicked Kings might be put to death, and that Dominion was founded in grace.

<sup>3</sup> See the Articles against Parkinson (*Life*, III, 69-72). The Rector, Dr. Marshall, stood aloof.



its charter on Lord Abingdon's advice, and received it back again by Lord Abingdon's mediation.<sup>1</sup> Conduits ran claret, and sycophantic poets made verses in honour of the day. Meanwhile the Duke of York visited Oxford. The Ashmolean Museum was formally opened, and the Philosophical Society of scientific students was organised to meet on Tuesday afternoons.<sup>2</sup> James' appearance was the signal for a loyalist demonstration. All the Colleges were visited in turn, "except Pembroke, who had no chappell." At Christ Church "the yong earl of Clancartie, aged 13, a cannon-commoner," recited a copy of verses. At Queen's Theobald Churchill, whose brother and sister were bound to James by closer ties, took part in the welcome to the Prince. The Tory gentlemen of the district gathered about him. James, so long "vilified and abused and scandalized," had at last in Oxford come into his own.

Power as well as popularity was now within his grasp. The Duchess of Portsmouth still ruled the King of England with an empire which even Barbara Villiers had never enjoyed. But Charles' health was undermined, though he sauntered through life as pleasantly as ever. On Monday the 2nd February 1685 the news of his sudden illness spread consternation in the country. On Thursday the 5th he was thought to be recovering, and the Vice-Chancellor issued a prayer of thanksgiving "for the deliverance lately granted to our Sovereign Lord the King, whom in thy unspeakeable love to this Church and Nation, thou hast brought back from the gates of death." On the Friday, "just at high water and full moon at noon," Charles died.<sup>3</sup> Dying, he had confessed to Huddleston, the Roman priest who had been his friend since Worcester. James had at least one advantage over his brother, that even to save his inheritance he would not conceal his faith. But the new King was, unhappily, determined not to allow his people to keep theirs. In no part of his kingdom had he more devoted subjects than in the University which had so lately received him with affection. College bonfires blazed in the quadrangles, and dons knelt round them drinking his Majesty's health. The Vice-Chancellor and Doctors, introduced by Jenkins, presented a loyal address. Latin verses were published, and many good scholars, whose verses were rejected, printed them under the title of *Musae repudiatae*, "*Muses kickt downestaires.*" The outbreak of Monmouth's rebellion in June was the signal for fresh displays of loyalty. The University

<sup>1</sup> It was returned in Oct. 1684 (*Ib.* 86, 89, 112).

<sup>2</sup> James' visit was in May 1683. Wood gives lists of the Philosophical Society: Dr. Wallis and Dr. Plot were conspicuous there. (*Ib.* 46-56 and 75-8.)

<sup>3</sup> See the narrative by Thomas Bruce (*Ailesbury Memoirs*, I, 90).

raised a troop of horse and a regiment of foot for the King.<sup>1</sup> Students trained on the bowling green at New College. They drilled in the quadrangles of Christ Church and All Souls. They drank deep to the cause they defended and came home from dining with the Earl of Abingdon "well fuz'd."

But at Oxford, as elsewhere, the course of politics soon gave cause for alarm. The Chancellor, Ormonde, one of the noblest gentlemen of his generation, returned from his government in Ireland—he had visited the University with some ceremonial on his way there a few years before <sup>2</sup>—to find himself obliged to oppose the King's dispensing power. A standing army, with Roman Catholic officers, was formed. Parliament, demanding the removal of these officers, found itself suddenly prorogued, and Lord Abingdon's brothers, who had joined in the protest, lost their commissions. The Bishop of London was dismissed from the Privy Council. Even University dignitaries came under suspicion. In March 1686 Obadiah Walker declared himself a Roman Catholic. In Wood's opinion Walker had in Oxford only three disciples and a half; the half was John Massey, a Fellow of Merton, destined for perilous distinction soon.<sup>3</sup> In April Mass was said in the Master's Lodgings at University. In August a Romanist Chapel for public worship was opened in the College. When Fell died Walker tried to obtain control of the University Press.<sup>4</sup> In October John Massey, still young and undistinguished except for his new attachment to his Sovereign's faith, was appointed to Fell's vacant place at Christ Church, "to the affront of the antient canons there," and was specially dispensed from coming to prayers or receiving the sacrament. In November Samuel Parker was installed as Bishop, a man who had exchanged Presbyterianism for High Churchmanship already, and whom the Whigs now thought a fit instrument "to betray and ruin the church." Sturdy Protestants refused to send their sons to Oxford. The numbers of the University declined. In February 1687, when the King's statue was set up at Walker's College, James was lauded for devoutly owning his own religion and at the same time "promising his patronage to the religion in use." In March Dean Massey established an Oratory at Christ Church. In the same month James informed the Privy Council of his

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Clark gives details of the 6 companies raised (Wood's *Life*, III, 152, n.).

<sup>2</sup> In 1677 (*Ib.* II, 385-7).

<sup>3</sup> But other converts were forthcoming soon (*Ib.* III, 176-7, 184, and 213-14). And even with its curious details Wood's fuller list is not complete.

<sup>4</sup> Walker, however, evidently met with opposition, and had to set up a Press of his own at University College (*Ib.* 209 and 218).

intention to issue a Declaration of Indulgence. Before the month was over, Dr. Clerke, the President of Magdalen, died, and the University found itself absorbed in the most interesting and memorable struggle which since the days of the Plantagenets the Church had sustained against the Crown.

Clerke died on the 24th March. Early in April a Mandate from the King nominated Anthony Farmer to succeed him. No-one wishing to discredit James' policy could have suggested a worse choice. Farmer had been originally a Cambridge man and noted for his riotous life as a student. He had afterwards taught in a Non-conformist school. In 1683, incorporated as a Master of Arts at Oxford, he had joined Magdalen Hall, and while there had been accused of quarrelsomeness and immorality. In 1685 he had migrated to Magdalen College, but he had never been elected a Fellow.<sup>1</sup> The porter there deposed that he had often admitted him drunk. In an orgy at Abingdon he was alleged to have thrown the town stocks into a pond.<sup>2</sup> His readiness to change his religion would seem to have been his only recommendation. The nomination was an outrage, and the College could not be expected to submit. The Fellows petitioned, pointing out that Farmer was ineligible under the Statutes, and asking for leave to make another choice: but this petition it seems that Sunderland either delayed or suppressed. On the 15th April, having waited till the last day allowed by the Statutes, they met and elected John Hough. Bishop Mews of Winchester promptly admitted him, and Convocation with hardly less promptitude gave him a Doctor's degree. The Fellows submitted their case to Ormonde and the King—a stubborn and groundless resistance to the Royal Will and Pleasure being that which their souls eternally abhorred. But they were nevertheless cited before the Ecclesiastical Commission, which James had re-established in 1686, on the model of the old, arbitrary High Commission Court. They had of course an excellent defence. In June a formidable list of charges against Farmer was preferred. Even Jeffreys had to admit that the Court regarded him as “a very bad man.” Yet Hough's election was annulled, and Aldworth, the Vice-President, and Henry

<sup>1</sup> Wood calls him a “demie” (*Ib.* 217). But, as Dr. Bloxam says, he was not on the Foundation (*Magdalen College and James II.*, xii, 47). Thomas Smith and Baptist Levinz, Bishop of Man, had both decided not to stand—Smith because he could not accept the King's requirements on the question of religion (Bloxam, 3, 4, 15). On the 15th April Smith and some others were in favour of deferring the election (Bloxam, 24-5), but only two Fellows, Charnock and Thompson, refused to take part in it.

<sup>2</sup> This, and other allegations, Farmer denied. (See Bloxam, 69-74.)



Fairfax, a prominent Fellow, were suspended. Farmer, however, was tacitly dropped. In August another Royal Mandate nominated Samuel Parker, the Bishop of Oxford, who was also ineligible under the Statutes, in Farmer's stead.

In September 1687 James paid a visit to Oxford. He was received with elaborate preparations. Rails and posts in St. Giles' were taken down and the highway laid with gravel, which the rain, unhappily, turned into mud. Tapestries were hung from the windows. Claret flowed from the conduit. Wind-music played over Penniless Bench. Doctors, scholars, city companies, were all out in their formalities—the undergraduates not as orderly as they might have been. Ironside as Vice-Chancellor received the King on "the horseway leading to Aristotle's well and Port Mead." James' old French hat "not worth a groat" seems scarcely to have done justice to the rest of his costume. But he had no cause to complain of his welcome. At Christ Church, where Massey had a Romanist Chapel ready for him in Canterbury Quadrangle, he showed himself exceptionally gracious. He reminded the members of the College that as a Christ Church man he was senior to most of them; he had been entered in the Buttery-book just after Edgehill. He touched for the King's evil. He accepted a rich Bible printed at the Sheldonian Press. But he preferred to talk to Dr. Plot about Holy-well in Flintshire or to Dr. Hyde about the theology of the Chinese, and to inquire whether the Fellows of All Souls were not bound to pray for the dead. Arriving on Saturday the 3rd September, he spent most of the Sunday at Christ Church, and heard Vespers at the Master's Chapel in University College. But the most important though not the most agreeable incident of the Sunday was his interview with the Fellows of Magdalen in the afternoon.

A vivid account of this meeting is given in the *Impartial Relation* of the proceedings attributed to Aldworth, Vice-President of the College. The King called sharply on Dr. Pudsey, the head of the deputation, to approach.

"*The King.* What is your name? Are you Dr. Pudsey?"

*Dr. Pudsey.* Yes, may it please your Majesty.

*The King.* Did you receive my Letter?"

*Dr. Pudsey.* Yes, Sir, we did.

*The King.* Then you have not dealt with me like gentlemen. You have done very uncivilly and undutifully . . .—here they all kneeled, and Dr. Pudsey offered a Petition, which his Majesty refused to receive, and said 'Ye have been a stubborn, turbulent College. I have known you to be so these six and twenty years. You have affronted me in this. Is this your Church of England Loyalty? One would wonder to find so many Church of England men in such a business. Go home and show yourselves good members of the

Church of England. Get you gone, know I am your King. I will be obeyed; and I command you to be gone. Go and admit the Bishop of Oxford, Head, Principal, what do you call it, of the College? (one, who stood by, said President) I mean President of the College. Let them that refuse it look to it: they shall feel the weight of their Sovereign's displeasure.

The Fellows going out of the Lodgings were called back.

*The King.* I hear that you have admitted a Fellow of the College since you received my inhibition. Is this true? Have you not admitted Mr. Holden Fellow?

*Dr. Pudsey.* I think he was admitted Fellow, but we conceive——

*Mr. Cradock.* May it please your Majesty. There was no new Election or Admission since your Majesty's Inhibition, but only the consummation of a former Election. (They always elect to one year's Probation, then the Person elected is received or ejected for ever.)

*The King.* The Consummation of a Former Election! It was downright disobedience, and it is a fresh aggravation. Get you gone home, I say again, go, get you gone, and immediately repair to your Chapel, and elect the Bishop of Oxford, or else you must expect to feel the weight of my hand. (The Fellows offered again their Petition on their knees.) Get you gone, I will receive nothing, from you, till you have obeyed me and admitted the Bishop of Oxford."<sup>1</sup>

The King, no doubt, had the advantage at the interview. He almost monopolised the speaking, and it is not easy to argue on one's knees. But his threats left the Fellows unrepentant. They adjourned forthwith to their Chapel, and with two exceptions protested their inability to obey the King.<sup>2</sup> On the Monday James concluded his visit. He was taken to the Bodleian, the Divinity School, the Theatre: he thought it a pity that Verrio had not done the painting on the roof. He partook of a banquet in the Library at Selden's End—three hot dishes and twenty-eight cold ones, with plates of fruit and sweetmeats "piled high, like so many ricks of hay."<sup>3</sup> As the King asked no-one to eat with him, a good deal of food was left for the scramble which ensued. James was "extreame curteous and affable to all." But before bidding them good-bye he turned to the Doctors about him, and discoursed, not

<sup>1</sup> This is printed by Dr. Bloxam (84-5), and is included with a *Vindication* of the Royal Commissioners and some other papers on the subject, in a volume of seventeenth-century *Tracts relating to Oxford* in the British Museum. Wood's report of the interview is brief (*Life*, III, 233). For other papers on the subject see Bloxam (85 sq.) and Cobbett's *State Trials* (vol. XII, Art. 355). Henry Holden had been admitted a Fellow in July, in spite of a letter from the King forbidding any fresh elections for the present (Bloxam, 77-8).

<sup>2</sup> The exceptions were Charnock and Dobson. Wood speaks of 21 Fellows visiting the King. But one account gives the names of 22 Fellows as taking part in the subsequent meeting in the Chapel (Bloxam, 86).

<sup>3</sup> For Wood's detailed account of the Royal visit see his *Life* (III, 226 sq.).

without a touch of sharpness, on the virtues of charity and toleration, and the need of a right understanding among men. "I have given libertie of conscience to some of my subjects, therefore do not take it ill, for in what I have done, I think I have not don harme to you."

It was just this point on which his subjects remained unconvinced. The struggle with the Magdalen Fellows proceeded. Penn's intervention did nothing to help. But there was an idea that, if the Bishop of Oxford were once in possession, the Fellows might be brought to acquiesce. In October three Commissioners, escorted by three troops of horse were sent down to visit the College—Dr. Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, Sir Robert Wright, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Sir Thomas Jenner, a Baron of the Exchequer. On the 21st, declining to sit in the Chapel, they met in the Hall, and the Bishop of Chester delivered a speech in which sycophancy mingled with warning and reproof. "Yours, like all other Corporations, is the Creature of the Crown ; and how then durst you make your Statutes spurn against their Maker ? " Dr. Hough fought for his rights with firmness and good temper. "All things," Baron Jenner notes, "were very civil and quiet, only a great crowd." On Saturday morning, the 22nd, they met in the Common Room, and Hough was at first called in alone. He refused to submit to the sentence of deprivation. He declined courteously but staunchly to give up his keys. He was declared to be no longer President and his name was struck out of the Buttery-book. Dr. Fairfax also appeared and told the Commissioners boldly that he had been suspended only for refusing to elect Farmer, and that for their own credit they were bound to take his suspension off.<sup>1</sup> The Fellows as a whole were then called in and asked if they would agree to admit the Bishop of Oxford. Charnock at once assented. Dr. Pudsey and Thomas Smith hesitated: they would make no active opposition. But all the rest refused.

In the afternoon a more striking scene occurred. Hough came back "with a great company," and entered a formal protest against all the proceedings. The audience broke into applause and the Chief Justice lost his temper.<sup>2</sup> He had "met with nothing but affronts from the College." In the Chapel there was no table. In the Hall there was no carpet. These things were affronts to the King, and he would "vindicate the honour of his Master to the last drop of his Blood." Hough was compelled to give securities for good behaviour, and the

<sup>1</sup> The *Impartial Relation* (quoted by Bloxam, 129) is evidently mistaken in dating Fairfax's appearance on the 21st.

<sup>2</sup> But there was little reason to complain of the Commissioners' bearing as a whole.



Court adjourned till Tuesday the 25th. On that day the Bishop of Oxford was installed by proxy: Charnock was the only Fellow willing to assist. Hough had left on the Saturday night, but his Lodgings were broken open, though the first smith summoned for this duty ran away "as fast as he could." The Fellows and Demies as a body, asked if they would now submit to Parker, agreed to comply so far as the Statutes allowed.<sup>1</sup> The Commissioners evidently thought that the worst of the trouble was over, and sent in a satisfactory report to the King.

But James had not the sense or moderation to allow the agitation to die down. He demanded a more definite acknowledgment of wrong-doing and a full admission of the jurisdiction of the Court. On the 28th the Commissioners, who had waited in Oxford for Sunderland's reply, had to summon the Fellows again and to insist upon these new demands. Their efforts at conciliation had been wasted—"very grievous to me," Baron Jenner notes. "The Breach," wrote one of the Fellows, "is now wider than ever." They stoutly refused to incriminate themselves by admitting that they had done wrong. The Commissioners adjourned their sittings till the 16th November, and reports arose that the Fellows would probably give in. But public opinion stiffened their resistance, a sense of honour and a fear of shame. On the 2nd November Parker took possession of the President's Lodgings: but he was already a dying man. On the 16th the Commissioners resumed their sittings in Oxford. Two Romanists, nominated by the King as Fellows, were introduced. The Bishop of Chester indulged in another speech. "I hope," he wound up, "that I have said enough to convince you that the Fig-leaves, which you have stitched so artificially together, will not cover your nakedness." The Fellows were required to prostrate themselves in all humility at his Majesty's feet, and the overwhelming majority of those present refused. Thereupon twenty-five Fellows were sentenced to expulsion. The decree was posted the same day on the College gates.<sup>2</sup> Not only that, but the Ecclesiastical Commission in London, determined to deprive the offenders of their livelihood, declared them incapable of taking Orders or of receiving any preferment. Against this outrage Sprat, now Bishop of Rochester, found the courage to protest, and other Bishops also pointedly disregarded the instruction.

<sup>1</sup> T. Smith had fewer reservations to his credit, Charnock none. Fairfax refused all compromise and was expelled. So to his credit was the under-porter.

<sup>2</sup> For the names see Bloxam (204). T. Smith, Charnock, Thompson, and certain absent Fellows were excused (Bloxam, 185, and Wilson, *Magdalen Coll.*, 206-7).

So far James' tyrannical methods had triumphed. But public opinion was deeply moved. Troops had to be sent to Oxford. A great public subscription was raised for the Fellows, and the Princess of Orange contributed two hundred pounds. The Demies of the College for the most part refused promotion and claimed to share the Fellows' fate. They were left for the College authorities to deal with, and Charnock as Dean had a stormy time with students whose love of legality would not permit them to obey usurpers. Magdalen Fellowships went a-begging, and Roman Catholics were freely nominated to them. Wood notes "six new popish fellows" one day, and four more another. But the Vice-Chancellor would not allow them to wear gowns until they had complied with all the rules for matriculation. In the College disorder increased, and on the 16th January 1688 some fourteen Demies were expelled.<sup>1</sup> A few days later those who remained invited their expelled colleagues to dinner in Hall, where "with their hats cock'd" they drank confusion to the Pope. Three more expulsions followed. In February Wood notes that not one Commoner<sup>2</sup> or nobleman is left at Magdalen, and that the Gentlemen Commoners and noblemen at Christ Church have dropped since Fell's day from over forty to two. Even Parker bitterly resented James' policy of packing the College with Romanists. "Is this the kindness the King promised me? To set me here to make me his tool and his prop! To place me with a company of men, which he knows I hate the conversation of!" His anger made his illness worse, and in the night of the 20th March he died.<sup>3</sup> On the 31st Bonaventure Gifford, "a Sorbon Dr., and a secular preist," was installed. Mass was celebrated in the Chapel. Thomas Smith could acquiesce no longer, and before long he and six of the old Fellows still remaining were deprived.

But, little as the sufferers guessed it, deliverance was at hand. All through the spring and summer of 1688 the tide of feeling rose against the King. His new Declaration of Indulgence was generally defied. Not a single clergyman in Oxford read it. The Seven Bishops, protesting, were charged with rebellion. On the 8th June they were ordered to the Tower, all London invoking blessings on them as they passed. On the 10th the Queen gave birth to a son whom the whole Protest-

<sup>1</sup> One or two documents say 15, and Mr. Wilson accepts this figure; but only 14 names are given, and one of these Charnock is alleged to have restored (Bloxam, 233-5). Wood speaks of 14 (*Life*, III, 254).

<sup>2</sup> He may mean Gentleman Commoner (*Ib.* 257).

<sup>3</sup> About 7 in the evening, says Wood. Others say on the 21st. President Newlyn of Corpus and Dr. Lamphire of Hart Hall died in the same month.

ant world denounced as an impostor. The bonfires lit at Magdalen and at Christ Church only accentuated the refusal of the other Colleges to rejoice.<sup>1</sup> And the illuminations ordered on the 1st July were used by churchmen to celebrate the acquittal of the Bishops. On Ormonde's death the King required the election of Jeffreys as Chancellor. But Convocation, happily, anticipated his Majesty by electing the Duke's grandson<sup>2</sup> before the Mandate arrived. The University representatives had already been summoned—a sinister invitation—to give an account before the King in Council of the liberties they claimed.<sup>3</sup> James sent down a new Bishop to Oxford, and the Canons of Christ Church refused to attend his installation. He threatened to summon the disobedient clergy before the Ecclesiastical Commission; whereupon Bishop Sprat, one of the Commissioners, resigned his seat. Irish troops were brought to England, but a Dutch army was making ready overseas. Before the end of September, William's fleet was reported to be on its way. Then at last the blind King awoke to his danger, and hurriedly tried to conciliate his people. On the 3rd October he allowed the Archbishop to propose the restoration of the Magdalen Fellows. On the 5th the Ecclesiastical Commission was dissolved. A few days later the Bishop of Winchester was charged to visit and settle the College. The exiled Fellows gathered from all quarters. The whole University determined to celebrate the event. Three hundred gentlemen on horseback escorted Bishop Mews to his lodgings. And though he was summoned suddenly to London, to attend the meeting of the Privy Council at which James exhibited proofs of the birth of his son, he returned without delay to Oxford and carried through his task. On the 25th October a memorable scene took place at Magdalen. In the Chapel the Bishop read the King's order to restore the College. In the Hall the books were produced and the names of all the intruders struck out. Dr. Hough and his colleagues were solemnly reinstated. Charnock was expelled, to become a Jacobite conspirator and to find a death upon the scaffold. Speeches were delivered, warmed by something more than compliment. The hearts of the bystanders must have been very full. "An extraordinary great dinner" was served at the President's Lodgings. Bells rang and bonfires burned all over Oxford for the triumph of the persecuted dons that night.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wood (*Life*, III, 268). Nothing is said of University.

<sup>2</sup> On July 23rd, 1688.—

<sup>3</sup> "This they call a *Quo Warranto*" (*Ib.* 269).

<sup>4</sup> The contemporary accounts of this famous episode are full and lively. Dr. Bloxam collected and set out practically all the material passages in his *Magdalen College and King James II*, including many



Ten days later William's fleet was heading for Torbay. The Tory Earl of Abingdon was the first English Peer to join him. On the 9th November Obadiah Walker left for London. Before the end of the month Dean Massey followed him. The Romanist Chapels at Christ Church and University were stripped. On the 5th December the troops of Lord Lovelace and Captain Bertie entered the city. On the 6th William's declaration was read at Penniless Bench. On the 11th both Walker and Gifford, the Master of University and the ex-President of Magdalen, flying, like a more illustrious fugitive, were seized in their flight and committed to prison—an incident which must have given rich satisfaction in some Common Rooms which were never to know them again. On the 17th the University published its congratulations to the Prince:—"Illustrissime atque invictissime princeps." Before Christmas James had landed in France. Before the new year and the new term opened, the Revolution was happily secure.

With the Revolution of 1688 another period of history opens. But for some years Wood lived on in Oxford, busy to the last with his studies and his pen, commenting as closely and incisively as ever on the daily life of the little world which he knew best. He was a strong man naturally, and not yet old, but his health had long been broken. His reserve and unpopularity increased. Friends like Ralph Sheldon and Arthur Charlett, who in 1692 became Master of University, continued to show him kindness. Young Thomas Tanner of Queen's, who could appreciate his learning, and who was already training to be an antiquary himself, was introduced to him in 1694. White Kennet of Edmund Hall had helped him for years past. James Bisse of Wadham and Nicholas Martin, Vice-Principal of Hart Hall, were often with him latterly. But Wood had alienated many of his acquaintances, and the publication of the *Athenæ*, with its sharp criticisms and incautious judgments, made him fresh enemies upon every side. His last years were embittered by the rancours which he had excited. He was proud of his book and pathetically anxious to know what others said of it. He noted eagerly that Queen Mary bought a copy and promised to read

excerpts from the diaries of Dr. Thomas Smith, Bishop Cartwright and Baron Jenner. Mr. Wilson (*Magdalen College*) has added a few details. Cobbett has a full narrative in vol. XII of his *State Trials*. And in App. IX to vol. III of his *Life of Wood*, Dr. Clark has printed Wood's narratives of the Fellows' expulsion and restoration from *MS. Tanner 456b*. But Wood's account, though differing a little in details, adds nothing material to Dr. Bloxam's collection. His diary for 1687-8 is of course full of references to the subject.

it. But he did not spare himself in recording the unfavourable verdicts passed. "A great deal of ill nature" was found in the two volumes. But Wood would not allow the charge.

"Who is ill natur'd? whether the author who speaks the truth, or a company of idle fellows that sit all day in an alehouse or tavern to pick holes in the coates of industrious men who labour for the honor of the University."

Dr. Bathurst took him to task instead of thanking him for his achievement, "like a poore spirit and snivling fellow." Heads of Colleges were often critical, though the younger men approved of the book. The Master of Balliol lapsed into coarseness to describe it. Another dignitary would gladly have subscribed to have it burned. A more famous personage, Dr. Burnet, was reported to have spoken of the author as "a little silly fellow who hath an ill designe to libell honest men." Dr. Wallis was not alone in resenting some of the statements made in it. Wood had remembered the grudges of a lifetime, and it was no wonder if the publication brought a hornet's nest about his ears. In New College Common Room there were open threats of beating him. A Magdalen chorister, whose grandfather had been severely handled in Wood's pages, attacked him one day in the street, and the author had to take to his cudgel in defence. Above all, Lord Clarendon, less tolerant than his Royal niece, determined to punish him for the charge of corruption brought against the famous Chancellor, and in November 1692 Wood, who had relied too readily on an incautious note of Aubrey's, was formally cited before the Vice-Chancellor's Court.

In writing the lives of two judges, David Jenkyns and John Glynne, Wood had repeated the story that Clarendon as Lord Chancellor accepted money from office-seekers, which had been made, no doubt, unjustly, one of the counts in the Minister's impeachment.<sup>1</sup> Wood had said no more than others had said freely, and he might well have pleaded that he could not be punished for libelling a dead man. Instead of that he took the narrow ground that it was not proved that he had written the words complained of, and on that plea he was bound to fail. Had he behaved with ordinary wisdom, had he offered an unreserved apology in the terms required, it seems that Lord Clarendon would have dropped the prosecution. But Wood showed himself, as usual, difficult to deal with. He raised false issues. He pleaded that his book had been lawfully licensed, and that, if any statement in it was objectionable, the licenser or the Secretary of State who appointed him

<sup>1</sup> See Bliss' edition of the *Athenæ* (III, 643 and 753). Aubrey was certainly responsible for the note about Jenkyns (Wood's *Life*, IV, 8, n.).

was to blame. He alleged that Clarendon and the Archbishop of Canterbury had both made alterations in his manuscript, and that they or the printers, without his knowledge, might have inserted the words complained of. He haggled over the terms of the settlement proposed. He wrote to Clarendon, complaining of his loss of time and money, and warning him that it would "sound but ill in the eares of posterity" if he dealt unfavourably with "a zealous pretender to learning." But his letters were not calculated to conciliate his opponent, and his ill-judged defences only cost more time and money to refute. There was little difficulty in bringing home the responsibility for his statements. On the 29th July 1693 the Court pronounced sentence. Wood was to be banished as a disturber of the peace and to lose his University privileges till he subscribed a recantation which the Court approved. His libel was to be committed to the flames. And he had to pay Lord Clarendon's costs.<sup>1</sup>

Wood poured out his anger at the judgment. To one who had spent his life in the University's service, the terms, even if largely a formality, seemed cruelly hard. The expense alone was for him a serious consideration. He could not see that he had been in any way at fault. Clarendon, he protested, had disarmed him and then fought with him naked, had cut out his tongue and then bid him speak, had raked and scraped up witnesses to overcome him; and "after al this, the author is to submit for what he hath said, and be made a tool to recover the credit of a person that hath been banished 28 yeares and dead 20." Wood lived down the judgment, but his resentment remained. Only a few weeks before his death he met Lord Clarendon in the President's Lodgings at Corpus, and there "began to ripe up all the matter," and to attack him for dealing with him unworthily and "against all law." But he gained little satisfaction from the encounter, and to the last the recollection of this law-suit hung over and embittered the sensitive and lonely man.

<sup>1</sup> Wood's diary has brief entries on this subject, and the Acts of the Vice-Chancellor's Court in the University Archives (*Reg. Cur. Cane.* 1692-98) have various entries dealing with it from Nov. 1692 to Oct. 1693. Loose notes of the proceedings seem to have been kept, which found their way into print, even before Edmund Curll reprinted them as Original Letters, giving an account of the Libel, the Answer and the Sentence, in his *Miscellanies on Several Curious Subjects* (iii-xxviii). The volume of scattered papers in the Archives collected by the late Keeper (*Arch. Univ. Oxon.* W.P. γ 26) is mentioned by Dr. Clark, who has put together the fullest account of the trial in the early pages of the fourth volume of his *Life of Wood*. For the sentence see vol. IV (44-6), for the entry in the Proctors' *Black Book*, vol. III (438).



Generations which have long forgotten Wood's resentments, and which remember only his consummate labours, will wish that he could have found more happiness in his later years. Still his life-long interests held him. Still he went on collecting materials for a continuation of the *Athenæ*: he was not mistaken in thinking that his work would live. Still he found time to enjoy a rare visit to London, a brief excursion into the country, an occasional evening at a tavern with a friend. On the 12th October 1695 he went out with young Tanner to Binsey, and told him the story of St. Frideswide in the Chapel porch, then on to Godstow, where they talked of Rosamund, and so home through Wolvercote after eating a dish of fish. On the 1st November he felt ill, but he resolved, as he often did, to "walk it out,"<sup>1</sup> and the diary went on as dauntlessly as usual. On the 9th November King William came to Oxford, and Wood was well enough to set down the details. But a few days later he had made his last entry,<sup>2</sup> and had laid down for ever his untiring pen. His illness increased. On the 22nd Charlett visited him at the request of his relations, who reported that he did not realise his danger, that he "was very froward, that *they durst not speak to Him*." Charlett made his way up into Wood's room, which he had never been allowed to see before; the relations "ventured to leave his Doors unlockt." But he had a hard task to persuade the sick man that he was dying. He seems to have discharged it with tenderness and skill, as a "very old acquaintance and very loving friend." He begged him to put his affairs in order, to "settle his papers, that were so *Numerous and Confused*." He suggested that Tanner might take charge of them, and the suggestion was approved. Once convinced that he could not recover, Wood showed both bravery and patience. He had time to see two or three friends, Tanner and Bisse and Nicholas Martin, to sort a "vast multitude of Papers," to order two bushels of them to be burned. He had time also to write—it was characteristic of him—the "most minute Particulars" about his funeral, to receive the Sacrament devoutly and to make his will. But he spent "his spirits more," Tanner noted, "in setting his Papers in Order, than in providing for another World." He bequeathed to the University, to be deposited in the Ashmolean, all his manuscripts and all his remaining books and pamphlets<sup>3</sup>—truly, as Tanner pleaded,

<sup>1</sup> He had apparently caught cold, but he was much worse after his walk (*Life*, III, 492-3).

<sup>2</sup> It refers to a letter of Nov. 14.

<sup>3</sup> A few MSS. went to the Bodleian, and some of his books and pamphlets were already in the Museum. The bequest, collected in a room called "Mr. Wood's study," and arranged by the Keeper Edward Lhuyd, was

"a most noble gift." He was gentle and charitable, as the end drew near, begging his companions for forgiveness. He talked a great while one evening with his sister, with whom he had been so long at variance. He died as he would have wished, working to the last, and leaving a great legacy of work behind him, and they buried him in the Ante-Chapel of his own College, under a monument which mis-stated his age. It would have comforted him to know how his writings would be treasured in the University for whose fame and honour he had toiled.<sup>1</sup>

Wood passed away as the world he knew was passing, the world of the Rebellion and the Restoration, of uncompromising zealots, of over-zealous churchmen, of new philosophies and old ideals. Dimly and unconsciously forces were awaking which were to unsettle the foundations of learning. Science was beginning to speak with strange authority. Lesser minds than Locke's were asking whether Latin and Greek need be the only keys to knowledge. Even clerical Oxford could no longer keep her heritage for clerks alone. If the supreme object of University teaching was still to train churchmen to vindicate Church doctrines, the logic and philosophy developed for those purposes no longer exercised the same ascendancy. The Cambridge Platonists indeed might cling to one great Greek philosopher as the fountain-head of wisdom. But they, and the few who thought with them at Oxford, had little patience with the ecclesiastical contentions of the past. They declared that morals were "nineteen parts in twenty of all religion." They turned their backs upon Scholastic learning and found in holiness the way to knowledge. They denounced the "ungoverned spirit" of dogma and the error of carrying reverence for "grey-headed doctrines" too far. They prayed for purity of heart and charity of outlook, for "unspotted righteousness and an unshaken peace."<sup>2</sup>

very large. "Excluding 45 books added at later dates and 12 MSS. not of Wood's writing or collecting, we have, as the present total of the genuine Wood Collection, 115 volumes of MSS. (or, if we include also the 39 almanacs interleaved with Wood's diary, 154 MSS.) and 959 printed volumes" (Clark, *Life*, I, 10). In 1860 the Collection was transferred to the Bodleian.

<sup>1</sup> Wood died on Nov. 29, 1695. Charlett's letter, dated Dec. 1, giving an account of his death, is in the Bodleian (*MS. Eng. Misc. d. 10*); and Charlett's letter, dated, I think, clearly in the MS. Nov. 21, recommending Tanner to Wood, is in *MS. Tanner* 24 (f. 92, not 82). Dr. Clark prints both (*Wood's Life*, III, 497-502) together with Tanner's account of his last hours with Wood, dated Nov. 24, which is found in *MS. Ballard* 4 (ff. 28-9). But if the "long letter" written to Wood by Charlett after his visit on Nov. 22 is the letter printed by Dr. Clark (p. 500), as a note of his (p. 498) suggests, either the date of the letter or the date of the visit must be wrong. Tanner speaks of officious inquiries by Merton men.

<sup>2</sup> For the remarkable movement identified with Whichcote, Cudworth and Henry More at Cambridge, and to some extent reflected in Oxford

But the changes which some foresaw and many dreaded were as yet slow to come. At Oxford the students of the Restoration returned for safety to the ancient teachers. They handed on to their successors the same unsatisfying, unprogressive studies. Butler was soon to weary of "frivolous lectures" and "unintelligible disputations." Locke was still a revolutionary when he suggested that the *Categories* of Aristotle might have had their day. Greek continued to be the source of science. Latin, with its majestic background of Roman theology and Roman law, continued to be the universal language of scholars. Milton had sharpened it for public controversy. Fell had insisted on it for a history of Oxford. The character stamped on European education by the Church and the Renaissance between them held. With the reaction in politics a reaction towards the Schoolmen had set in. At Cambridge a Professor lecturing before Clarendon could recommend nothing newer than the wisdom of Aquinas. At Oxford the "Latitude-men," with their unseen and intangible visions and their only two evident Puritanical traditions, found comparatively few to share their tolerance or to echo their appeal. The generation which succeeded Falkland had ceased to understand the longings which possessed him. The noble passion of the seventeenth century had spent its force. And a new spirit and new impulses, still far away, were needed, to bring back to the slumbering courts and cloisters of Oxford the manners, virtue, freedom, power of which the poet has sung.

men like Joseph Glanvill and John Norris, see the second volume of Tully's *Rational Theology* and the fifth chapter of the third volume of Mullinger's *Cambridge*. At Oxford divines like Samuel Parker were more in fashion. He published *A Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophie* twenty years before he became a Bishop.





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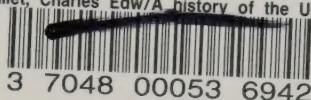
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